PIHANS • LIV

Entrepreneurs and Empire

The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia

By

Matthew W. Stolper

Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten
Leiden
1985

UITGAVEN VAN HET
NEDERLANDS HISTORISCH-ARCHAEOLOGISCH INSTITUUT TE ISTANBUL

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LIV

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To Toni Stolper,
on her ninety-fifth birthday

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ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographical Abbreviations and Text Sigla

ABAW	=	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse (Munich)
Acta Antiqua	=	*Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
AfO	=	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHDO + RIDA	=	*Archives d'histoire du droit orientale* et *Revue internationale du droit d'antiquité*
AHw.	=	Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1959–1981)
AJSL	=	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
AMI	=	*Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*
ANET	=	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, edited by James B. Pritchard, 3rd edition (Princeton, New Jersey, 1969)
Annali ... Pisa	=	*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Series III
AnSt	=	*Anatolian Studies*
AoF	=	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
AOS	=	American Oriental Series (New Haven)
AS	=	Assyriological Studies (Chicago)
Augapfel	=	Julius Augapfel, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden aus der Regierungszeit Artaxerxes I. und Darius II.*, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 59, 3 (1917)
BASOR	=	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BE	=	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts (Philadelphia)
BiMes	=	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica (Malibu, California)
BiOr	=	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BM	=	tablets in the collection of the British Museum
Bogaert *Banque*	=	Raymond Bogaert, *Les origines antiques de la banque de dépôt* (Leiden, 1966)
Borger *Esarh.*	=	Rykle Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*, Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 6 (1956)

CAD	=	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago*, edited by I. J. Gelb, A. Leo Oppenheim et al. (Chicago and Glückstadt, 1956–)
Camb.	=	Johann Nepomucen Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cambyses, König von Babylon*, Babylonische Texte, VIII-IX (Leipzig, 1890)
Cardascia, "Le fief"	=	Guillaume Cardascia, "Le fief dans la Babylonie achéménide", pp. 57-88 in *Les liens de vassalité et les immunités*, Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin 1, 2nd edition (Brussels, 1958)
Cardascia *Murašû*	=	Guillaume Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašû, une famille d'hommes d'affaires à l'époque perse (455-403 av. J.-C.)* (Paris, 1951)
CBS	=	tablets in the Collections of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia
Clay, "Aramaic Indorsements"	=	Albert T. Clay, "Aramaic Indorsements on the Documents of the Murashû Sons", pp. 287-321 in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, edited by R. F. Harper et al. (Chicago, 1908)
Coquerillat *Palmeraies*	=	Denise Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies et cultures de l'Eanna d'Uruk (559-520)*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 8 (Berlin, 1968)
CT	=	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum (London)
Cyr.	=	Johann Nepomucen Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon*, Babylonische Texte, VII (Leipzig, 1890)
DAFI	=	*Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran*
Dandamayev, "Achaemenid Babylonia"	=	Muhammad A. Dandamayev, "Achaemenid Babylonia", pp. 296-311 in *Ancient Mesopotamia—Socio-Economic History*, edited by I. M. Diakonoff (Moscow, 1969)
Dandamayev, "Foreign Slaves"	=	Muhammad A. Dandamayev, "Foreign Slaves on the Estates of the Achaemenid Kings and their Nobles", printed separatim from *XXV International Congress of Orientalists, Papers presented by the U.S.S.R. Delegation* (Moscow, 1960)
Dar.	=	Johann Nepomucen Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon*, Babylonische Texte, X-XI (Leipzig, 1897)
DB	=	trilingual inscription of Darius I at Bisitun (Behistan)
DLZ	=	*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*
DNc	=	trilingual inscription of Darius I at Naqš-e Rustām

DNd = trilingual inscription of Darius I at Naqš-e Rustām

Durand, *TBER* = Jean-Marie Durand, *Textes babyloniens d'époque récente*, Études assyriologiques (Paris, 1981)

Ebeling *Wagenpferde* = Erich Ebeling, *Bruchstücke einer mittelassyrischen Vorschriftensammlung für die Akklimatisierung und Trainierung von Wagenpferden*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Orientforschung 7 (Berlin, 1951)

Eilers *Beamtennamen* = Wilhelm Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen in der keilschriftlichen Überlieferung*, I, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 25, 5 (Leipzig, 1940)

Festschrift Eilers = *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers, ein Dokument der internationalen Forschung*, edited by Gernot Wiessner (Wiesbaden, 1967)

Figulla *Cat.* = Hugo Heinrich Figulla, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, 1 (London, 1961)

FuB = *Forschungen und Berichte*

GGA = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*

Gibson-Biggs *Seals* = *Seals and Sealings in the Ancient Near East*, edited by McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 6 (Malibu, California, 1977)

Grayson *Chronicles* = A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5 (Locust Valley, New York, 1975)

HAU = Josef Kohler and Arthur Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden aus der Spätzeit des babylonischen Schrifttums* (Leipzig, 1911)

Hinz, *Nebenüberlieferungen* = Walther Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, 3. Reihe, 3 (Wiesbaden, 1975)

IM = tablets in the collections of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad

IOS = *Israel Oriental Studies*

JA = *Journal asiatique*

JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

Jastrow *Dict.* = Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (reprint New York, 1950)

JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*

JCS = *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*

JESHO = *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*

JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

Joannès, *TEBR* = Francis Joannès, *Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente*, Études assyriologiques (Paris, 1982)

JQR = *Jewish Quarterly Review*

Kinnier Wilson *Wine Lists*	=	J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists*, Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud, 1 (London, 1972)
König, *Persika*	=	Friedrich Wilhelm König, *Die Persika des Ktesias von Knidos*, Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft 18 (Graz, 1982)
Koschaker *Bürgschaftsrecht*	=	Paul Koschaker, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Bürgschaftsrecht* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1911)
Kümmel *Familie*	=	Hans Martin Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt im spätbabylonischen Uruk*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft 20 (Berlin, 1979)
L-29-	=	tablets in the "Hilprecht Bequest" of the University Museum, Philadelphia
Landsberger *Brief*	=	Benno Landsberger, *Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an König Esarhaddon*, Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. 28, 6 (Amsterdam, 1965)
LBAT	=	*Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts*, copied by T. G. Pinches and J. N. Strassmaier, prepared by A. J. Sachs and J. Schaumberger (Providence, 1955)
Löw *Flora*	=	Immanuel Löw, *Die Flora der Juden* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1924-1934)
Moore *Michigan Coll.*	=	Ellen Whitley Moore, *Neo-Babylonian Documents in the University of Michigan Collection* (Ann Arbor, 1939)
MSL	=	Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon; Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon (Rome, 1937–)
Nbk.	=	Johann Nepomucen Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, König von Babylon*, Babylonische Texte, V-VIa (Leipzig, 1889)
Nbn.	=	Johann Nepomucen Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon*, Babylonische Texte, I-IV (Leipzig, 1889)
Ni	=	tablets excavated at Nippur, in the collections of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul
OECT	=	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
OIP	=	Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)
OLZ	=	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
Or.	=	*Orientalia*
Parker and Dubberstein, *Chronology*	=	Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.—A.D. 75*, Brown University Studies 19 (Providence, 1956)
PBS	=	University of Pennsylvania, The Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section
Petschow *Pfandrecht*	=	Herbert Petschow, *Neubabylonisches Pfandrecht*, Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, philologisch-historische Klasse, 48, 1 (Berlin, 1956)
PFT	=	Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Oriental Institute Publications 92 (Chicago, 1969)

PTT	=	George G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, Oriental Institute Publications 65 (Chicago, 1948)
PWRE	=	*Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, neue Bearbeitung begonnen von Georg Wissowa (Munich, 1893–)
R	=	*The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, edited by Henry Creswicke Rawlinson (London, 1861-1884)
RA	=	*Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*	=	Gerhard Ries, *Die neubabylonischen Bodenpachtformulare*, Münchener Universitätsschriften, Juristische Fakultät, Abhandlungen zur rechtswissenschaftlichen Grundlagenforschung 16 (Berlin, 1976)
RLA	=	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1932–)
ROMCT	=	Royal Ontario Museum Cuneiform Texts (Toronto)
Salonen *Agricultura*	=	Armas Salonen, *Agricultura Mesopotamica*, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae 149 (Helsinki, 1968)
Salonen *Hippologica*	=	Armas Salonen, *Hippologica Accadica*, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae 100 (Helsinki, 1956)
E. Salonen, *Erwerbsleben*	=	Erkki Salonen, *Über das Erwerbsleben im alten Mesopotamien*, Studia Orientalia 41 (Helsinki, 1970)
San Nicolò *Prosopographie*	=	Mariano San Nicolò, *Beiträge zu einer Prosopographie neubabylonischer Beamten der Zivil- und Tempelverwaltung*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1941, II, 2
San Nicolò-Ungnad *NRV*	=	Mariano San Nicolò and Arthur Ungnad, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden*, I: *Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden der Berliner Museen aus vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Leipzig, 1935)
SBAW	=	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Abteilung (Munich)
SHAW	=	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Abteilung (Heidelberg)
SÖAW	=	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
Studia Pagliaro	=	*Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata* (Rome, 1969)
Studi Arangio-Ruiz	=	*Studi in onore di Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz nel XLV anno del suo insegnamento* (Naples, 1953)
TCS	=	Texts from Cuneiform Sources (Locust Valley, New York)

TuM	=	Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena (Leipzig)
UCP	=	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology (Berkeley, California)
UET	=	Ur Excavations, Texts (London)
Unger *Babylon*	=	Eckhard Unger, *Babylon, die heilige Stadt nach der Beschreibung der Babylonier* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1931)
VAS	=	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler (Berlin)
VDI	=	*Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*
von Voigtlander *Bisitun*	=	Elizabeth N. von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great, Babylonian Version*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum I, I, 2, 1 (London, 1978)
VT	=	*Vetus Testamentum*
WO	=	*Die Welt des Orients*
WVDOG	=	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Berlin)
WZKM	=	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
YBC	=	tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection
YOS	=	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts
ZA	=	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*; *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*
ZDMG	=	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZSS	=	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung*, romanistische Abteilung

Other Abbreviations

Acc.	=	accession year
Babyl.	=	Babylonian
DN	=	divine name
GN	=	geographical name
le. ed.	=	left edge
lo. ed.	=	lower edge
n.d.	=	no (preserved) date
NF	=	Neue Folge
NS	=	New Series, Nova Series
NN	=	proper name
obv.	=	obverse
OP	=	Old Persian
PN	=	personal name
r., rev.	=	reverse
ri. ed.	=	right edge
up. ed.	=	upper edge
wr.	=	written

PREFACE

In the sixth century B.C. the Achaemenid Persian Empire took control of all western Asia and some adjacent territories. The speed and range of its conquests were unprecedented in ancient history. Its rulers made their vast, disparate holdings into a state that endured for two hundred years, until it was conquered in turn and fragmented.

The portrayal of the Achaemenid Empire is fundamental to ancient history in two senses. The rise of the Empire and the course of its conflict with Hellenic states were leading themes for the Classical historians whose works gave modern European perceptions of pre-Classical antiquity their initial form. Later, the inscriptions of the Achaemenids themselves were the basis for the modern decipherment of cuneiform writing, an accomplishment that led to a thorough transformation of the views formed by the Classical historians.

Nevertheless, Achaemenid history is imperfectly portrayed. The formation of the Empire is reasonably well documented, but the course of its later history is not. If the Empire that Alexander the Great conquered differed from the one that Cyrus the Great founded, the nature of the difference is still elusive. Texts and artifacts from Greece, Egypt, Judea, Anatolia, Babylonia, and even from Persia proper yield much specific information, but it is couched in sharply different terms and frames of reference. Few modern scholars are able to command all of it with equal competence. To a great extent, the history of the Achaemenid Empire is a reflected image assembled from episodes in the histories of its subjects and its adversaries.

This study exemplifies those circumstances. It deals with a single archive of Babylonian texts from the midpoint of Achaemenid history. It examines those texts both against the background of provincial social and economic history and against the background of imperial political history. It is governed by two general areas of concern: the policies and institutions that contributed to the remarkable durability of the Empire, and the specific effects of long-lived Achaemenid rule on the provincial society of Babylonia. It is not a frontal assault on those topics, but a case study that contributes, I hope, to their elucidation.

The case that is studied here is not chosen idly. The Murašû Archive is the largest and most revealing source from Babylonia during the last hundred and fifty years of Achaemenid rule, and Babylonia was central to Achaemenid history in significant

ways. When Babylon fell to Alexander, Achaemenid resistance continued for some time, but it was the resistance of an Iranian state. The Empire had ceased to exist.

I consider the chief shortcoming this work to be its specificity, a shortcoming largely imposed by the limits of the contemporary sources. The central proposition made here about the relationships between imperial political history and the particulars of Babylonian archival texts cannot be verified with the explicit evidence of the texts that are analyzed. Yet I trust that this proposition has the strength of a good historical hypothesis, in that it affords a means of ordering and evaluating other evidence.

This judgment of weakness and strength was one of the considerations that led me to rewrite the earlier form of this work, a doctoral dissertation submitted to The University of Michigan in 1974. A revival in the study of later Achaemenid history and late Babylonian texts has begun to permit serious comparisons between the Murašû texts and independent contemporary documents, and also to permit my propositions to be judged and amended in the light of new evidence and fresh historiography.

When I began the process of revision, I tried to follow the advice of my teacher, George Cameron, who offered the maxim that what was not broken should not be fixed. Nevertheless, I found it necessary to reconsider every statement and every inference in an effort to serve an intended audience that includes not only Assyriologists but also colleagues from related areas of anthropology and history. The substance of the argument and the order of presentation are not greatly changed from their earlier form. I have added a general introduction, indulged in some additional interpretive speculation, abridged some parts of the argument and expanded others. I have added records dealing with the excavation of the Murašû texts and new autographed copies of many tablets and fragments. I have corrected many errors of detail, both in the main discussion and in the text-editions.

No doubt other errors remain, and for these I take sole responsibility. For the merits of this work I share credit gladly and gratefully with the many persons who helped me complete it.

I have been indebted from the outset of this study to Erle V. Leichty for suggesting that I work on the Murašû Archive, and to Maurits Van Loon for relinquishing a prior claim to the unpublished texts. For permission to publish texts and archival materials in the collections of the University Museum, I thank Erle V. Leichty, Åke W. Sjöberg, and Barry Eichler, Curators of the Babylonian Section; Barbara Wilson, archivist of the Museum; and the Trustees. For permission to publish texts in the British Museum, I thank Edmond Sollberger, former Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities, and the Trustees. For permission to examine texts in the

Istanbul Archaeological Museums, I thank the late Necati Dolunay, former Director of the Museums, and Veysel Donbaz, curator of the tablet collections, whose collaboration made the examination of those texts fruitful. I am profoundly grateful to all of these persons for the warm hospitality that I enjoyed at their institutions.

George G. Cameron, Charles Krahmalkov, Louis L. Orlin, and Henry T. Wright were the patient supervisors of the dissertation from which this book stems. During the long course of my research I have received generous criticism and crucial information from many individuals, notably from Robert McC. Adams, Guillaume Cardascia, Muhammad A. Dandamayev, Ilya Gershevitch, Richard T. Hallock, Keith Hart, Manfred Mayrhofer, Joachim Oelsner, Erica Reiner, Rüdiger Schmitt, and Ran Zadok. Carol Beeman's patient support abetted my production of the first version and the early stages of my revision. Harvey Weiss, Vincent Pigott, and Henry and Emily Moss gave me lodging for long periods during my work on the tablets. Among those who kindly read the manuscript in its various stages, Richard Ford and Carol Kramer gave it the demanding scrutiny of staunch friendship. Peter Daniels and L. Paula Woods gave expert assistance in editing the copy. The Michigan Society of Fellows provided the favorable circumstances under which the project was undertaken. My colleagues at the Universities of Michigan and Chicago provided counsel, encouragement, and the atmosphere of inquiry in which the work could be completed. Thanks to Robert McC. Adams, the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago helped underwrite the costs of publication. I offer my sincere gratitude to all of these individuals and institutions.

It is difficult for me to gauge the debt owed to those members of my family who work on economics, history, and politics. I stubbornly refused to submit my work to their judgment until it was materially complete. Yet I cannot deny that the concerns among which I was reared contributed profoundly to the formation of the ideas put forward here. I hope the results testify to my appreciation.

CHAPTER I

ACHAEMENID BABYLONIA, THE MURAŠÛ ARCHIVE, AND THE MURAŠÛ FIRM

The first series of American excavations at the ruins of Nippur, in central Babylonia, went on intermittently between 1888 and 1900. The third of four campaigns began in April of 1893, under the direction of John Henry Haynes. During the early months of the season work was concentrated on a mound in the northwestern part of the site, called Camp Hill [1].

At the end of May workmen began to find cuneiform tablets on the floor of a small room about six meters below the surface of the mound. They cleared the room between May 27 and June 3. They recovered from it about 330 intact tablets, 400 or more damaged tablets and fragments, and 20 small clay tags with seal impressions. In the following week the crew searched for more tablets in adjoining areas, but they found none.

Haynes sent the tablets on to Istanbul. Hermann Vollrat Hilprecht examined them there in 1894. In 1898 Hilprecht published his identification of the texts as late Babylonian records of a business house which he dubbed "Murašû Sons of Nippur", after the ancestor of the firm's chief members [2]. The group of tablets came to be known as the Murašû Archive.

The texts had been drafted and the Archive compiled during the last half of the fifth century B.C., in the reigns of the Persian kings Artaxerxes I, Darius II, and Artaxerxes II. Contemporary Babylonian texts are scarce. The Murašû Archive is still the largest single source of written evidence on conditions in Babylonia at a time when the Persian Empire's political form had matured, its hold on its provinces was established, and its effects on Babylonian society had begun to tell.

[1] Camp Hill is marked as feature VIII on the general plan of Nippur published by H. V. Hilprecht, *The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia*, Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series D (Philadelphia, 1904), 305. The same map is adapted in André Parrot, *Archéologie mésopotamienne, les étapes* (Paris, 1946), 145. Camp Hill is "Mound I" in the nomenclature used by other early excavators at Nippur: J. H. Haynes, J. P. Peters, and Clarence Fisher; see Fisher, *Excavations at Nippur*, Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1905), 10 n. 1 and fig. 2. See also below, p. 160 fig. 12.

[2] Hilprecht, BE 9, p. 13. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, Hilprecht's identification of the Murašû Archive's provenience is assumed to be correct. For further discussion and documentation, see Appendix I, below.

Achaemenid Babylonia

Cuneiform texts from earlier Achaemenid Persian reigns are far more numerous. Many are refractory as historical sources, but together they show the outlines of Mesopotamian history under the first Achaemenid kings.

After several years of preparation, Cyrus II, the Great, invaded northern Babylonia in the autumn of 539 B.C. His forces crushed armed resistance quickly, advanced from Sippar to the capital, and entered Babylon unopposed (see map, fig. 1). Cyrus himself came to Babylon and assumed control at the end of October [3].

With this conquest Cyrus added to his possessions a state already at the height of its fortunes. Although Babylonia had suffered heavily from wars with Assyrian armies on its territory during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., between 626 and 539 it had entered a period of revival. The first ruler of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, Nabopolassar (see table of rulers, fig. 2), had expelled the Assyrians from Babylonia and then supported Median armies in the destruction of the Assyrian kingdom. Nebuchadnezzar II and his successors had acquired a tributary empire extending across Syria and Palestine to the Arabian oases and the border of Egypt. By the time of the last Neo-Babylonian monarch, Nabonidus, Babylonia had entered a period of sustained growth in population and wealth, and this trend continued through the succeeding eras of Achaemenid, Seleucid, Parthian, and Sassanian rule [4].

When Cyrus took Babylonia he tampered little with it. Radical change was neither desirable nor immediately practical. Cyrus's Babylonian inscriptions depict him as a conservative, summoned by Babylonian gods to uphold Babylonian institutions. His longest formal text, the Cyrus Cylinder, is patterned after inscriptions of the Assyrian king Aššurbanipal, who had become in historical memory the model of a benign universal emperor [5]. The titulature prescribed for use in Babylonian legal records called Cyrus both "King of Babylon" and "King of (all) the Lands" [6]. For

[3] The main Babylonian accounts of Cyrus's conquest are the Nabonidus Chronicle (A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, TCS 5 [1975], 104-111) and the Cyrus Cylinder (P.-R. Berger, *ZA* 64 [1975], 192-234).

[4] Robert McC. Adams, *Heartland of Cities, Surveys of Ancient Settlement and Land Use on the Central Floodplain of the Euphrates* (Chicago, 1981), 177 ff.

[5] Jánoš Harmatta, "Les modèles littéraires de l'édit babylonien de Cyrus", in *Hommage universel*, Acta Iranica, 1re Série: Commémoration Cyrus, I (Leiden and Tehran, 1974), 29-44; cf. Margaret Cool Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, Acta Iranica, 3e Série: Textes et mémoires, IX (Leiden, 1979), 37 f. and Amélie Kuhrt, "The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy", *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 25 (1983), 88 f.

[6] Detailed description and analysis of Cyrus's Babylonian titulature appears in William H. Shea, "An Unrecognized Vassal King of Babylon in the Early Achaemenid Period", *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 9 (1971), 51-67 and 99-128, 10 (1972), 88-117 and 147-178.

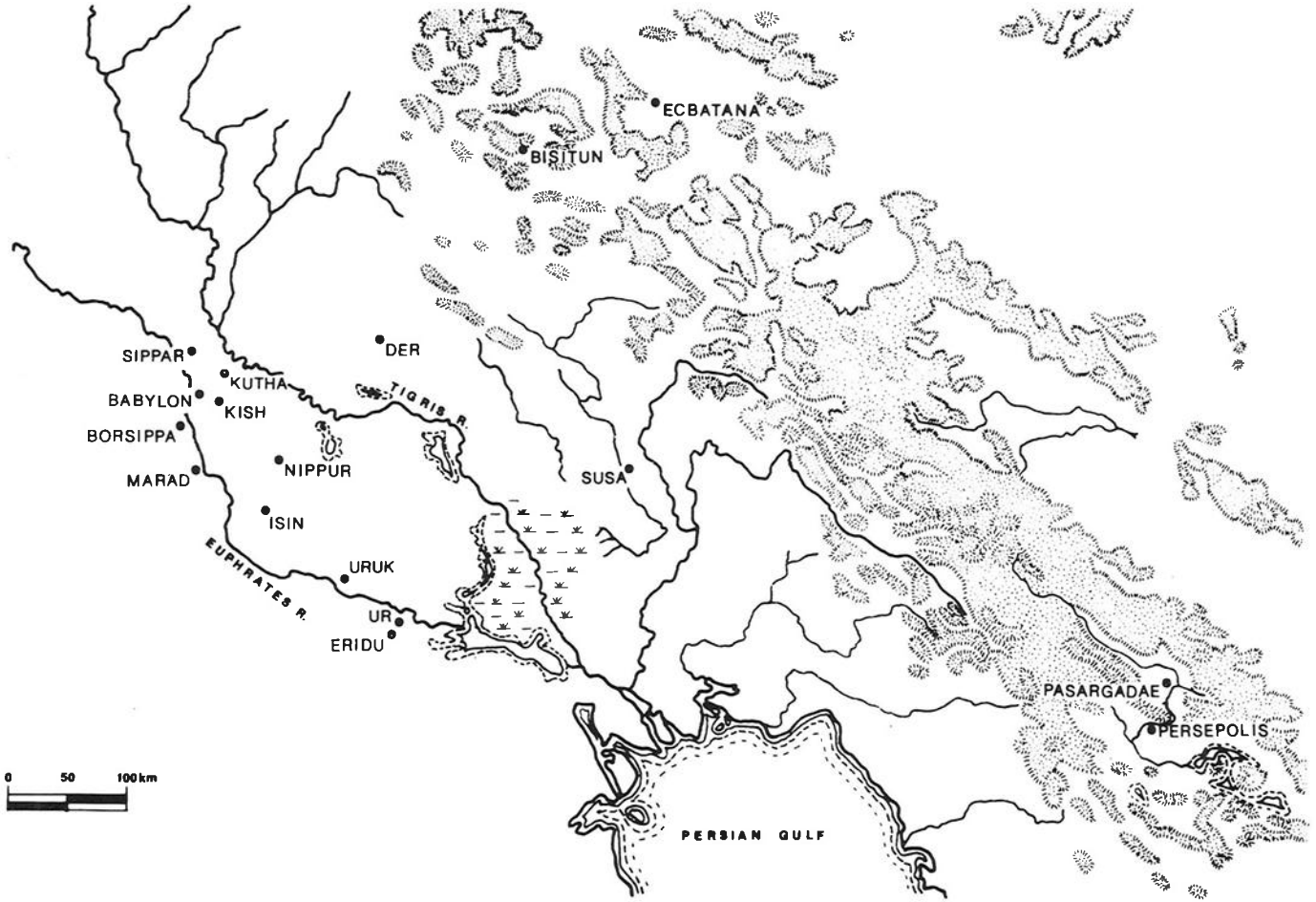


Fig. 1. Babylonia and western Iran: major sites of Achaemenid times.

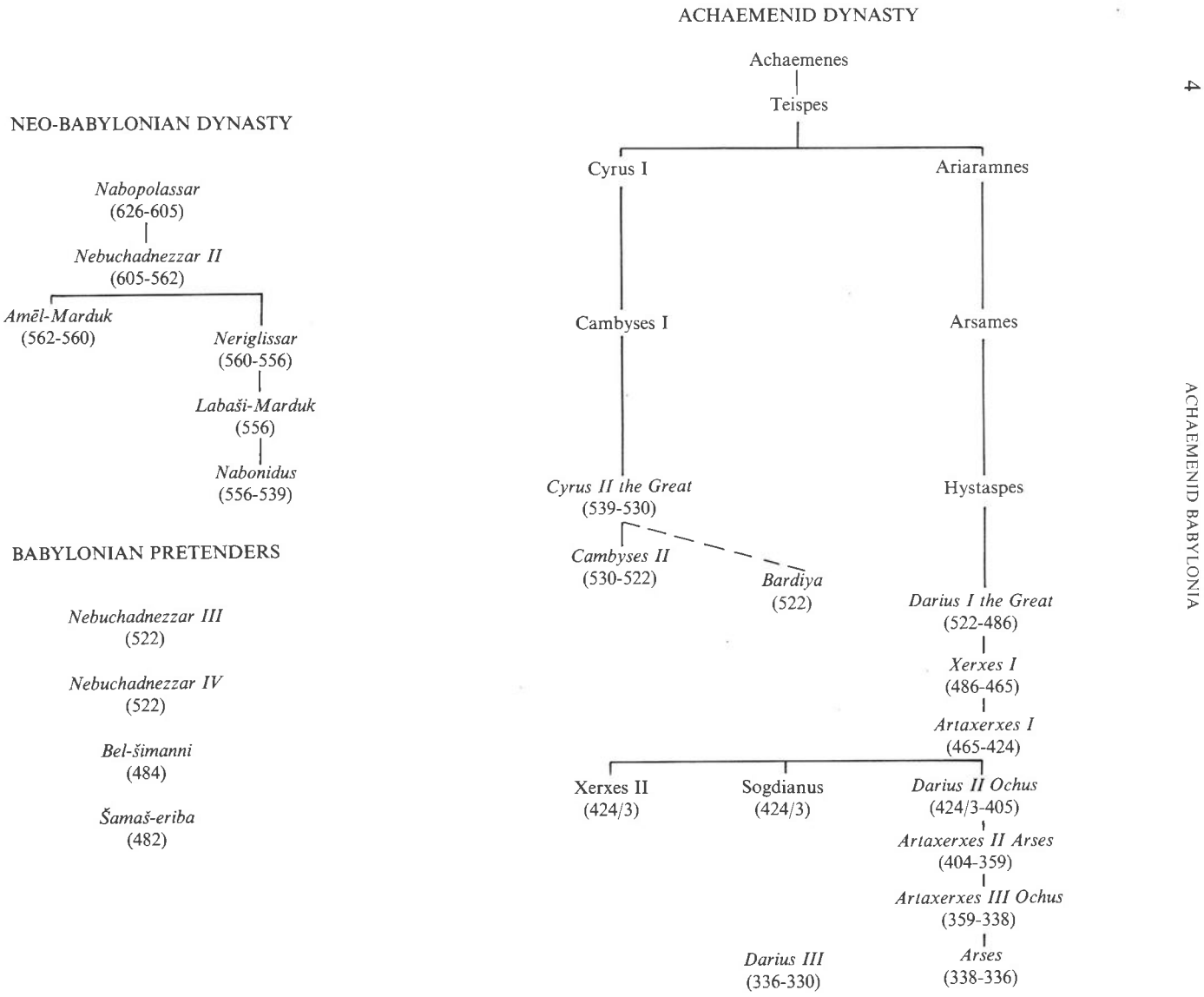


Fig. 2. Babylonian and Achaemenid rulers. The names of those kings who were recognized in indigenous Babylonian sources are italicized.

a short time the crown prince Cambyses was Cyrus's co-regent, also with the title "King of Babylon" [7]. The satrap Gobryas held the title "governor of Babylon and Across-the-River (i.e., the Euphrates)"; his administrative domain was nominally coextensive with the former Babylonian Empire [8]. With these outward signs, Cyrus's administration conceded the integrity of Babylonia as a political unit in the growing Iranian conquest state. Similarly, day-to-day records from Cyrus's reign show few signs of change in the pattern of Neo-Babylonian legal and administrative controls. They show no signs of immediate political disturbance. In effect, they live up to the promise which Cyrus makes in Xenophon's narrative of early Persian conquests: that the defeated Babylonians would see no change in their means and mores, but only in their masters [9]. Cyrus had taken control of the wealthiest and most populous state of western Asia. He had become King of Babylon, but Babylonia had not yet become Persian. Under new rulers the old empire was enclosed, but outwardly undivided and unaltered.

Cyrus died on campaign in 530 B.C. The royal succession was smooth. Date-formulae of legal texts show that Cambyses II was promptly recognized as "King of Babylon and the Lands" [10]. Secure in the control of his father's conquests, Cambyses invaded Egypt in 525 B.C. He spent the balance of his reign there. Babylonia remained quiet under its satrap. Babylonian texts show no sign of overt unrest until 522 B.C.

In that year, while Cambyses was in Egypt, a man who claimed to be Bardiya, a son of Cyrus the Great, took the throne in Iran. The Bisitun inscription of Darius the Great and Herodotus's narrative of the events both insist that the man was an

[7] The texts documenting the coregency of Cyrus and Cambyses date from the early part of Cyrus's Babylonian reign (538/7 B.C.), not the end (530 B.C.). See M. San Nicolò, *Beiträge zu einer Prosopographie neubabylonischer Beamten der Zivil und Tempelverwaltung*, SBAW 1941, II/1, 51-55 (= San Nicolò *Prosopographie*), despite W.H. Dubberstein, *AJSL* 55 (1938), 417-419 and R.A. Parker and W.H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.-A.D. 75*, Brown University Studies, 19 (1956), 14 (= Parker and Dubberstein, *Chronology*); cf. also M.A. Dandamayev, *Persien unter den ersten Achämeniden (6. Jhdt. v. Chr.)*, trans. by H.D. Pohl, Beiträge zur Iranistik, 8 (Wiesbaden, 1976), 100 f. Recently published texts from the Sippar temple archive also favor the early dating. Note especially CT 56 192:2-7, a document referring to a payment in arrears since the fifteenth year of Nabonidus and settled in the first year of Cambyses, King of Babylon; and CT 57 56 r. 7-10, referring in a broken passage to the seventeenth year (scil. of Nabonidus) and to the first year of "[Cambyses, King of] Babylon, son of [Cyrus, King of] the Lands". See also CT 55 731; CT 56 142, 149, and 294; and CT 57 345 and 369.

[8] Oscar Leuze, *Die Satrapieneinteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromlande von 520-320*, Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, 11/4 (1935; reprinted 1972), 181-192; San Nicolò *Prosopographie*, 54 ff.; W. Röllig, "Gubaru", *RLA* 3, 671; Ran Zadok, "Iranians and Individuals Bearing Iranian Names in Achaemenian Babylonia", *IOS* 7 (1977), 91.

[9] Cyropaedeia 4.4.10 f.; cf. Pierre Briant, "Contrainte militaire, dépendence rural et exploitation des territoires en Asie achéménide", *Index* 8 (1978-79), 52 (now reprinted in *Rois, tributs et paysans*, Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 269 [1982]).

[10] Parker and Dubberstein, *Chronology*, 14.

impostor, a Magian named Gaumata (in Herodotus, Smerdis)[11]. Modern scholars remain divided in opinion on the man's identity and legitimacy[12]. Contemporaries were not. Babylonian scribes, considering Bardiya's proximity enough to establish his claim, wrote date-formulae which acknowledged him as king. Darius's account concedes that Bardiya took control of the whole Empire[13].

Cambyses left Egypt to confront Bardiya, but he died on his way east. His death did not settle the political issue. A group of seven Persian aristocrats organized a counter-coup and killed Bardiya six months after he had assumed power. One of the conspirators claimed the imperial throne for himself in September, 522 B.C. He was Darius, a distant relative of Cyrus and Cambyses[14].

The political bonds which held the Persian Empire together were strained by Bardiya's usurpation. Darius's usurpation broke them. The lands which Cyrus had taken, first by the overthrow of the Median royal house in his own coup d'état, and then by his meteoric career of conquest, had now been under Persian rule for a generation. The pace of conquest had slowed. Enough time had passed for fresh political resentments and divisions of interest to develop, and for old ones to reappear, among the elites of both the Iranian conquerors and the subject nations. When Cyrus's immediate line came to an end, movements of secession broke out in provinces from Egypt to central Iran.

The strengths and constituencies of the uprisings which contested Darius's claim to the Empire are not clearly evident; only their suppression is well documented. According to Darius's own account, some of the insurgent leaders claimed descent from those dynasties which Cyrus had deposed in Media, Elam, and Babylonia.

[11] Herodotus iii.61. Darius, Bisitun Inscription (= DB): (a) Old Persian: Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian*, AOS 33 (New Haven, 1953), 116-134; (b) Babylonian: Elizabeth von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great, Babylonian Version*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part 1, Vol. 2, No. 1 (London, 1978) (= von Voigtlander *Bisitun*); (c) Elamite: François Vallat, "Corpus des inscriptions royales en élamite achéménide", (Thèse de doctorat de III[e] cycle, Paris, 1977; to be published in Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum); (d) Aramaic: Jonas C. Greenfield and Bezalel Porten, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great, Aramaic Version*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part 1, Vol. 5, No. 1 (London, 1982). Extended discussion of the textual history of DB, with previous literature: Josef Wiesehöfer, *Der Aufstand Gaumātas und die Anfänge Dareios' I.*, Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Alte Geschichte (Bonn, 1978), 9-42.

[12] Recently: Dandamayev, *Persien unter den ersten Achämeniden*, 108 ff.; Wiesehöfer, *Der Aufstand Gaumātas*, 65 ff.

[13] Parker and Dubberstein, *Chronology*, 14 f.; DB §§ 11-12. The Babylonian version specifies Bardiya's control of Babylonia, a statement omitted in the other versions: von Voigtlander *Bisitun*, 14 f.:15-19, cf. Rüdiger Schmitt, "Zur babylonischen Version der Bīsutūn-Inschrift", *AfO* 27 (1980), 110.

[14] On the much-discussed issues of the treatment of the co-conspirators in DB and in Classical sources, Darius's position among the conspirators, and Darius's genealogical claim to the throne, see: Fritz Gschnitzer, *Die sieben Perser und das Königtum des Dareios, ein Beitrag zur Achaimenidengeschichte und zur Herodotanalyse*, SHAW 1977 No. 3; Wiesehöfer, *Der Aufstand Gaumātas*, 168 ff.; Dandamayev, *Persien unter den ersten Achämeniden*, 157 ff.

Nominally they aimed to re-establish the separate kingdoms which Cyrus had conquered but not dismantled[15]. Darius's apologia depicts him as required not only to reconquer Cyrus's empire, but also to reshape it.

Darius's Bisitun inscription describes two uprisings in Babylonia. Both insurgent leaders presented themselves as sons of Nabonidus. Both assumed the royal name Nebuchadnezzar. Both, Nebuchadnezzar III and Nebuchadnezzar IV, were recognized as king by the notaries who drafted legal records in Babylonia itself[16].

Darius defeated Nebuchadnezzar III and occupied Babylon late in 522 B.C. After his departure, Nebuchadnezzar IV reopened the insurrection. One of Darius's generals killed the second rebel near the end of 521. Babylonian texts were again dated by regnal years of Darius as "King of Babylon and the Lands" without further disturbance until Darius' death in 486 B.C.[17].

In most outward aspects, Darius's reconquest of Babylonia was simply a rehearsing of Cyrus's original conquest. Resistance was suppressed quickly, without great carnage, and without much damage to the institutions through which the masters of Babylonia extracted its wealth. Other territories were less pliant and less fortunate[18].

Yet changes of a general order were soon under way. The long reign of Darius marked the turn from the Empire's first period of expansion to its imperial age. Rapid territorial growth came to an end. Darius began to propagate an imperial ideology and political regime, which his successors were to consolidate.

Darius's Old Persian inscriptions acknowledge his Empire's polymorphous character with their repeated boast of rule over "many lands with many kinds of people". They do not present Darius as the successor to the diverse political traditions of those lands. They insist instead that the many lands were subordinated to the Empire bestowed on the Persians and ruled by Achaemenids[19]. Darius's

[15] In a similar vein, Aristotle, Politics Γ 1284a 41b 3; cf. Richard Bodéüs, "Le premier cours occidentale sur la royauté achéménide", *L'Antiquité classique* 42 (1973), 466.

[16] Parker and Dubberstein, *Chronology*, 15f.; cf. David B. Weisberg, YOS 17, pp. xix-xxiv, expressing reservations on the historicity of the two Nebuchadnezzars. Texts found at Neirab in Syria include tablets dated by Cambyses, Nebuchadnezzar IV, and Darius: P. Dhorme, *RA* 25 (1928), 53ff., cf. F. M. Fales, *Oriens Antiquus* 12 (1973), 133. Since it now appears that these tablets were actually drafted in Babylonia and later taken to Syria, they are not useful evidence for the extent of political control by the several rulers: I. Eph'al, "The Western Minorities in Babylonia in the 6th-5th Centuries B.C.", *Or.* NS 47 (1978), 86.

[17] Parker and Dubberstein, *Chronology*, 16-17; F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl, "Die babylonische Prätendenten zur Anfangszeit des Darius (Dareios) I.", *BiOr* 25 (1968), 150-153.

[18] Cf. Wiesehöfer, *Der Aufstand Gaumātas*, 221f.; Schmitt, *AfO* 27 (1980), 108.

[19] Extended analysis of the structure, ideology, and formal development of Darius's Old Persian inscriptions: Clarisse Herrenschmidt, "Désignation de l'empire et concepts politiques de Darius Ier, d'après ses inscriptions en vieux-perse", *Studia Iranica* 5 (1976), 33-65. Darius's identification of his

texts became the models for those of succeeding Achaemenids. The artistic canons which gave visible form to this ideology were likewise fixed during Darius's reign and applied in massive programs of palace construction begun at Persepolis, at Susa, and, on a smaller scale, at Babylon [20].

Darius is also credited with a sweeping administrative, legal, and fiscal overhauling of the Empire. The most conspicuous change was a redefinition of provincial boundaries. The standing territorial integrity of the former Babylonian Empire was abridged in favor of smaller, more tractable political units. Early in Darius's reign the satrap Hystanes (Babylonian Uštanu) held office under the title "governor of Babylon and Across-the-River". Perhaps as early as 503, however, and certainly by 480 the province was split in two. Later texts begin to mention governors of Babylonia distinct in name and title from the satraps posted to lands west of the Euphrates [21].

Yet the immediate effect of Darius's changes within Babylonia is hard to trace in any detail. Cuneiform texts from his reign show no abrupt changes in form, distribution, or content. Most are legal and administrative documents; they record ephemeral transactions and local concerns, scarcely responsive to development and change in imperial policy. Texts dated by Achaemenid reigns continue the essential features of texts from the Neo-Babylonian dynasty. Traces of Iranian rule superimposed on the inherited systems of management and recording already began to appear in the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses: rare Iranian loanwords; mentions of property owners with Iranian names and of officials with Iranian titles; and a new terminology of military land tenure [22]. In Darius's reign such features became more frequent and more diverse. Seen locally, Darius's reforms were an acceleration of developments already under way, the gradual bending of Babylonian institutions to the interests of a continental Empire. The results of administrative or political changes began to appear in Babylonian society only gradually.

While these changes were beginning to take effect, centers of political opposition to Achaemenid rule were not yet extinct. Darius's son Xerxes succeeded to the throne in 486 B.C. In Babylonia, he was promptly recognized as "King of Babylon and the

empire and his dynasty was propagated far beyond the court, and understood beyond the borders of the Persian Empire: cf. David Frank Graf, "Medism: the Origin and Significance of the Term", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 104 (1984), 15-30.

[20] Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, 40 and passim. On architectural and artistic remains from Darius's reign in Babylon: E. Haerinck, "Le palais achéménide de Babylone", *Iranica Antiqua* 10 (1973), 108-132; Ursula Seidl, "Ein Relief Dareios' I. in Babylon", *AMI* NF 9 (1976), 125-130.

[21] San Nicolò *Prosopographie*, 57; Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 138; but cf. the more cautious judgment of J. M. Cook, *The Persian Empire* (New York, 1983), 81.

[22] Cf. Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 91-96; M. A. Dandamayev, "Die Lehnsbeziehungen in Babylonien unter den ersten Achämeniden", in *Festschrift Eilers*, 38 ff.

Lands". Early in his reign, however, two short-lived uprisings took place. The insurgent leaders again had Babylonian names, Bel-šimanni and Šamaš-eriba; their aim seems not to have been control of the Empire, but merely secession of Babylonia [23]. Xerxes' response was commensurate. After he suppressed the revolts, he attacked the remaining symbols of Babylonian autonomy. That his troops sacked and burned the main temple of Babylon and carried away the image of its god is questionable [24], but Xerxes himself and his successors abandoned even the title "King of Babylon". The usual title of Persian kings in Babylon documents became simply "King of the Lands" [25].

These formal reprisals did not diminish Babylonia's importance in the Achaemenid Empire. The province was geographically central. Its population was large, concentrated, and still growing. Its economic structure was highly developed. It was a source of immense wealth in crops, manufactured goods, cash, and credit. Even after Xerxes' punitive measures, Babylon and its province supported residences of Persian kings, princes, and courtiers. The city held a royal treasury and archive; in Classical accounts it ranked with Susa as an imperial capital [26].

All the same, Babylonia's political status had changed. No more secession took place there. Although Darius and later kings tolerated the autonomy of petty

[23] Parker and Dubberstein, *Chronology*, 17; Böhl, "Die babylonische Prätendenten zur Zeit des Xerxes", *BiOr* 19 (1962), 110-114.

[24] Xerxes' attack on the temple at Babylon is documented only by Classical authors, with some discrepancies among them and without contemporary Babylonian corroboration. Greek and Latin sources for the events are summarized in A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948), 237 and n. 23; F. Wetzel et al., *Das Babylon der Spätzeit*, WVDOG 62 (1957), 70; and J. M. Bigwood, "Ctesias' Description of Babylon", *American Journal of Ancient History* 3 (1978), 37 and n. 32. Property and personnel of Esagila recur in texts from later reigns: CT 44 76, 77; VAS 3 187; VAS 5 119; Durand, *Textes babyloniens d'époque récente*, pl. 89 AO 26782, pl. 90 AO 26778 (all Artaxerxes); ibid., pl. 6 AO 2569 (Darius II). Note also *bīt makkūr Bēl*, Barton *AJSL* 16 (1900), 67 no. 2 (Artaxerxes II [collated]); Pinches, *PSBA* 19 (1897), 137 (Artaxerxes).

[25] George G. Cameron, "Darius and Xerxes in Babylonia", *AJSL* 58 (1941), 319-325; Böhl, *BiOr* 19 (1962), 111. The change in Xerxes' Babylonian titulature, however, was not as abrupt and thoroughgoing as is commonly supposed. In texts from Babylon and its environs date-formulae from Xerxes' fifth through sixteenth regnal years still give him the titles "King of Persia and Media, King of Babylon, and King of the Lands": OECT 10 171 (Babylon, fifth year); BM 62955 (Babylon, seventh year); BM 64164 (Babylon, tenth year); OECT 10 174 (Babylon, tenth year); OECT 10 175 (Ḫursagkalama, tenth year or later); BM 54087 (Kutha, fourteenth year); BM 54672 (Kutha, sixteenth year). Also "Ki[ng of ...] Babylon," 2NT-327 (= IM 57943, Nippur, tenth year). The older forms of the title also appear in the reign of Artaxerxes I: OECT 10 191 (Ḫursagkalama, year four); *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 15 (1984), 268 no. 4 (Uruk, year twenty-four).

[26] On Persian treasuries in Babylonia, see M. A. Dandamayev, "Bagasarū ganzabara", in *Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft und Kulturkunde, Gedenkschrift für Wilhelm Brandenstein*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, 14 (1968), 235-239. Royal archives in Babylon are alluded to in Ezra 5:17-6:1; see Elias J. Bickerman, "The Edict of Cyrus in Ezra 1", *JBL* 65 (1946), 250f. Xenophon, Cyropaedeia 8.6.22, saying that Babylon was Cyrus's residence for seven months of the year, presumably reflects the schedules of later Great Kings. A Babylonian chronicle fragment mentions a palace of the king at Babylon as late as the reign of Artaxerxes III (Grayson *Chronicles*, 114:6-8). On properties of other court figures, see below, Chapters III and IV.

dynasts on their marches[27], they gradually extinguished the political identity of the great older states which formed the core of the Empire. They entrenched instead a ruling elite, largely of Iranian origin, with close personal ties to the throne. The central provinces became theaters of alliance and conflict within this ruling group. The geographical range of court politics enlarged. In Babylonia, future disturbances were no longer attempts to establish political independence, but rather struggles for control of the imperial throne itself; and as such disturbances developed, they drew in interests from the whole extent of the Empire. By the mid fifth century B.C., Babylonia was transformed from an enclosed tributary nation into an integral province.

The first Achaemenid kings formed, tested, and solidified a political unit of unprecedented size and diversity. For a hundred and thirty years after Xerxes' reign the Empire survived succession crises, wars, and rebellions with its main territories undiminished. But the conditions of this longevity are difficult to discern, because sources for the later history of most of the Persian provinces become episodic.

Just at this period of the Empire's political maturity, Babylonian texts show a drastic change in volume and distribution. Classificatory surveys of epistolary, legal, and administrative texts list more than 3,300 published items from the reigns of Cyrus II through Darius I, a period of about fifty years; the largest groups come from temple archives at Uruk, in southern Babylonia, and at Sippar, in the north. The same surveys list fewer than nine hundred published texts from the reigns of Xerxes I through Darius III, that is, from the last 150 years of Achaemenid rule. Few are temple records; most are private business documents. Some five hundred come from the Murašû Archive of Nippur, and this imbalance is further exaggerated by the publication here of an additional 120 Murašû texts[28].

The historical implications of this change in documentation are uncertain. The change may result from alterations in policy or practice after Darius's administrative reforms and Xerxes' suppression of the last Babylonian revolts[29]. It may reflect increasing replacement during the fifth century of Babylonian cuneiform recording by Aramaic documentation on perishable materials. It may also represent accidents of preservation, discovery, and selective publication[30]. The practical

[27] Briefly: Briant, *Index* 8 (1978-79), 73-75.

[28] M. A. Dandamayev, *Rabstvo v Vavilonii, VII-IV vv. do n. e. (626-331 gg.)* (Moscow, 1974), 8-12, now revised and extended in the English version, *Slavery in Babylonia* (DeKalb, Illinois, 1984), 12-18; J. Oelsner, "Zwischen Xerxes und Alexander: babylonische Rechtsurkunden und wirtschaftstexte aus der späten Achämenidenzeit", *WO* 8 (1976), 312ff. n. 10; cf. Oelsner, "Krisenerscheinungen im Achaimenidenreich im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. u. Z.", in *Hellenische Poleis: Krise—Wandlung—Wirkung*, ed. by Elisabeth C. Welskopf (Berlin, 1974), II, 1043.

[29] Oelsner, *WO* 8 (1976), 311.

[30] Cf. David M. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, Cincinnati Classical Studies, N.S. 1 (Leiden, 1977), 71.

consequences are clearer. Under present circumstances, any view of historical conditions in later Achaemenid Babylonia is dominated by a single major source, the Murašû Archive of Nippur.

The Murašû Archive

Dispersal, Publication, and Study

The Murašû Archive is an extensive source, but control of its contents is imperfect. Although the Archive was excavated as a nearly intact unit, the texts were soon dispersed. The excavators first sent the Murašû texts, along with other finds from Nippur, to the Imperial Ottoman Museum in Istanbul. There, Hilprecht acquired a large number of them for shipment to Philadelphia, where they became part of the Collections of the Babylonian Section (CBS) of the University Museum. Hilprecht also reserved some of the Murašû tablets for his personal collection. Most of these were bequeathed to the University of Jena, and they are now in the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection at the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität. A few of Hilprecht's own tablets, including four from the Murašû Archive, were given on permanent loan to the University Museum; they are held under the rubric "Hilprecht Bequest"[31].

Consequently, the great majority of the Murašû texts arrived by known steps in the collections at Istanbul, Philadelphia, and Jena. In addition, a small but still uncertain number of tablets found their way elsewhere. One tablet was donated by Phoebe Hearst to the Anthropological Museum of the University of California at Berkeley; how Mrs. Hearst obtained it is not known[32]. Four more Murašû texts are in the British Museum. They were purchased in Baghdad and sent to London in 1894, only a year after the excavation of the Archive, and they were accessioned by the Museum in 1896[33]. Further isolated Murašû tablets may still be outstanding in private collections[34].

Publication of autographed texts from the Archive began quickly. The sample made available was large but biased. Most of the copies are found in volumes of the two series published by the University Museum, abbreviated BE and PBS[35]. The principle of selection and arrangement was chronological: BE 9 (1898) contained representative texts from the reign of Artaxerxes I; BE 10 (1904) and PBS 2/1

[31] Museum numbers prefixed with L-29-.

[32] Henry Frederick Lutz, "An Agreement between a Babylonian Feudal Lord and his Retainer in the Reign of Darius II", UCP 9/3 (1928), 269 ff.; A. D. Kilmer, personal communication.

[33] H. H. Figulla, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, I (London, 1961), 65 (BM 12957), 87 (BM 13160), 97 (BM 13252), 98 (BM 13264); see Appendix II, Nos. 34, 40, 44, and 94; Edmond Sollberger and Julian Reade, personal communications.

[34] Alluded to by Clay, PBS 2/1, p. 7.

[35] BE = The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts. PBS = University of Pennsylvania, The Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section.

(1912) attempted to publish all Murašû texts dated in the reign of Darius II[36]. These editorial choices skewed the chronological distribution of the published evidence in favor of the Archive's later years.

Smaller numbers of Murašû texts appeared in other publications, unaffected by this chronological standard. BE 8/1 (1908) included three more[37]. H. F. Lutz published the text donated to Berkeley by Mrs. Hearst in UCP 9/3 (1928)[38]. The Neo- and Late Babylonian texts from Hilprecht's collection in Jena were edited by Oluf Krückmann in TuM 2-3 (1933)[39]; the volume included eighteen new Murašû texts as well as new copies of seven texts previously published in BE 9 and BE 10. Then the flow of publication abated. The number of texts available in these volumes was 502[40].

In addition to their cuneiform texts, many of the Murašû tablets bear short Aramaic inscriptions, written in ink or lightly incised in the clay[41]. Furthermore, most of the tablets bear a number of seal impressions, regularly captioned with the names and titles of the seals' owners. The editors of the main series of texts planned to devote a separate volume to these features[42]. That plan was abandoned, but many seals and Aramaic texts were eventually presented in other formats.

Seal impressions from some published texts were illustrated by the photographic plates accompanying BE 9 and BE 10. Impressions on the Jena tablets were rendered in TuM 2-3 by line drawings. In 1925, Leon Legrain illustrated over two hundred seal impressions from both published and unpublished Murašû tablets in PBS 14[43].

[36] BE 9 1 proved not to be the earliest text of the Archive, as originally supposed, but the latest, dated in the reign of Artaxerxes II (see BE 10, p. 2). Furthermore, the attempt to publish all texts from the reign of Darius II was not wholly successful. Unpublished texts from that reign remained in the Istanbul, London, and Philadelphia collections (F. R. Kraus, "Die Istanbuler Tontafelsammlung", *JCS* 1 [1947], 111; Figulla *Cat.*, 65 [BM 12957], and below p. 14 and Appendix II).

[37] BE 8/1 124, 126, and 127.

[38] UCP = University of California Publications in Semitic Philology.

[39] TuM = Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena.

[40] An inventory of published Murašû texts classified by reign appears in Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašû, une famille d'hommes d'affaires babyloniens à l'époque perse (455-403 av. J.-C.)* (Paris, 1951), ii n. 2 (= Cardascia *Murašû*).

[41] Some of the lightly incised texts are evidently remains of texts which were originally in ink, the remaining marks being the traces left by a hard pen or a stylus dipped in ink.

[42] Albert T. Clay, "Aramaic Indorsements on the Documents of the Murašû Sons", in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, ed. by R. F. Harper et al. (Chicago, 1908), 289 n. 5.

[43] *The Culture of the Babylonians from their Seals in the Collections of the Museum*, PBS 14 (1925), nos. 733-735, 743, 775, 801-999, 1001. See also Legrain, "Some Seals of the Babylonian Collections", *The Museum Journal* 14 (1923), 158-161; R. L. Zettler, "On the Chronological Range of Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Seals", *JNES* 38 (1979), 257-270; and Oelsner, "Zur neu- und spätbabylonischen

Publication of the Aramaic texts, usually called "dockets" or "indorsements", was also checkered. The catalogues accompanying BE 9, BE 10, and PBS 2/1 note which tablets bear Aramaic inscriptions. Hilprecht inserted copies of two dockets into BE 9 after the cuneiform copies of that volume had been assembled[44]. The introduction to BE 10 gave partial copies of several more, cited personal names which occurred in inscriptions on unpublished texts, and presented a table of extant forms of Aramaic letters; twenty-four more dockets were included with the cuneiform copies[45]. In 1908, Albert T. Clay devoted an article entirely to the Aramaic texts[46]. He presented fifty "indorsements" with copies, transliterations, translations, and commentary; these fifty texts included all the Aramaic inscriptions from tablets in BE 9 and BE 10, from tablets to be published in PBS 2/1, and from some of the tablets which remained unpublished[47]. The fifty copies, along with copies of four more dockets, were reproduced in PBS 2/1[48]. All were re-edited in 1970 in Vattioni's survey of alphabetic Aramaic texts on cuneiform tablets, though evidently without collation of the originals[49].

A significant fraction of the Archive—a third of it or more—still remained unpublished in the collections at Philadelphia, London, and Istanbul. In 1974, I offered a preliminary presentation of the 179 remaining tablets and fragments in the University Museum and the 4 tablets in the British Museum[50]. Appendix II, below, includes a corrected edition of 120 of those texts; they are cited hereafter without siglum or museum number, simply as "No. 1", "Nos. 1, 2, 3", and so forth.

The unpublished texts in Istanbul are not yet available for close study, but they can be enumerated. According to Kraus's survey, 152 unpublished Murašû tablets and fragments are in the collections of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums: 75 date from the reign of Artaxerxes I, 14 date from the reign of Darius II, and the rest are without preserved date[51]. Kraus's count was low. In 1975, I accompanied Veysel

Siegelpraxis", in *Festschrift Lubor Matouš*, ed. by B. Hruška and G. Komoróczy (Budapest, 1978), II, 167-186.

[44] BE 9 66a and 71.

[45] BE 10, pp. xviii, 7-8 and 71 f.; BE 10 29, 46, 55 f., 59 f., 68, 74, 78, 87, 99, 104-106, 115 f., 120 f., 125 f., 131 f.

[46] Clay, "Aramaic Indorsements", 287-321.

[47] CBS 4998 (ibid., no. 21); CBS 5153 (ibid., no. 11, with transliteration and translation, p. 303); CBS 5172 (ibid., no. 9); CBS 5186 (ibid., no. 3); CBS 5240 (ibid., no. 47); CBS 5506 (ibid., no. 12); CBS 6132 (ibid., no. 2, with transliteration and translation, p. 299); CBS 12864 (ibid. no. 49); CBS 12924 (ibid. no. 13). See Appendix II, Nos. 4, 37, 99, 16, 35, 112, 58, 3, and 86 respectively.

[48] Pls. 116-123; catalogue, p. 51 f.

[49] F. Vattioni, "Epigrafia aramaica", *Augustinianum* 10 (1970), 493-532.

[50] Matthew Wolfgang Stolper, *Management and Politics in Later Achaemenid Babylonia* (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Near Eastern Studies, The University of Michigan, 1974), II.

[51] Kraus, *JCS* 1 (1947), 111. Introductions to the published texts occasionally refer to unpublished items by their Museum numbers: Ni 496 (BE 9, p. 20 n. 3); Ni 498 (BE 10, p. 68); Ni 500 (BE 9, p. 31); Ni 507 (BE 9, p. 74); Ni 522 (BE 10, p. 69); Ni 525 (BE 9, p. 14 n. 5); Ni 536 (PBS 2/1 p. 52 and pl. 123

Donbaz of the Istanbul Museums' staff in an examination of the Murašû texts in the collections. Our survey found 194 items: 80 date from the reign of Artaxerxes I, and 32 from the reign of Darius II [52].

The total of known Murašû texts and fragments is therefore 879. Joins among unpublished and published pieces reduce this figure by 11 [53]. Even this seemingly exact total, though, is only an approximation of the Archive's original size. Although the overall state of preservation of the Archive is good, many tablets were broken in antiquity or during recovery and transport. Many of the fragments are too small to yield coherent texts and have not yet been joined to larger fragments. It is unlikely that each is the sole surviving piece of a distinct tablet. The Archive in its final ancient form certainly contained somewhat fewer than 868 texts. Haynes's and Hilprecht's estimate of the Archive's size, about 730 items, is probably not far off the mark [54].

In spite of uncertainty about the Archive's size, as the texts became available their special and general features offered a rich field of study. Attention concentrated on two topical areas: the non-Babylonian proper names and lexicon of the texts, which displayed the Persian Empire's linguistic and ethnic diversity; and the texts' contractual form and contents, indicative of legal, social, and economic conditions in Achaemenid Babylonia. With Julius Augapfel's monographic survey of Murašû texts available as of 1917 [55], the keystone of Murašû studies is the work of Guillaume Cardascia. Cardascia's volume on the Archive, published in 1951 [56], is comprehensive in view and painstaking in detail. It must be presupposed as a companion to any further study. The principal aim of Cardascia's book was juridical exposition. Its outstanding result was a clear apprehension of the nature of the Murašû firm's business. In addition, it ranged far into the social and administrative setting which renders the record of the firm's activity historically meaningful.

no. 54); Ni 550 (PBS 2/1, p. 52 and pl. 123 no. 53); Ni 554 (BE 10, p. 72). An unpublished manuscript by H. V. Hilprecht now in the Hilprecht-Sammlung at Jena contains transliterations of some texts in the Istanbul collections, including 54 from the reign of Artaxerxes I: see Oelsner, *Festschrift Lubor Matouš*, II, 170 and 181 f. n. 28.

[52] Thanks are due to Dr. Necati Dolunay, then director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, and to Drs. Veysel Donbaz and Fatma Yıldız, for their hospitality and cooperation. I am not at liberty to cite specifics of unpublished texts in the Istanbul collection, but after examining them I am confident that their evidence is consistent with my remarks on the Archive as a whole.

[53] PBS 2/1 36 + CBS 5200B; TuM 2-3 145 + No. 27; PBS 2/1 143 + Ni 601; PBS 2/1 64 + Ni 2845; No. 97 + Ni 2838; No. 55 + Ni 2851; No. 107 + Ni 12993; PBS 2/1 100 + No. 110 + Ni 12918. Probable but not positive: No. 13 + Ni 2841; No. 25 + Ni 12905.

[54] See Appendix I.

[55] Julius Augapfel, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden aus der Regierungszeit Artaxerxes I. und Darius II.*, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften, 59, No. 3 (1917) (= Augapfel).

[56] Guillaume Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašû, une famille d'hommes d'affaires babyloniens à l'époque perse (455-403 av. J.-C.)* (Paris, 1951) (= Cardascia *Murašû*).

Complementary Sources

The historical framework in which the Archive is to be seen raises problems. It is useful to consider which features of the Archive are specific to it, and which reflect general conditions of the Achaemenid Empire in the fifth century. It is necessary to look in the works of Classical authors for the outlines of Persian political history, and in Oriental sources for help in understanding Persian administrative terminology. Documentary evidence on Achaemenid territories in the late fifth century is less satisfactory than the record of the Empire's formative years [57]. Even so, a wide scattering of nearly contemporary sources bears on the imperial history surrounding the Murašû texts.

Classical Authors

For all the defects of Herodotus's Persian *logoi* [58], Herodotus's narrative is the foundation of Persian history. When his account ends, so does any continuous image of the Empire's development. His account ends well before the time of the Murašû Archive's earliest text. Other Classical authors give some information on the internal history of the Empire in later reigns, though rather little on Babylonia. Their chief concern is commonly with the relations of the Great King with his western governors, on the one hand, and with states of the Mediterranean littoral and the Hellenic world on the other. They devote much attention to the characters and motives of individuals, less to Persian institutions. But some were eyewitnesses to conditions in the Empire's later years — notably Xenophon and the recorders of Alexander's campaigns. Oriental documents from within the Empire show much of their reporting to be correct even if it is cast selectively in Greek expository frameworks [59].

For present concerns the most pertinent Greek source is the surviving fragments of the *Persika* of Ctesias. Ctesias, a physician from Cnidus, was for some time resident at the court of Artaxerxes II. His writings included partisan accounts of the court intrigues during that reign and the preceding one. Despite his intimate acquaintance with his topic, the common opinion of his veracity — both ancient and modern — is one of contempt [60]. Efforts to rehabilitate the writing of Ctesias require extensive

[57] Walther Hinz, "Die Quellen", in *Beiträge zur Achämenidengeschichte*, ed. by G. Walser, *Historia* Einzelschriften, 18 (1972), 5-14, surveys documentary sources for Achaemenid history. For critical evaluation of fifth-century sources in particular, see Oelsner, *Hellenische Poleis*, II, 1042-1045.

[58] D. Hegyi, "Historical Authenticity of Herodotus in the Persian 'Logoi'", *Acta Antiqua* 21 (1973), 73 ff., on recent critical literature.

[59] In defense of the continuing utility of the Classical sources and of the opportunities for extracting new conclusions from even the best known of them, see Briant, "Sources grecques et histoire achéménide", in *Rois, tributs, et paysans*, 491-506.

[60] Plutarch, Artoxerxes i.2; F. Jacoby, "Ktesias", *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertums-*

use of contemporary information before fable and gossip can be separated from facts[61]. Nevertheless, there is no competing account of the events with which Ctesias was nearly contemporary. One must abide by Jacoby's judgment that Ctesias's writing may be considered accurate in general outline where it deals with the reign of Artaxerxes II, and at least usable where it concerns the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II[62].

Aramaic Records

There are numerous Aramaic documents from Egypt that are roughly contemporary with the Murašû texts. The best-known are the papyri from Elephantine and the later finds from Hermopolis[63]. The texts most pertinent here, however, are the Aramaic letters written on leather first published by G. R. Driver in 1951. Their findspot is unknown; their contents associate them with texts from Egypt. They provide unparalleled information on the holdings of Persian nobles and their subordinates. In particular, they deal with affairs of Aršam (Arsames), the Achaemenid satrap of Egypt, who figures not only in Elephantine papyri, but in Murašû texts as well. The Aršam letters have had the benefit of recent critical re-edition[64].

wissenschaft, XI (1922), 2047 (= *PWRE*); J.M. Bigwood, "Ctesias of Cnidus", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 70 (1965), 263-265; Cook, *The Persian Empire*, 21 f.

[61] Some commentators caution that defects in Ctesias may not be original, but faults of epitomizers and translators, while some parts of Ctesias's preserved work are credible. See G. G. Cameron, "The Persian Satrapies and Related Matters", *JNES* 32 (1973), 55 f.; Bigwood, *American Journal of Ancient History* 3 (1978), 32-52; Rüdiger Schmitt, "Die Wiedergabe iranischer Namen bei Ktesias von Knidos im Vergleich zur sonstigen griechischen Überlieferungen", in *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest, 1979), 119-133.

[62] Jacoby, *PWRE* XI (1922), 2047. Similarly Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 18 n. 94. The edition of Ctesias employed here is that of F. W. König, *Die Persika des Ktesias von Knidos*, *AfO* Beiheft 18 (1972) (= König, *Persika*); the Greek text is sufficiently reliable; the commentary justifies the caustic appraisal by Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 15 n. 71.

[63] Elephantine: A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923), collecting the previous publications; E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri, New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven, 1953). Hermopolis: E. Bresciani and M. Kamil, *Le lettere aramaiche di Hermopoli*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morale, storiche, critiche, e filologiche, Memorie, Ser. 8, Vol. 12, fasc. 5 (1966). Annotated translations appear in P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypt*, Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient (Paris, 1972) and B. Porten, *Jews of Elephantine and Arameans of Syene, Aramaic Texts with Translation* (Jerusalem, 1976).

[64] Editions used here are: G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.*, with help from a typescript by E. Mittwoch, W. B. Henning, H. J. Polotsky, and F. Rosenthal, 2nd ed. abridged and rev. (Oxford, 1957; corrected reprint 1965); and John David Whitehead, "Early Aramic Epistolography: The Arsames Correspondence" (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago, 1974); see also Whitehead, "Some Distinctive Features of the Language of the Arsames Correspondence", *JNES* 37 (1978), 119-140, and Jonas C. Greenfield, "Aramaic Studies and the Bible", *VT* Supplement 32 (1981), 126 f.

Royal Inscriptions

The inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings were the starting point for the decipherment of the cuneiform scripts. But they do not chronicle the deeds of Persian kings after Darius I, and they shed little light on life in Achaemenid provinces. Their form and, for the most part, their contents became stereotyped after the reign of Darius I. All the same, they document Old Persian, the language of the rulers, and so they provide the reference point for the interpretation of traces left by Iranian languages and institutions in other languages of the Empire[65].

Achaemenid Elamite Tablets

The most dramatic addition to the sources for Achaemenid history comes from the most poorly understood of the Empire's languages. Elamite administrative tablets were found at Persepolis in two archives, the Treasury texts and the Fortification texts[66]. Hallock's publication of more than two thousand Fortification tablets in particular occasioned a still-growing interpretive literature[67].

The Persepolis texts cover the period between the thirteenth regnal year of Darius I and the seventh year of Artaxerxes I (509-457 B.C.; see fig. 2). They immediately antedate the Murašû texts, the earliest of which comes from the tenth year of Artaxerxes I (454 B.C.). In specifics of form and content, the Persepolis texts are more remote. They record details of administration—chiefly the disbursal of rations, assignment and support of work-groups, control of herds, and auditing of accounts—at the Persepolis court and the local administrative centers of Persis. They have little precise overlap with records of a private business house in Babylonia. But the Persepolis texts are a trove of information on Iranian personal names and administrative terminology, and so they have become indispensible to study of other Achaemenid records. Furthermore, they supply parallel evidence for

[65] Old Persian (= OP) inscriptions are cited according to the sigla assigned by Kent, *Old Persian*, and Mayrhofer, *Supplement zur Sammlung der altpersische Inschriften*, SÖAW 338 (1978). Recent secondary literature is surveyed by R. Schmitt, "Altpersisch-Forschung in den Siebzigerjahren", *Kratylos* 25 (1980, published 1981), 1-66.

[66] George G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, OIP 65 (1948) (= *PTT*); Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, OIP 92 (1969) (= *PFT*); Cameron, "Darius's Daughter and the Persepolis Inscriptions", *JNES* 1 (1942), 214-218; "Persepolis Treasury Tablets, Old and New", *JNES* 17 (1958), 161-176; "New Tablets from the Persepolis Treasury", *JNES* 24 (1965), 167-192; Hallock, "A New Look at the Persepolis Treasury Tablets", *JNES* 19 (1960), 90-100; "Selected Fortification Texts", *DAFI* 8 (1978), 109-136.

[67] The most comprehensive items to date, citing previous works, are: Manfred Mayrhofer et al., *Onomastica Persepolitana*, SÖAW 286 (1973) and Walther Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, III. Reihe, Band 3 (Wiesbaden, 1975) (= Hinz, *Nebenüberlieferungen*); see also Schmitt, *Kratylos* 25 (1980), 37-41, 47-53. For a general survey of the texts' contents and an attempt at historical evaluation, see Hallock, "The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets", pp. 568-608 in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, II: *The Median and Achaemenian Periods* (Cambridge, 1985) (also printed separatim, 1971).

general features of Achaemenid political and administrative behavior which appear with a somewhat different cast in the Murašû texts [68].

The Murašû Firm

The sources for Achaemenid history have thus been much enriched and the number of available Murašû texts somewhat enlarged since the publication of Cardascia's fundamental study of the Archive. Because the analyses of Cardascia and others were based largely on the Archive's internal evidence, they have not been materially altered by new evidence from other sources. And because new Murašû texts are generally consistent in content with those published before, they do not greatly affect earlier conclusions. The positive results of earlier studies stand as basic to another look at the Murašû firm and its environment.

The Murašû texts are records of a single business house. It had no ancient name; no term, at least, appears in the texts which can be accurately rendered as "the Murašû firm". Yet the texts were kept as a group, in a single room; each was drafted in the interests of one or more members of the family descended from Murašû, or in the interests of the family members' agents; members acted as co-proprietors of the business, and individual agents served different members of the family in succession. Beyond these circumstances, the fact that the Archive supports interpretation as a coherent record of complementary activities justifies use of "the Murašû firm" as a historical postulate [69].

Personnel

The Murašû Family

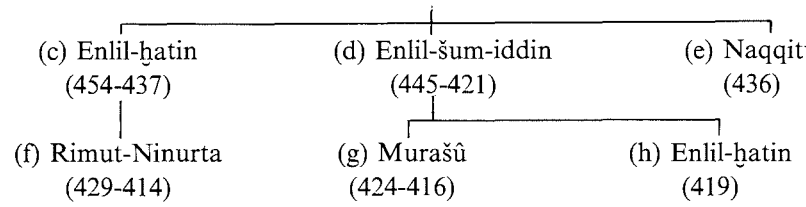
The chief members of the firm were descendants of the Archive's eponym, Murašû. The texts document four generations of his family [70]:

(a) Ḫatin
|
(b) Murašû
(c. 500-445 B.C.)
|

[68] For example: the involvement of very high ranking political figures in seemingly low-level administrative hierarchies; the connections between a pattern of manorial tenure and a state redistributive system effective over a large area; the convertibility between specie and commodities flowing through this system. See Hallock, "The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets", 12f., 26f. and "The Use of Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets", in Gibson-Biggs *Seals*, 128-130; Whitehead, "Early Aramaic Epistolography", 60-64; Briant, *Index* 8 (1978-79), 75-84.

[69] Despite the doubts expressed by Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel* (Philadelphia, 1907), 393; cf. Clay, BE 10, p. 4 and Cardascia *Murašû*, 16f.

[70] Stolper, "The Genealogy of the Murašû Family", *JCS* 28 (1976), 189-200.



Ḫatin (a) never appears as an active participant in the firm's business. His name occurs only twice, as the patronym of the elder Murašû (b)[71]. His lifetime presumably fell in the late sixth century B.C. As it appears in the documents, the Murašû family is roughly coeval with Persian rule in Babylonia.

Ḫatin's son Murašû (b) normally appears only as the ancestor whose mention identifies other members of the family. He is a principal in only two of the preserved texts. One is an unpublished record of debt, dated in the seventeenth year of Artaxerxes I, 448/7 B.C.; Murašû is the creditor[72]. The second records the settlement of litigation over a piece of real estate; it is dated 6/IV/20 Artaxerxes I = July 16, 445 B.C.[73].

The latter text says that Murašû brought suit with the claim that the property at issue had been registered in his name in the twenty-second year of Darius I, 500/499 B.C.; the date of registration fixes the latest possible date of Murašû's reaching an age of legal competence. The suit was settled fifty-five years later; if it began not long before its settlement, Murašû's age was advanced when he raised his claim. The settlement, in fact, was concluded not by Murašû himself, but by his son and legal successor, Enlil-ḫatin (c). Murašû himself had died, or at least retired from the active conduct of his affairs, by 445 B.C.

Enlil-ḫatin (c) was at work in the family's business for some years previously. The range of his activity is scantily documented in the Archive. He appears in only eleven more of the available texts, dated between March 17, 454 B.C. and Oct. 21, 437 B.C. [74].

The great majority of the texts are records of Enlil-ḫatin's brother and his son, Enlil-šum-iddin (d) and Rimut-Ninurta (f), respectively. Texts naming Enlil-šum-iddin date between March 8, 444 B.C. and February 29, 421 B.C.; texts naming Rimut-Ninurta, between Sept. 26, 429 B.C. and an uncertain date in 415/14 B.C.[75]

[71] Ni 525, cf. Hilprecht, BE 9, p. 14 n. 5 and p. 15; No. 106, see Stolper, *JCS* 28 (1976), 192-196.

[72] Ni 525.

[73] No. 106. Babylonian dates are cited here in the form: day (Arabic numerals)/month (Roman numerals)/year (Arabic numerals) ruler's name. Months VI^2 and XII^2 are intecalary seventh and thirteenth months, respectively, of thirteen-month years. Acc. = accession year; n.d. = no (preserved) date. Conversion from Babylonian to Julian dates follows Parker and Dubberstein, *Chronology*.

[74] BE 8/1 124; BE 9 2, 3, 5, 12; Nos. 3, 8, 31, 43, 50, 61. Ni 500 (14/I/26 Artaxerxes I).

[75] Enlil-šum-iddin's earliest certain date (BE 9 3a: 5/XII/20 Artaxerxes I) may be raised slightly by No. 48 (—/—/19 Artaxerxes I), in which his name is probably to be restored. His latest mention is PBS

Three tablets identify Rimut-Ninurta as the son of Enlil-ḫatin[76]; otherwise, he is called "son", i.e., descendant, of Murašû.

Other members of the family rarely figure as participants in the firm's business. The younger Murašû (g) appears in four documents, dated between Oct. 30, 424 B.C. and May 5, 416 B.C.[77]; the younger Enlil-ḫatin (h), in a single text, dated Aug. 28, 419 B.C.[78]; and the only known woman in the genealogy, Naqqitu (e), in a fragment drafted on Aug. 8, 436 B.C.[79]. Except for differences in frequency of mention, no marks of differences in rank or competence among the family members are evident.

During the last years of Rimut-Ninurta's documented life, his management of the business was indirect. After September, 417 B.C., receipts for rents and taxes due from lands nominally under his control no longer record payments made by Rimut-Ninurta in person, but payments made by his agents[80].

Agents and Subordinates

A few texts refer to agents as sharing responsibility with members of the family. They summarize the firm's complement with the terms "brothers" (ŠEŠ.MEŠ), "members of the household" (LÚ.DUMU.É.MEŠ), "agents" (*ālik našparti*), and "servants" (LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ)[81]. One of these terms, *ālik našparti*, "agent", never appears in the Murašû texts as the title of a named individual. It has descriptive, but not identifying value[82]. A second, "brother" (ŠEŠ = *aḫu*)—also "colleague", and occasionally "assistant"[83]—has obviously general sense. The other terms, however, are among the titles which identify named subordinates of the Murašû family. Similar terms characterize subordinates of other figures with whom the firm did business. The use of such appellatives makes possible reconstruction of lines of administrative, economic, or political authority. Some of the titles applied to agents of the firm therefore merit introductory comment[84].

2/1 55 (11/XII/2 Darius II). Rimut-Ninurta: earliest, BE 9 46 (15/VI/36 Artaxerxes I); latest, PBS 2/1 143 (29/—/9 Darius II).

[76] BE 9 46-48.

[77] BE 9 101; BE 10 129; PBS 2/1 185; TuM 2-3 148.

[78] PBS 2/1 86 (7/VI/5[!] Darius II; cf. line 4).

[79] No. 46; see Stolper, *JCS* 28 (1976), 196-198.

[80] Cardascia *Murašû*, 10; add: No. 34.

[81] BE 9 69:2 f.; BE 10 9:3 f., 7 f., 21 f., 25 f., 28 f.; PBS 2/1 137:8; PBS 2/1 140:26; PBS 2/1 224:3 f.; No. 109:3 f., 8, 13, 16 f.; cf. Cardascia *Murašû*, 11 and n. 4.

[82] Briefly, San Nicolò-Ungnad *NRV*, 184 no. 150 n. 8.

[83] Cf. below, pp. 82 f.

[84] Titles, names, and roles of the firm's subordinates are amply surveyed by Cardascia *Murašû*, 14-16. No major change in Cardascia's comments is needed. For the evidence of new texts, see the indexes below.

Ardu (LÚ.ARAD) and *qallu*, both "servant, slave", are the most frequent terms of subordination and the most general in reference. In common Akkadian usage their range of denotation reaches from chattel slavery to mere polite obedience. The Archive gives no reason to doubt that individuals called "servant of so-and-so" were often, if not always, chattel slaves. But this juridical status has no definitive bearing on their economic and administrative roles. On the contrary, their participation in leases, pledges, and so on, is in all essential regards comparable to that of ostensibly free persons. Their control of resources and personnel, including subordinates of their own, is diverse. The less connotative translation "servant" is adopted here to stress operational subordination rather than legal status [85].

Most of the individuals called "servants" of the Murašû family appear as tenant farmers, with passive roles in the conduct of the firm's business. A few, however, served as real agents, making or receiving payments on behalf of their masters. At least one, Bel-eriba, issued contracts on his own account, qualifying him better as a principal of the firm than as a mere employee [86].

Mār bīti (DUMU.É), literally "son of the house", appears in two contrasting usages, denoting radically different ranks.

In the first, germane here, the title is specified with a following personal name, pronoun, or title, i.e., "*mār bīti* of so-and-so", characterizing a subordinate, agent, or executive of so-and-so. Named *mār bīti*s of the Murašû firm's customers are frequent. Only one of the Murašû family's several *mār bīti*s, Tirikamu, appears by name in the texts; he figures not merely as an agent, but as a principal in contracts of the Archive, with a range of competence similar to that of family members [87].

In its other usage, *mār bīti* is either unqualified or else specified as DUMU.É LUGAL, "*mār bīti* of the king". In these forms, the phrase is a calque on Old Iranian **vīsa-puθra-*, "son of the (royal) house" = "prince". It applies to male members of the Achaemenid royal family: obviously not petty managerial personnel, but some of the firm's most influential customers, whose dealings with the firm were mediated by their own subordinates [88].

[85] For general surveys of slavery in the Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian periods, and issues of terminology and classification, see M. A. Dandamayev, "The Economic and Legal Status of the Slaves' Peculium in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods", in *Gesellschaftsklassen im alten Zweistromland und in den angrenzenden Gebieten*, ABAW NF 75 (1972), 35-39; "Social Stratification in Babylonia", *Acta Antiqua* 22 (1974), 433-444; *Slavery in Babylonia*; Oelsner, "Zur Sklaverei in Babylonien in der chaldäischen, alchämenidischen und hellenistischen Zeit", *AoF* 5 (1977), 71-80.

[86] Cardascia *Murašû*, 14 f.

[87] Ibid., 12; add: Nos. 86, 93, 94, 99.

[88] In general: W. Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen in der keilschriftlichen Überlieferung*, I, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 25 no. 5 (1940), 91 (= Eilers *Beamtennamen*); "Die altiranische Vorform des *Vāspuhr*", in *A Locust's Leg, Studies in Honor of S. H. Taqizadeh* (London, 1962), 55 ff.; K. Butz, *WZKM* 68 (1976), 200.

In cuneiform, the title is spelled logographically, (LÚ.)DUMU.É. Contemporary Aramaic use of *br byt'* in

Sipīru (A.BAL), "scribe", is a loanword from Aramaic. Common renderings of it favor either of two nuances: "translator-scribe", i.e., notary competent both in alphabetic Aramaic and cuneiform Akkadian recording, or "administrator, cashier, paymaster", reflecting the frequent appearance of *sipīrus* as agents who made or received payments on behalf of their principals. The latter is the usual functional context of *sipīrus* of the Murašû firm. They often appear in groups of two to four men at a time. Business and legal methods required the participation of literate agents, and Aramaic recording was in common use, but no Murašû text makes any distinctive connection between the practice and the title *sipīru*. Outside the firm, *sipīrus* served not only as agents delegated to make and receive payments, but also as low-level administrative personnel in estates and land-holding associations. "Scribe" is adopted here as a conventional equivalent; the broad range of English "clerk" might be more appropriate [89].

Uštiāmu (also *uštejamma*, plurals *ušti'āmānu*, *ušta'āmānu*, *uštiāmānu*) is thought to be an Iranian loanword, but no convincing etymology has been proposed. Men so called function in roles similar to those of *sipīrus* [90]. The circumstance that one Belšunu son of Mannu-ki-Nana, called *sipīru* in PBS 2/1 133:15, 135:1, 142:7f., etc., appears to be among the men called *uštiāmānu* in No. 41:8 favors understanding the two terms as nearly synonymous.

Paqdu (also *paqqadu*, *paqqudu*, PA), "bailiff, manager", commonly labels managers of landed estates, managers of smallholders' associations, and officials of quarters of the city of Nippur. Only one text names a *paqdu* of lands controlled by the Murašû firm (BE 9 99:6). The man so entitled, Enlil-suppe-muḫur, is also styled *ardu*, "servant", of Enlil-šum-iddin and Rimut-Ninurta successively. In the latest texts of the Archive, however, the same man reappears as *paqdu* of the Achaemenid prince Aršam [91].

the same meanings favors construing the cuneiform spelling as the representation of an Akkadian loan-translation, *mār bīti*, rather than of an Iranian loanword of uncertain form.

In spite of occasional confusion in secondary literature, the Murašû texts themselves consistently and clearly distinguish the two usages "steward, etc." (marked: DUMU.É *ša* PN) versus "prince" (unmarked: DUMU.É alone; marked: DUMU.É LUGAL).

[89] Cardascia *Murašû*, 15; H.M. Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt im spätbabylonischen Uruk*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 20 (1979), 136 with n. 193, citing prior literature; Oelsner, *AoF* 5 (1977), 75 n. 9; Dandamayev, *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients* 15 (1982), 35f.; *Babylonskie Pists'i* (Moscow, 1983), 236f.; and Whitehead, "Early Aramaic Epistolography", 26, demonstrating that *spr'* in the Aršam letters does not designate the individual who actually wrote the letter, but a functionary of higher rank.

[90] Cardascia *Murašû*, 15; Hinz, *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 247; R. Zadok, "Three Non-Akkadian Loanwords in Late Babylonian Documents", *JAOS* 102 (1982), 116f.

[91] Cf. Cardascia *Murašû*, 10f. corrected by *BiOr* 15 (1958), 36; Whitehead, "Early Aramaic Epistolography", 23ff., on *pqyd'*, "superintendent" of estates in fifth-century Egypt.

Temporal Range

The latest text mentioning Enlil-suppe-muḫur is the latest text in the Archive, BE 9 1, dated 28/VII/1 Artaxerxes II = Nov. 1, 404 B.C. The earliest available Murašû text (BE 9 2) is dated 22/XII/10 Artaxerxes I = March 17, 454 B.C. The Archive's contents thus span most of the late fifth century B.C.

But the texts are not evenly distributed over this interval. The Archive was a record of continuing business affairs; its profile changed during the life of the firm. Stale documents were discarded. As a result, earlier years are attested by comparatively few texts. The preserved contents of the Archive form a frozen image of the firm's later years, including older records which remained useful for the documentation of still outstanding claims.

The bulk of the Archive, in fact, falls in a narrower span of twenty-five years, between the twenty-fifth year of Artaxerxes I (440/39 B.C.) and the seventh of Darius II (417/16 B.C.). The latest mention of a member of the Murašû family occurs in Darius's ninth year, 415/14 B.C.

The nine latest documents, however, were drafted after this period, between 413 and 404 B.C. (BE 9 1; BE 10 130-132; PBS 2/1 144-148). They are an anomalous group, seemingly epiphenomenal to the firm's history. Their contents are distinctive: unlike the bulk of the Murašû texts, they do not deal with encumbrances on land or with factors of cultivation; instead, they record leases of large herds of sheep and goats. None mentions a member of the Murašû family. In each the lessor is Enlil-suppe-muḫur, formerly a subordinate of the Murašû family, but now entitled "bailiff" (*paqdu*) of Aršam the prince (DUMU.É), to whom the herds belonged.

The reasons for the inclusion of these distinctive leases in the Archive can only be a topic for speculation. The following is a plausible line of supposition: the activity of the Murašû firm as such ended in about 414 B.C.; an agent of the firm then became superintendent of some Babylonian properties belonging to the prince Aršam, who had himself been a customer of the firm in earlier years; as the last active member of the firm's staff, the superintendent retained possession of the firm's records; presumably, he also retained title to the firm's outstanding claims and assets, either in his own right or, more probably, in the name of his new master, Aršam[92]. On this construction, the Murašû firm was in effect expropriated by a member of the royal family. The Murašû Archive in its preserved form is more precisely the Archive of Enlil-suppe-muḫur; it contains the records of an extinct business.

[92] Since the excavation and recording of the Archive in 1893 were far from fastidious by modern standards, it is conceivable that the Enlil-suppe-muḫur/Aršam texts were not part of the Archive at all, but intrusive items from another archaeological context. This suggestion offers refuge from an interpretive dilemma, but I consider it improbable, and it is plainly untestable.

Nonetheless, the Archive, in spite of a possible transfer of possession, forms a usable record of that earlier business which flourished during the years 454-414 B.C., with its most intense activity c. 440-416 B.C.

Geographical Range

The Murašû firm's base was in Nippur, where the texts were found. The city was a venerable center of Mesopotamian civilization, and it had begun to enjoy revived importance during the first millennium B.C. Since Assyrian times Nippur was focal for military and political control of Babylonia. During the Achaemenid period, it was a transit point between the provincial capital and the southern center of Uruk, and between the royal residences at Babylon and Susa.

The domain of the firm's activity was the traditional hinterland of Nippur, a region with maximum dimensions of c. 100 × 100 km. At most, it reached the hinterland of Babylon and the Tigris in the north, Marad in the west, and Isin in the south. The Murašû tablets name six major canals as the region's principal arteries and lines of administrative subdivision, along with sixty lesser waterways and over 180 outlying settlements [93].

The great majority of the texts in the Archive were drafted at Nippur itself. Forty-six documents were written at secondary centers in the region and then returned to Nippur for filing in the Archive [94]. Four tablets written at Babylon and two at Susa demonstrate that members of the firm transacted business during visits to the imperial capitals; of these six texts, those which deal with agricultural land still refer to holdings in the Nippur region [95].

Land Tenure

The agricultural use of this region was shaped by a pattern of land tenure which has been the object of repeated analysis and summary. It is commonly described in an idiom of military feudalism. In spite of the dangers of misapprehension raised by the implicit—and partially inaccurate—analogy with conditions of medieval Europe, this descriptive terminology has proved generally serviceable. Since it is the idiom of the main studies of the Archive, it is adopted here [96].

[93] Detailed analysis of the Archive's geographical information appears in Ran Zadok, "The Nippur Region during the Late Assyrian, Chaldean, and Achaemenian Periods", *IOS* 8 (1978), 266-332.

[94] Enumerated in Cardascia *Murašû*, 17 and n. 8. Add: Enlil-ašabšu-iqbi: No. 108; Addiaja: Nos. 72, 74; Sin-belšunu: No. 89; Til-Gabbara: No. 23; Bit Gira': No. 98.

[95] BE 10 15, PBS 2/1 5, 34 (Babylon); PBS 2/1 128 (Susa). The others are: PBS 2/1 113 (Susa: slave sale); BE 10 1 (Babylon: house rental).

[96] Cardascia, "Le fief dans la Babylonie achéménide", in *Les liens de vassalité et les immunités*, Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin 1, 2nd ed. (1958), 60 ff. (= Cardascia, "Le fief") expounds the history and justification of the feudal idiom in study of the Murašû texts. Among others, Oelsner expresses reservations on the idiom's accuracy: *AoF* 4 (1976), 137 n. 31 and *Hellenische Poleis*, II, 1058. A mixture

The elementary unit of the system was the fief, called "bow land" (É GIŠ.BAN = *bīt qašti*). The feudatories, often groups of agnatic relatives, held such properties on condition of at least nominal military service and payment of an annual tax, termed *ilku* and paid mainly in silver. In practice, military obligations could be commuted to equivalent payment. Types of fiefs were more specifically named for the type of soldiery they were intended to support. The chief terms were "bow land" (*bīt qašti*), "horse land" (É ANŠE.KUR.RA = *bīt sīsî*), and "chariot land" (É GIŠ.GIGIR = *bīt narkabti*)[97]. Whole or fractional fiefs could be leased or pledged, but could not be alienated[98]. The terminology which names these tenancies dates from the earliest years of Achaemenid sovereignty and persists into the Seleucid era[99].

Fiefs and feudatories were grouped in organizations called *ḫaṭrus*. Each *ḫaṭru* was under the control of a superintendent (*šaknu*) who was responsible for allocation of the constituent fiefs and for collection of taxes due from them.

of endorsement and critique appears in Herrenschmidt, "L'empire perse achéménide", in *Le concept d'empire*, ed. by Maurice Duverger (Paris, 1980), 82f. Generally speaking, legal historians have adopted feudal terms; socio-economic historians have rejected them. As Witold Kula comments on a similar issue: *habent sua fata verba* (*An Economic Theory of Feudalism*, transl. by Lawrence Garner [London, 1976], 9).

The following summary is based chiefly on: Eilers, *OLZ* 37 (1934), 95f.; Cardascia, "Le fief"; Dandamayev, *Festschrift Eilers*, 37-42; G. Ries, *Die neubabylonischen Bodenpachtformulare*, Münchener Universitätsschriften, Juristische Fakultät, Abhandlungen zur rechtswissenschaftlichen Grundlagenforschung, 16 (Berlin, 1976), 38-43 (= Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*), 38-43; Cardascia, "Armée et fiscalité dans la Babylonie achéménide", in *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique*, Colloques nationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 936 (Paris, 1977), 2-10.

[97] The status of land called *bīt ritti*, literally "hand land", is an open issue. In Achaemenid texts, it is land owned by temples or the crown, occupied and exploited by individuals, and susceptible to lease, pledge, and perhaps sale at the occupant's will. No military connotation is evident in the name of the tenancy, but since *bīt ritti* tenure does not occur in pre-Achaemenid texts, it seems to be part of the system installed under Persian rule. Ries includes *bīt ritti* among feudal titles; Cardascia considers it "a tenure but not a fief": see Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 38f.; Cardascia, *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 55 (1977), 645f.; Cocquerillat, *Palmeraies et cultures de l'Eanna d'Uruk (559-520)*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 8 (Berlin, 1968), 35ff. (= Coquerillat *Palmeraies*); Francis Joannès, *Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente*, Études assyriologiques (Paris, 1982), 11-16 (= Joannès, *TEBR*).

Most occurrences of *bīt ritti*, in fact, are in Murašû texts. No fiscal or service encumbrances on *bīt ritti* are mentioned there. Since references to it do not show successions of claims to ownership, rents, and taxes, it does not bear on the special concerns of this work.

[98] A single text, however, not from the Murašû Archive, records the sale of real estate which may be part of a bow fief held in common among heirs of an extended family: J.-M. Durand, *Textes babyloniens d'époque récente*, Études assyriologiques (Paris, 1981), pl. 43f. AO 17611 (= Durand, *TBER*); see Joannès, *TEBR*, 94ff. no. 31.

[99] Use of the terms in early Achaemenid reigns, demonstrated by Dandamayev, *Festschrift Eilers*, 37-42 and *AMI* Ergänzungsband 10 (1983), 57-59, is corroborated by DB § 14, where Babylonian *bīt qašti*, "bow land", corresponds to OP *viθ-*, "estate": von Voigtlander *Bisitun*, 17f.:26. More importantly, Darius's use there of this specific term demonstrates the early political importance of such tenures (below, pp. 153f.). On Seleucid continuation of Achaemenid "feudal" terminology: O. Krückmann, *Babylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden der Zeit Alexander und der Diadochen* (Berlin, 1931), 37 and n. 2; Eilers, *OLZ* 37 (1934), 96; Joannès, *TEBR*, 42f.

Sizes of individual fiefs cannot be determined with precision. They are commonly held to be modest. Amounts of rent which their occupants received support this assumption [100]. Alongside these small properties existed larger landed estates, held by members of the royal family, courtiers, and officials of the Persian crown. Classical writers also allude to extensive holdings of Persian notables in Mesopotamia and elsewhere [101], and comparable estates figure in the letters of Aršam and in the Persepolis administrative tablets. Babylonian manors were commonly managed by local bailiffs, usually entitled *paqdu*.

Tenure of both small fiefs and large estates derived ultimately from crown grants. To what degree the Persian kings claimed conquered lands as their personal property is an item of debate [102]. It is nevertheless certain that the crown not only held claims to encumbrances on land grants in Babylonia, but also maintained extensive holdings of its own there, managed directly in its interests by its agents. The Murašû texts' few allusions to temple lands indicate that at least some holdings of major shrines also fell under the control of royal regimes.

All these holdings fall within a state-controlled sector of agrarian economy. Private ownership—that is, unconditional title to land, independent of superordinate claims to its produce and without restrictions on alienation—may have formed a significant part of the local pattern of tenure. But since no Babylonian term distinguishes real estate as private property [103] it is inconspicuous in the texts. Its prevalence in the domain of the Murašû firm cannot be estimated. Its effect on the Murašûs' business, though, was slight: purchase and sale of land, at least, were not a part of the firm's recorded activity.

Some instability is inherent in this system. Divided inheritance of fiefs caused the amount of property available for the support of individual feudatories to diminish over time. Smaller plots became increasingly inefficient. The military rationale of the fiefs weakened as money payments and hired substitutes replaced personal service by feudatories [104]. The crown's demand for taxes paid in silver favored the

[100] Below, p. 147. Durand, *TBER*, pl. 52 AO 17645, from Nippur, probably from the reign of Artaxerxes II, lists dimensions of several parts of a single bow fief; the total area is about ten *kur* (about $13\frac{1}{3}$ hectares): Joannès, *TEBR*, 84 f. no. 25.

[101] E.g., references supplied by Dandamayev, "Achaemenid Babylonia", in *Ancient Mesopotamia, a Collection of Essays by Soviet Scholars*, ed. by I. M. Diakonoff (Moscow, 1969), 302 nn. 20, 21, 25. Note especially Xenophon's statement of "absentee landlordism" in Cyropaedeia 8.6.5: lands which Cyrus had given to his friends in various conquered countries still belonged to the descendants of their original recipients, although the proprietors in Xenophon's own time resided with the Great King.

[102] Eilers, *OLZ* 37 (1934), 95; Cardascia *Murašû*, 6; Dandamayev, "Achaemenid Babylonia", 300 f. and n. 16.

[103] Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 34-38. In most contexts, absence of some other, distinctive juridical label cannot be taken as a sufficient marker of private ownership.

[104] Dandamayev, *Festschrift Eilers*, 40-42; Oelsner, *AoF* 4 (1976), 137.

transformation of fiefs from subsistence allotments into cash-producing rental properties. Absentee ownership of estates required local management. Court politics made possession of great domains precarious. All these circumstances favored the development of a means of land management which was partially independent of the juridical system of land tenure. The Murašû firm provided such a service.

The Business of the Murašû Firm

To a limited extend the Murašû firm belonged within the "feudal" order. A few texts refer to bow lands that seemingly belonged to members of the family or to agents of the firm [105]. A place named Bit Murašû, "estate of Murašû", suggests an extended domain belonging to the family, but there is no outright confirmation of this suggestion [106]. In at least one case, the Murašû family acquired ownership of a share in a bow fief through an instrument of fictive adoption [107]. In the great majority of its transactions, however, the Murašû house figured not as a participant in the system of land grants but as an accessory to it, undertaking the management of property which belonged, on a variety of titles, to others.

The primary enterprise of the firm was agricultural management [108]. The firm leased land and water from their owners, paying out rents and taxes to the owners or to their representatives. The greater part of these properties was sublet in turn to tenants of the firm, usually along with livestock, equipment, and seed. This process of lease and sublease produced several classes of documents kept in the Archive: leases of property to the firm; formally similar leases to the firm's tenants; and receipts for rents and taxes paid out by the firm [109].

In addition, the firm provided a second regular service. The Murašûs made loans to landholders against pledges of real property. This process accounts for the largest category of texts in the Archive, certificates of obligation (*u'iltu*) with real security; it also accounts for the occasional mention of pledged lands (*bīt maškanāti*) in other categories of texts.

A minority of documents deal with diverse transactions of other kinds, secondary to the main lines of the firm's business: work-contracts, redemptions of distrained debtors, litigations, and so on.

[105] BE 9 30, 86a, 101; PBS 2/1 81, 115; Nos. 17, 91. *Bīt ritti* said to belong to members of the firm occurs in BE 9 26, 30, 35, 67, 86a; BE 10 44; No. 17.

[106] URU É ^{m}*Murašû*: BE 10 127: 3; PBS 2/1 48:4, 160:3.

[107] Lutz, UCP 9/3, 267ff., see Cardascia, "Le fief", 55-60; *Murašû*, 181f.

[108] The foremost summary of the firm's business operations is Cardascia *Murašû*, 189-198; see also Raymond Bogaert, *Les origines antiques de la banque de dépôt* (Leiden, 1966), 118-121 (= Bogaert, *Banque*).

[109] Contrast, however, Ries's demurral (*Bodenpachtformulare*, 10f., 49) and Cardascia's rebuttal (*Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 55 [1977], 643ff.).

Another crucial sector of the Murašû house's business is entirely undocumented in the Archive. It must be inferred nevertheless. The greatest part of the firm's discernible income, from rentals drawn on its subleases and from repayments of loans, was in the form of produce. But the greatest part of the firm's discernible expenditures, in rents and taxes paid to landholders or their agents, was in the form of silver. The firm must therefore have had a means of converting produce into specie[110]. Cardascia and others have postulated that the Murašûs retailed their stores of crops to the urban populations of Nippur and its environs, receiving silver in payment for the sales[111]. It is a plausible suggestion. The sources of demand and supply, and an organization well situated to intervene between them, are clearly in evidence; only the retail mechanism is unattested. If the guess is correct, then it is not surprising that this retail activity left no trace in the Archive: receipts or bills of sale, if any such documents were issued, would naturally have been kept by the buyers, not by the vendors; and inventories or memoranda of the sales business would not have been filed in an Archive consisting primarily of legal records. The Murašû firm, at any rate, whether by sales or by other means, served another function accessory to the system of land tenure, namely monetary exchange. The Murašûs acquired silver and supplied it directly, in the form of rents, to landholders, and indirectly, in the form of taxes, to the Persian crown.

In summary, the Murašûs took by lease, pledge, or mandate the properties held by various members of the "feudal" order, sublet them along with other necessities of agricultural production, converted their produce into silver, and supplied silver and credit to the firm's customers. The firm mediated, through its supply of capital factors and management, between the system of tenure and the system of production. It also mediated, by supplying money and credit, between the system of tenure and the system of taxation.

Purpose and Reference of the Archive

The Murašû Archive does not supply a complete record of the growth and demise of these enterprises. Only those documents were retained on file which the last active members of the firm considered useful to the maintenance of the business. Reasons for the preservation of individual texts are not always clear. The general character and purpose of the Archive, however, are plain.

A priori, one may expect a set of business documents to serve two general purposes. In the first place, they may be administrative records, the basis of the firm's accounting of income, expenditure, inventory, or profits. In the second place, they

[110] "Specie" herein refers simply to precious metals in money use, not to minted metals in particular.
[111] Cardascia *Murašû*, 198; Bogaert, *Banque*, 121; J. Renger, "Grossgrundbesitz", *RLA* 3, 650.

may be legal records, drafted, witnessed, and sealed as proof of claims and obligations. The Murašû texts, like most Mesopotamian private archival texts, are overwhelmingly of the second sort. Almost all are legal records; none are simple accounts, journals, or summaries, only three are inventories[112], and none are administrative memoranda. The texts were entered in the Archive as proof that obligations had been created or discharged; they were preserved in case of litigation brought by other parties to the contract, or by other interested agencies.

In the business for which the Archive was a legal record, the central facts to be documented were possession of land and payment of incumbent charges. But the Murašû firm's claims to possession of land were based almost entirely on secondary, transferred titles. Most of the properties at issue were inalienable. The firm did not receive them by purchase, but by lease, mandate, or pledge, from landholders who were in turn beneficiaries of the crown. This observation suggests that the legal texts of the Archive had, beyond potential litigants, another, tacit, external reference: records of primary titles to state-assigned lands, from which secondary titles derived. Two Murašû texts point to the existence of such public records.

One, No. 106, records the settlement of litigation over a house in Nippur. The elder Murašû argued that the house had been improperly sold because the vendors did not own it. He stated his claim in this way (lines 10-11):

> *bītu šuātu attūa šū ina kalammari ša šarri ina* MU.22.KÁM [*ša*] ^{m}*Dāriāmuš* [*ana*] *muḫḫija šaṭir*
>
> That house is mine. It was written down for me in the king's registry in the twenty-second year of Darius (I).

Murašû's adversaries produced a bill of sale. Nevertheless, the royal registry took evidentiary precedence. The house was awarded to Murašû.

In the second text, BE 9 55, Murašû's son Enlil-šum-iddin instructs two of his subordinates as follows (lines 3-8):

> *bāb nārātikunu u mišaḫukunu ša ina mušannītu ša Nār* ^{d}*Sîn ša ina karammari puttinā bitqa ina nārātikunu u ina mišaḫkunu ša ina mušannītu ša Nār* ^{d}*Sîn ša ikkaššidakkunūši ... la ibattaq*
>
> Reinforce the openings of your canals and your assigned sections along the dike of the Sin Canal, which are in the registry, so that no break occurs in your canals or in the sections assigned to you (for maintenance) along the dike of the Sin Canal.

[112] BE 10 105, 106; PBS 2/1 118; Cardascia *Murašû*, 187.

The Babylonian word here translated "registry" is an Iranian loan. The source is **kārahmāra-*, literally "reckoning of people". The Babylonian borrowing appears in only one earlier text, Dar. 551, written at Babylon in 500 B.C. It refers to (lines 9-12):

> *amīlūtu ša* PN *abi ša* PN_2 *u aḫḫīšu ina* MU.19.KÁM ^{m}*Dāriāmuš šarri ina karri ammaru ša šarri ana muḫḫi* PN_3 *aḫi abišunu* PN_2 *u aḫḫīšu ušētiq*
>
> a slave woman whom PN, father of PN_2 and his brothers, transferred in the royal registry in the nineteenth year of King Darius (I) to PN_2 and his brothers as well as to PN_3, their paternal uncle [113].

These three passing mentions are certain evidence for the practice of registering property ownership (of both real estate and chattels) and service obligations (public labor assignments). The contexts assure that the registries were not only instruments of administrative control, but also documents with binding legal force. Two of the texts specify the registries as "royal". The third passage must be similarly construed: it deals with dikes and levees assigned for maintenance to occupants of adjoining land, and in Babylonia as elsewhere in the Persian Empire major elements of the irrigation network were owned and administered by the crown (below, pp. 36 f.).

Although none of these texts refers explicitly to crown registration of fiefs, such controls seem to be implicit in the pattern of tenure. Indeed, other Achaemenid texts indicate written records of individual tenancies and their encumbrances. CT 22 74, a letter from the reign of Darius I [114], alludes to muster rolls with the phrase (lines 6 f.) *mār sīsî u tašlīšu.*MEŠ*-ka ittika šaṭrū*, "your charioteer and the shield-bearers written down with (i.e., assigned to) you", and it indicates that the rolls were based on records of property tenure with the sender's reference to (lines 31 f.) *ṣābī ša bīt narkabtija*, "the personnel of my chariot fief".

There is nothing specifically Achaemenid, of course, about military enrollment or recording tenure of state-assigned land. What was new to Persian rule in Babylonia was the pattern of tenure and obligation; the new pattern demanded fresh records. There is no reason to assume that all mentions of documents called *karammaru* refer to a single set of records, kept by a single governmental agency; "registry" is a categorical term. Yet the use of an Iranian loanword in place of existing Babylonian

[113] Full discussion of the Iranian loanword, its contexts, and its congeners: Stolper, "Three Iranian Loanwords in Late Babylonian Texts", in *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*, ed. by L. D. Levine and T. Cuyler Young, Jr., Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 7 (1977), 259-266 (= BiMes 7).

[114] See Eilers, "Eine mittelpersische Wortform aus frühachämenidischer Zeit?" *ZDMG* 90 (1936), 185 ff.; A. Leo Oppenheim, *Letters from Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1967), 191 ff.; San Nicolò *Prosopographie*, 49.

words with similar general meaning marks these records as peculiar to administrative and legal practice of the Persian regime. Two of the texts supply a *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of such registries: the middle of the reign of Darius I, c. 503-500 B.C. (No. 106 and Dar. 551). If the Persian registries were not coeval with the establishment of new features of tenure in the conquered territories, then they were very likely a consequence of Darius's administrative and fiscal reorganization [115].

There are no extant royal or satrapal archives from Achaemenid Babylonia to show explicitly what kinds of records were comprehended by the term *karammaru*, where and how they were kept, and by whom [116]. Yet the mentions of these registries are enough to confirm what would otherwise have to be assumed: the Murašû firm operated within close legal and administrative controls which were a tacit determinant of the Archive's contents. The Murašûs intervened commercially between tenure and production. Crown registries were the primary record of tenure. The Archive itself was the secondary record of the firm's intervention.

Prospect

Studies of the Murašû Archive have established with considerable reliability the outlines of the legal fabric in which the firm was active and the character of the firm's chief services. The main aim of this reexamination is to proceed from the ground secured by those studies toward a finer apprehension of the political and economic conditions in which the Archive was formed and of the firm's effect on

[115] Traces of comparable cadastral and fiscal records appear in Classical sources on other Achaemenid provinces and the Hellenistic successor states: Briant, *Index* 8 (1978-79), 61-65.

[116] The underlying Iranian form, **kārahmāra-*, was first recognized in Persepolis Fortification texts, in the Elamite borrowing *karamaraš*. In Elamite use, the word labels not only the object, "registry", but also the agent, "registrar". No cognate agent noun, however, has appeared in Babylonian.

The Fortification texts suggest a functional connection, perhaps even identity, between holders of the title *karamaraš*, "registrar", and holders of the title *pirrašakurra*, "investigator". The latter is another Iranian loan, from a postulated **frāsakara-*. Borrowed forms of a cognate title have long been recognized in Babylonian texts, among them Murašû texts (*iprasakku*, from **frāsaka-*: TuM 2-3 147:21, PBS 2/1 189:16). However, the precise functional connections between the Iranian titles at Persepolis is indeterminate; use of similar terms in the administrative systems of several provinces of the Empire is no guarantee of identical administrative relationships in all areas; and Babylonian texts show no special connection between persons entitled *iprasakku*, "investigator", and registration procedures. There are therefore grounds for supposition, but not for certainty, that the men entitled "investigators" in occasional Murašû texts were crown auditors concerned with confirming or updating the registration of property titles.

It is also inviting to connect property registration practices with the members of a *ḫaṭru* association called *sipīrū ša ūqu*, "scribes of the army/people" (below, pp. 93 ff.). Indeed, Babylonian *ūqu* is the normal rendering of OP *kāra-*, the first element in **kārahmāra-*. But once more contextual support is lacking. Individuals entitled *sipīru ša ūqu* figure in Murašû texts only as occupants of bow lands. Their professional activity may very well have included clerical control of tenure, service, and/or taxes, but that activity is not directly documented.

those conditions. The results form a case study in local history. In some regards, the case may not be typical of general conditions in Babylonia. Yet the case is remarkable for the detail with which it reveals modes of imperial organization, results of commercial exploitation under imperial patronage, and ties between imperial politics and provincial society.

The political history of the later Achaemenid Empire was punctuated by revolts and palace intrigues. The major actors in such disturbances were rival members of the Achaemenid family and the governors and courtiers closest to the throne. In the narratives of Classical authors the internal history of the Empire appears as a series of bloody dramas performed by members of this circle of ambitious aristocrats. Any effect of such conflicts on the population of the Empire at large is scarcely clear.

In the view of some historians, the nadir of Persian court politics was the reign of Darius II, when uprisings and conspiracies occurred in rapid succession[117]. The first of them came with the series of events which brought Darius himself to the throne. The scale and effects of the disturbances were far-reaching[118]. The principals included men of influence at the court of Artaxerxes I and others who gained influence at the court of Darius II. Their political stature was matched by their wealth. Among other resources, many of them controlled land and administrative interests in Babylonia. As a result, they appear in texts of the Murašû Archive.

It is a contention of this study that the actors in Persian political history drew on their Babylonian interests in support of their ambitions. Their activities left a mark in business records of the time. The nature of this effect, in turn, provides an approach to reassessment of economic circumstances in the Nippur region, if not in the whole of Babylonia, during the late fifth century. The development of these propositions falls into three parts.

The first (Chapters II-IV) traces hierarchies of control in the several categories of property put at the disposal of the Murašû firm. For the most part, the Murašûs did business only with the lowest echelons of managers. But formal features of the texts permit glimpses of superordinate ranks. In the first place, the men who did business with the Murašûs are often labelled servants, agents, or subordinates of others; it is assumed here that these epithets imply not merely personal subservience, but administrative subordination as well, and that they were used in the texts because the interests of superordinate men were at issue. Secondly, the men who dealt with the Murašûs often cite authorizing documents (*šipirtu*, *našpartu*) issued by others; it is assumed here that the men who issued these documents were the administrative

[117] E.g. Heinrich Swoboda, "Dareios (II.)", *PWRE* IV (1901), 2200 f.

[118] See Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 72; contrast the more restrained appraisal of Oelsner, *Hellenische Poleis*, II, 1047.

superiors of the men who concluded the transactions. Thirdly, in many receipts for rents and taxes, the recipients are required by the terms of the document to enter and clear the payment in the accounts of others; it is assumed here that the recipients were agents of the persons in whose accounts they were to clear the receipts[119]. These assumptions are mutually consistent: in numerous cases, the "servants of PN" had "in (their) possession" (*ina qātē*) lands belonging to their masters[120]; or they acted on written authorization of their masters[121]; or they were required to clear receipts in their masters' records[122].

Combined with detailed consideration of personal names, place names, and titles, these assumptions allow partial reconstruction of the chains of command which governed state-assigned properties. The lower ends of the chains are most visible in the texts. Remoter stages were more comprehensive in influence and interest, but they are more dimly seen through the narrow window afforded by the contracts. Clear patterns emerge; lacunae, anomalies, and unsolved issues remain.

Management and administration, then, are seen here as successions of claims to property and to the rents and taxes drawn from it. Three major categories of real property in the Murašûs' purview have to be discussed in these terms: crown holdings, landed manors, and petty bow fiefs grouped in *ḫaṭru* associations.

The personnel of the first category, controlling a group of crown interests, have not received detailed attention in the past. Among the lessors of property to the Murašû firm, these functionaries played an exceptional role: they conferred on the firm rights of disposition over canals owned by the king. The fact that these rights came into the Murašûs' hands from agents of the crown who were independent of lesser land-holders is crucial to a later assessment of the economic conditions surrounding the firm.

The Murašû texts offer comparatively little detailed information on the composition and management of the second category of properties, landed estates belonging to Persian notables. Nevertheless, two facts are clear: owners of such estates included influential political figures, some of them identifiable in the records of

[119] The formula which indicates this obligation is *ušazzazma* PN ... *itti* PN_2 *ana* PN_3 *inandin*. Its precise implications have long been under debate by legal historians. See Cardascia *Murašû*, 69-72; San Nicolò, *Or.* NS 23 (1954), 281f.; and Ries, "Bemerkungen zur neubabylonischen Rechtspraxis der Stellvertretung", *WO* 8 (1976), 296-309, with a survey of most prior literature. Ries correctly stresses that in Murašû texts the phrase regularly appears in receipts in which an agent represents his superior's interests. I cannot, however, agree with his contention that the formula obliges the agent to produce his superior in person for a final ratification of the transaction. I understand the clause to mean "PN will enter (the receipt) in favor of PN_3 in the accounts of PN_2". It is referred to below as "the clearance formula".

[120] E.g., TuM 2-3 190; PBS 2/1 84; BE 10 82.

[121] E.g., BE 9 11; PBS 2/1 133.

[122] E.g., BE 9 73, 83; BE 10 60, 76; PBS 2/1 133.

contemporary political history; and the manors were not simple, unencumbered, alodial holdings, but included bow fiefs, grouped in *ḫaṭru* associations, which were under the control of the estate owners and their bailiffs.

Examination of the management of *ḫaṭru*s leads by a different and longer route to similar conclusions. Among the *ḫaṭru*s were associations of feudatories attached to estates, as well as other associations controlled by figures of political rank comparable to the estate owners'. The associations' foremen were thus not merely subordinates of a state bureaucracy, but of princes and courtiers, through whose hands taxes from the constituent holdings passed before reaching the royal treasuries. In at least some cases, that is, the resources of major actors in imperial politics included revenues and services drawn from the minor holdings of dependent feudatories; expenses of great men included costs to small men.

The second part of the discussion (Chapters V-VII) turns by degrees to the immediate political and economic context of the Archive. It begins with an examination of the largest single category of texts in the Archive, certificates of obligation secured by pledges of land — here loosely called "mortgages". Other text types reflect the Murašûs' dealings with property owners of diverse rank and situation, but in the mortgages the debtors are occupants of bow fiefs only. As other commentators have seen, the temporal distribution of mortgages in the Archive is irregular. The remarks on lines of control in preceding sections allow the formation of a hypothesis which explains the incidence of mortgages not simply as a function of the Murašû firm's commercial policies, but as a reflex of activities in the political arena: the disturbances which brought Darius II Ochos to the throne in 424/3 B.C. caused a sharp rise in the indebtedness of Babylonian feudatories.

The circumstantial evidence of means, motive, and opportunity gives this hypothesis the strength of a prima facie case, but the hypothesis is not subject to direct confirmation or refutation from extant texts. It implies, however, some inequity and inelasticity in the situation of Babylonian smallholders. A survey of costs and income as they are discernible in the Murašû texts confirms this implication and so strengthens the hypothesis. In addition, it allows a critique of some prevalent views on the economic history of Achaemenid Babylonia and the Achaemenid Empire.

The Murašû Archive is the partial record of a single component in complex political and economic structures. The Murašû firm was an element bonded into Achaemenid Babylonia and into the Achaemenid Empire. And the Empire is a historical creation of which the shape is well known but the substance is not. Hence an attempt to examine the firm through its records will be beset with some uncertainties about the conditions under which the business operated. The Archive helps specify some problems which it cannot solve. Excursuses in the course of discussion survey some of these topics.

The occasion for this study was an examination of previously unpublished texts and fragments from the Murašû Archive housed in the University Museum and the British Museum. The enlargement and control of the documentary sample which results from having these texts available is fundamental to the proposals made and conclusions drawn here. A final section presents this material in two appendixes. The first excerpts records bearing on the excavation of the Murašû Archive. The second presents an edition of unpublished texts and fragments, including transliterations and copies of those items which are sufficiently well preserved to yield a general understanding of their contents and a short list of the remaining fragments in the University Museum. Full translations are omitted since the various contractual forms are well known and many of the texts are quite fragmentary [123].

[123] Appendix II includes copies and transliterations of 120 texts, arranged in groups determined by functional characteristics: leases issued to the Murašûs (Nos. 1-10); leases and subleases issued to the Murašûs' tenants and subordinates (Nos. 11-30); a reciprocal agreement on the possession of lands (No. 31) and fragmentary leases (Nos. 32-33); receipts for payments of rent (Nos. 34-49); receipts for payments of taxes (Nos. 50-55); other receipts (Nos. 56-61); "mortgages", i.e., notes of debts secured by pledges of real property (Nos. 62-82); other records of debt (Nos. 83-89); contracts for procurement of goods or performance of work (Nos. 90-98); arrangements for release of and/or surety for distrained debtors or workers (Nos. 99-105); documents dealing with litigation (Nos. 106-111); miscellaneous texts and fragmentary texts of uncertain functional type (Nos. 112-120).

CHAPTER II

TENURE AND MANAGEMENT: CROWN PROPERTIES AND CANALS

Most of the real properties visible through the Murašû texts were under the fiscal and administrative control of the Persian government in Babylonia. Agents of the state had more or less direct disposition of rights to exploit real estate and to draw and transmit revenues from it. Some rights to use and income were conceded to crown beneficiaries; others were leased to independent contractors, including the Murašûs.

These state-controlled holdings do not account for the whole range of contemporary Babylonian social, economic, or even agricultural organization. Gaps in surviving documentation are plain. Yet the foundation of Babylonian economies was at all times agrarian. Within the agrarian economy of late Achaemenid times, state-controlled properties form a leading sector, at least in the sense that such properties are most indicative of imperial or provincial policies, and most sensitive to political developments.

The categories of property to be discussed — namely crown holdings, landed estates, and bow lands grouped in *ḫaṭrus* — are distinguished from each other by several standards: by nomenclature; by apparent size; by hierarchies of control over income from them; and by their proprietors' relations with the Murašû firm. In ancient reality, the same categories were closely interlocked: they were interspersed geographically within the Nippur region; and they were administratively, hence economically, interdependent. The task of this and the following chapters is to explore both the distinguishing variables and the features of interconnection.

Crown Properties and Canals

Explicit mention of land held outright by Persian kings is uncommon in the Murašû texts. Crown land is likely to have been extensive, but little of it was rented to the Murašû firm. Most of the crown's revenues, as they are discernible in the Archive, were not drawn from the produce or rents of the king's own property, but from taxes and services incumbent on land held by the king's beneficiaries.

The government maintained general administrative controls over such revenues in the form of registries of tenure and obligation. But more importantly, the govern-

ment held a means of direct control over the value of state-assigned properties to their occupants, and so ultimately to the crown itself. The wealth of Babylonia was in agriculture; the limiting factor of Babylonian farming was water; and the major elements of the irrigation network were the property of the Persian crown.

During Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid times, irrigation systems in large parts of Babylonia, including the Nippur region, underwent changes in structure. Interlocking grids were built, composed of parallel main canals joined to each other at frequent intervals by transverse secondary canals. These reticular arrangements improved the access of irrigated land to fresh water and also enhanced drainage. They supported cultivation over increasing areas, and consequently fostered expanding revenue for the state. The scale and regularity of the canal networks indicates government-sponsored development [1]. At the same time, the canals themselves, as prime economic factors, became objects of commercial manipulation.

In the Murašû texts, title to the use of canals is transmitted by instruments much the same as those used to dispose of land. The firm took canals on lease and then subleased stretches of them, or water from them, to its clients. But the firm acquired land from a considerable range of property holders, including not only the managers of crown lands, but also petty feudatories and the owners of larger estates. The firm acquired canals only from a distinct branch of royal administration. Since the use of water was precondition for the use of land, the Murašûs' dealings with this canal administration had basic effects on their dealings with other property-holders. The following pages assemble the information in the Murašû texts pertaining to the identity, relative rank, and jurisdiction of the functionaries who managed royal canals.

The Management of Canals

Summary discussions of the Murašû Archive commonly hold that many waterways belonged to the Great King, and that the Murašû firm leased some of them from officers of the crown [2]. These inferences rest on occasional mentions of "royal reservoirs" [3] and "royal canals" [4] among properties rented by the Murašûs to their

[1] Adams, *Heartland of Cities*, 185 ff., with figs. 39-41; H. J. Nissen, "Kanal(isation), B. Archäologisch", *RLA* 5, 365 f. Classical authors allude to development and control by Persian kings of large irrigation projects in other Achaemenid provinces: cf. P. Briant, *Klio* 60 (1978), 70 n. 103 and 77; *Zamân* 2-3 (1980), 93 ff.; *La pensée* 217/218 (Jan.-Feb., 1981), 18 ff. (all reprinted in *Rois, tributs et paysans* [1982]). In Babylonia, primary canals probably served as arteries of commerce and military movements in addition to marking the boundaries of administrative districts: cf. Butz, *WZKM* 68 (1976), 199; Zadok, *IOS* 8 (1978), 281.

[2] Falkenstein, *ZSS* 70 (1954), 410; Dandamayev, "Achaemenid Babylonia", 307; *Historia* Einzelschrift 18, 28, 31; Bogaert *Banque*, 119. Contrast Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 31.

[3] *Ṣibittu ša šarri*: BE 9 7:6, 14; PBS 2/1 158:5; TuM 2-3 147:12, etc. "Reservoir" with *CAD* Ṣ, 156, mng. 3, despite Cardascia *Murašû*, 178 and San Nicolò, *Studi Arangio-Ruiz*, I, 70 n. 46.

[4] ÍD.LUGAL: BE 9 73:2; PBS 2/1 158:2, 13, 20; possibly a proper name (so Zadok, *IOS* 8 [1978], 313).

own tenants. They derive more support from the firm's dealings with agents of the crown entitled *ša ana muḫḫi sūti ša* ÍD NN.

As Cocquerillat observes, the Babylonian term GIŠ.BAR = *sūtu* refers both generally to "payments" or "revenues" of all sorts, and specifically to payments of fixed rents stipulated in a prior lease as opposed to payment of shares in the crop produced by the cultivator or payment fixed by assessment of the standing crop [5]. Individuals called *ša ana muḫḫi sūti ša* ÍD NN received not only fixed rents (*sūtu*), but also rentals based on assessment (ZAG.LU = *imittu*), and shares of produce (ḪA.LA = *zittu*). The title is therefore to be understood in the general sense: "(official) in charge of revenues of such-and-such a canal". For convenient reference, holders of this and kindred titles are called here "canal managers".

Canal Managers

The titles under consideration appear in diverse forms in the Murašû texts. The following outline catalogues them, along with the names of the persons so designated, and the dates of the texts in which they appear.

I. *ša (ana) muḫḫi sūti ša Nār* ^{d}*Sîn*: "in charge of revenues of the Sin Canal":
  A. Bel-eriš, son of Natina'
    1. No. 43: 19/—/24 Artaxerxes I
  B. Jadiḫ-il, son of Ḫanani'
    1. BE 9 14: 28/X/28 Artaxerxes I
    2. BE 9 15: 1/XI/28 Artaxerxes I
  C. Mitrena' [6], son of Marduk-šum-iddin
    1. Ni 523: 15/XII/35 Artaxerxes I
    2. No. 41: —/II/36 Artaxerxes I
  D. Šamaš-iddin, son of Zabdija
    1. PBS 2/1 1: 22/XII/Acc. Darius II
  E. Libluṭ, son of Iddin-Nabu
    1. TuM 2-3 147: 17/VII/4 Darius II

II. *ša ana muḫḫi sūti ša* ÍD *Ḫarri-Piqūdu (u* ÍD *Sūru)*: "in charge of revenues of the Ḫarri-Piqudu Canal (and the Suru Canal)" [7]:
  A. Ea-bullissu, son of Ina-ṣilli-Esagila
    1. BE 9 80: 4/IX/40 Artaxerxes I

[5] *Palmeraies*, 12 n. 6, 13.

[6] See VI.A. This Iranian name is spelled *Mi-it-re-e-na-'* (No. 41:4, 12), *Mi-it-ra-en* (BE 9 60:20, rev.; BE 9 59:6, 8), *Mi-it-ra-a-ni* (BE 9 59:15), *Mi-it-ra-'-in* (BE 9 59 rev.), and *mtryn* (No. 41 rev.). On this and cognate names in Achaemenid sources, see R. Schmitt, "Die theophoren Eigennamen mit altiranisch **MIΘRA-*", in *Études mithriaques*, Acta Iranica 17 (1978), 395-455.

[7] In the body of BE 9 80 the title includes ÍD *Sūru*, but in the seal captions on the same tablet, it does not. The canal name Suru does not recur in Murašû texts; it may be a common noun rather than a proper name (cf. Zadok, *IOS* 8 [1978], 294).

B. Nidintu, (son of Nana-iddin) [8]
1. BE 9 80: 4/IX/40 Artaxerxes I
C. Nabu-aḫ-ittannu, son of Nana-iddin (brother of the preceding)
1. BE 10 85: 13/IV/4 Darius II

III. *ša ana muḫḫi sūti ša* ÍD ^{md}*Bēl-ab-uṣur*: "in charge of revenues of Bel-ab-uṣur's Canal":
A. Minjamen, son of Bel-ab-uṣur
1. PBS 2/1 205: 16/—/4 Darius II
2. PBS 2/1 104: 22/V/5 Darius II

IV. *pāḫātu* (LÚ.NAM) *ša* ÍD LÚ *Simmagir*: "officer in charge of the *simmagir* (Official's) Canal":
A. Apla, son of Bel-kaṣir
1. PBS 2/1 43: 2/II/2 Darius II

V. *pāḫātu ša šumēli ša Nār* ^{d}*Sîn*: "officer in charge of the left side of the Sin Canal":
A. Napsanu, son of Iddin-Nabu
1. PBS 2/1 59: —/—/2 Darius II
2. PBS 2/1 72: 25/XI/3 Darius II [9]

VI. *mudalliḫu ša imitti ša Nār* ^{d}*Sîn*: "supervisor(?) of the right side of the Sin Canal" [10]:
A. Mitraen, son of Marduk-šum-iddin (= Mitrena', No. I.C, above)
1. BE 9 59: —/—/37 Artaxerxes I

VII. *ša muḫḫi sūti ša* ÍD ^{d}[...]: "in charge of revenues of the [...] Canal":
A. [Bel-naṣir, son of] Bel-ušezib
1. No. 2: 5/V/[24] Artaxerxes I [11]

[8] Nidintu's patronym and his fraternity with Nabu-aḫ-ittannu are fixed by No. 12 (13/VIII/37 Artaxerxes I), a rental of oxen from the Murašû firm to Nabu-aḫ-ittannu, son of Nana-iddin; the tablet bears a seal impression labeled "Nabu-aḫ-ittannu, seal of Nidintu, son of Nana-iddin, in lieu of his seal"; the seal impression so captioned (Legrain, PBS 14, no. 883) is the same as Nidintu's seal impression on BE 9 80 (ibid. no. 882).

[9] Ni 2659 (29/III/40 Artaxerxes I) names Bel-ittannu *mašennu* (LÚ.IGI + DUB) *u pāḫātu* (LÚ.NAM) *ša ana muḫḫi Nār* ^{d}*Sîn*. Bel-ittannu apparently held both titles, *mašennu* and *pāḫātu*, since the Bel-ittannu called *ša ina muḫḫi sūti ša Nār* ^{d}*Sîn* in ROMCT 2 50:3 f. (20/IX/36 Artaxerxes I) is very likely the same person.

[10] *Mudalliḫu* is unique to BE 9 59. Derivation from *dalāḫu*, "stir up", scarcely clarifies the meaning. Approximate sense is clear from the equivalence of name, patronym, date, and context between BE 9 59 and No. 41.

[11] Restoration of the name Bel-naṣir is conjectural but probable. In No. 2 spacing and form indicate that the name [^{md}*B*]*ēl-ušēzib* is a patronym. The name appears as a patronym only in three other available Murašû texts, in all cases as the name of the father of Bel-naṣir (No. 107:20; PBS 2/1 22:17; BE 9 24:14). Furthermore, the name Bel-naṣir, son of Bel-[...], occurs in BE 9 7:4 f., 13 and in BE 9 16:14. In the former, Bel-naṣir is co-lessor in a lease of water from a "royal reservoir", characteristically an object of the canal manager's authority. In the latter text, Bel-naṣir is witness to a lease of water from the Bel Canal, the very canal rented by Enlil-šum-iddin in No. 2. The full form of the title in No. 2 cannot be so confidently restored. The repertoire of forms enumerated suggests *ša muḫḫi sūti ša Nār*

VIII. *ša muḫḫ[i sūti ša* ID ...]: "in charge [of revenues of the ... Canal]":
A. Tattannu, (son of Apla[?])
1. No. 25: n.d. [12]

Holders of these titles received from the Murašû firm rents due on leased canals. The receipts demonstrate that the formal variety of the managers' titles did not reflect a strictly corresponding variation in jurisdiction. Mitrena' (or Mitraen), for example, held two titles which refer to the Sin Canal; the texts are close in date and similar in content. Conversely, rents on a single canal, the Simmagir, were paid both to agents of Napsana, an officer of the Sin Canal, and to Minjamen, an officer of the Bel-ab-uṣur Canal (PBS 2/1 72 and 104, respectively).

It is equally clear that the canals named in the titles were not the only ones at the disposal of the officials. Officers of the Sin Canal received rents due on the Euphrates of Nippur (BE 9 14, 59; PBS 2/1 1; No. 43) and on the Šalla and Šapputu Canals (BE 9 59; PBS 2/1 1). An officer of the Sin Canal leased to the Murašû firm a stretch of the Badiatu Canal (TuM 2-3 147). And officers of the Bel-ab-uṣur Canal received payments due on the Aḫulija, Balaṭu, and Simmagir Canals (PBS 2/1 104, 205).

In at least some of these instances, the canals over which the officers exercised actual jurisdiction were derivatives of the canals named in their titles, and the titles therefore reflect topographic conditions. In other cases, variations in title and jurisdiction probably reflect changing conditions of management [13].

To judge by the distribution of the titles, the managers' number and domain varied over fairly short periods of time. But it is still likely that all officials named belonged to a single order and derived their authority from a single source. Titles naming the Sin Canal are the most common. They presumably were part of the same arrange-

d[*Sîn*]; so does the fact that the Bel Canal was a derivative of the Sin Canal (Zadok, *IOS* 8 [1978], 306). But *Nār* d[*Bēl*] is also possible.

12 A canal manager's title is the only possible restoration of No. 25:3′. The objects of the lease—a reservoir and crown lands—are regularly items in the canal manager's jurisdiction. No other title or epithet beginning with *ša (ana/ina) muḫḫi* ... is remotely appropriate to the context, nor are any holders of such appellatives named Tattannu. The patronym cited assumes that m*Tattannu* [...] *aplu ša* m*Aplā* in No. 25:5′ f. is identical with the canal manager in line 3′.

If these restorations are correct, then No. 1:2, again naming a lessor of crown land and a reservoir, is to be restored md*Nabû-uballiṭ aplu ša* m*Aplā aḫu ša* m*Tattannu* [*ša ana muḫḫi sūti ša* ID ...].

Identification of Tattannu, the canal manager, with Tattannu, son of Apla, the *simmagir*-official (LÚ.UD.SAR.ŠE.GA: BE 9 75, 79; BE 10 71, 101; PBS 2/1 21, 72, 87, 142, 178; No. 117), is neither demonstrable nor excluded.

13 That is, some canal names qualified by personal names refer to current tenure of the canals and/or adjoining land. Compare BE 9 29 (12/V/32 Artaxerxes I), in which Marduka rents from the Murašû firm the canal *Badiātu ša Jadiḫ-Jāma*, with No. 26 (—/—/36 Artaxerxes I), in which several persons rent the canal *Badi'āt ša Marduka*, a derivative of the *Badi'ātu*. Contrast Zadok, *IOS* 8 (1978), 314.

ment of administrative domains as the title "judge of the Sin Canal". The judges' role in Murašû texts, however, is passive. Beyond the fact that some leases, loans, and receipts were concluded in their presence, the judges' administrative or juridical competence is not indicated[14]. The rights and properties of which the canal managers disposed, on the other hand, can be reconstructed piecemeal from the surviving contracts which concern them.

Of the older published Murašû texts, only one, TuM 2-3 147, actually records a lease from a canal manager to the Murašû firm. The contract is construed in dialogue form. Rimut-Ninurta appeals for the lease, indicating an exceptional deference to the lessor, Libluṭ, manager of the Sin Canal[15]. The objects of the rental fall in two parts.

First, a stretch of canal is specified in detail (lines 2-4):

> ÍD *Badi'ātu ša ina šupāl* ÍD *Ruḫê ša ana* GN *u ana* GN_2 *aḫāmeš našû imittu u šumēlu ša ultu bābišu adi šiliḫtišu ašar mêšu illā'*
>
> The Badi'atu Canal below the Ruḫe Canal—which canals flow together to GN and GN_2—the right and left sides, from opening to tail, wherever its waters reach.

This extended description is summarized later in the same text simply as "the Badi'atu Canal". Receipts for payments made on canals to the various officers also refer to canals by name only. The present text indicates that more narrowly defined stretches are to be understood.

As Cardascia argues[16], the referent of such identifying phrases as "the Badi'atu Canal", and the primary object of the lease at hand, is precisely the canal itself, not the arable land along its banks. The "right and left sides" refer to derivatives drawn off from either side of the canal, to "wherever its waters reach". The lease conferred outright on the Murašû firm disposition of waters which affected all holders of land along derivatives of the canal.

Second, the lease names two tracts of crown land, one of them situated on the canal named, and including royal reservoirs (lines 4-7):

> *zērū pī šulpu uzbarra ša šarri ša ina muḫḫišu u mê ṣibitti ša ina libbi zērī uzbarra ša šarri ultu bāb* ÍD NN *adi miṣir ša* ÍD NN_2 *ša eli* GN_3
>
> Grain-producing land, *uzbarra* of the king, which is on it (scil. the Badi'atu Canal), and the water of the reservoir therein; *uzbarra* fields of the king, from

[14] See Eilers *Beamtennamen*, 6f. n. 3; Cardascia *Murašû*, 20; Zadok, *IOS* 8 (1978), 281.
[15] On Neo-Babylonian dialogue documents, see H. Petschow, *JCS* 19 (1965), 103-120, citing TuM 2-3 147 on p. 116; J. Renger, *JAOS* 91 (1971), 496; on dialogue-form leases, Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 5f.
[16] *Murašû*, 130.

the opening of Canal NN to the edge of Canal NN_2, above (i.e., upstream from) the town GN_3.

The word *uzbarra* is a crux. Cardascia properly saw it as an Iranian loanword[17]. Dandamayev recognized its occurrence, in the spelling *'wzbry*, on ostraca of the Parthian period from Old Nisa[18]. The form and etymology of the Parthian word are clear[19], but its precise sense is still elusive. In the Nisa texts, *'wzbry* characterizes land, chiefly vineyards, held in the outright possession of the king but kept under the management of the satrap or "commander of the fortress" (*dyzpty*)[20]. The frequent appearance of the cognate form in Murašû texts as *uzbarra* "of the king" points to a similar general sense[21]. Ebeling's rendering, "crown land", remains the best available construction of the term[22]. The text at hand makes it clear that canal managers had disposition of land belonging to the king. They must therefore be regarded as agents of the crown.

In comparison with the terms of this exceptional lease, the receipts for payments made by the Murašû firm to canal managers are laconic in naming properties on which payments were due. They are nonetheless informative. In the first place, of course, they name canals. But along with canals, the receipts repeatedly name "land of (the god) Bel" (ŠE.NUMUN ^{d}EN = *zēr* ^{d}*Bēl*) as property from which the managers of the Sin Canal drew payments[23]. In fact, "land of Bel" appears *only* in such contexts.

Cardascia suggested that this land was to be associated, if not identified, with land held by oblates of the god Bel (LÚ *širāku ša* ^{d}*Bēl*)[24]. Yet rents due from the latter were collected by an overseer (*šaknu*) of oblates who, to judge by his title, ranked with the foremen of other *ḫaṭru* associations, and who had no discernible connection with the canal managers.

[17] Ibid., 130 n. 1.

[18] "Achaemenid Babylonia", 306, citing Diakonoff and Livshits, *VDI* 1960 No. 2, 19, 25-30. Subsequently, I. M. Diakonoff and V. A. Livshits, *Parthian Economic Documents from Nisa*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part 2, Vol. I, No. I (London, n. d.), passim.

[19] On discussion and eventual rejection of the earlier reading, **'bzbry*, see Diakonoff, Diakonoff, and Livshits, "Das parthische Archiv aus dem antiken Nisā", trans. by O. Mehlitz, *Sowjetwissenschaft*, Gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Abt. 1954 no. 3, 560 ff.; Walter B. H. Henning, "Mitteliranisch", in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I. Abt., 4. Band, Iranistik, 1 (Leiden, 1958), 28 and nn. 1-3; P. W. Coxon, "The Nisa Ostraca: Ur-Ideographic Texts?" *Acta Antiqua* 21 (1973), 186 n. 3, 191.

[20] M.-L. Chaumont, *JA* 1968, 19.

[21] With *ša šarri*: BE 9 67, 73; BE 10 31, 32; PBS 2/1 62, 124, 150; Nos. 1, 23, 118. Without *ša šarri*: No. 11. Also *uzbarra ša* É SAL *ša* É.GAL, "*u.* of the Queen's Estate", BE 9 28 = TuM 2-3 179, below, p. 62.

[22] Ebeling, "Feld", *RLA* 3, 38; similarly, Oelsner, *AoF* 4 (1976), 146 f.; Zadok, *IOS* 8 (1978), 277.

[23] BE 9 14, 59; PBS 2/1 1; Nos. 41, 48.

[24] Cardascia *Murašû*, 77 n. 6.

An interpretation which is at once more plausible and more suggestive can be drawn from perusal of a text older than the Murašû Archive by a century, the "Edict of Belshazzar" (YOS 6 103)[25]. That Edict outlines the scheme of management prescribed by the Neo-Babylonian crown for (lines 1-3):

> *zēru ša* ^{d}*Bēl ša ...* ^{md}*Bēl-šar-uṣur mār šarri ina amat šarri ana rabî sâti* (LÚ.GAL.MEŠ GIŠ.BAR.MEŠ) *uza'izu*
>
> land of Bel which ... Belshazzar, the crown prince, distributed among the chiefs of revenues on the king's order.

In Cocquerillat's view the Edict expressly governed the form and development of the Neo-Babylonian "fermes générales" at Uruk, the great tracts of temple land managed under lease by contractors called "(men) in charge of revenues of the Lady of Uruk" (*ša muḫḫi sūti ša* ^{d}*Bēlet ša Uruk*)[26]. The early Achaemenid kings unquestionably maintained the crown's jurisdiction over such holdings and extracted revenues from them[27]. The temple archives of Uruk and Sippar cease to provide useful comparative information in the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes I respectively, making the later history of these latifundia hard to trace. All the same, payments made for "land of Bel" in the Murašû texts are comparable in kind and amount to payments drawn on earlier temple tracts at Uruk and Sippar[28].

It is easy, then, to suppose that the institution of such latifundia persisted, and that temple lands continued to be administered along approximately the same lines, still in the royal interest, by comparably titled managers at Nippur during the reigns of later Achaemenid kings. In fact, royal interest in "land of Bel" is explicit in No. 41, in which the "king's harvest" (*ebūru ša šarri*) forms part of the rental received by the canal manager Mitrena', just as the "king's share" (*zitti šarri*) is paid for use of canals in PBS 2/1 32 and 59[29].

There was nevertheless a significant change between the conditions of sixth-century Uruk and those of fifth-century Nippur. At Nippur, the temple's control of the real estate was no more than nominal. The land was rented out by crown officers,

[25] Coquerillat *Palmeraies*, 37ff., 108, citing prior literature. For critique, see Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 3f.

[26] *Palmeraies*, 37.

[27] Survey of royal interests in Babylonian temples in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid times: Dandamayev, "State and Temple in Babylonia in the First Millennium B.C.", in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, ed. by E. Lipiński, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 6 (1979), II, 589-596.

[28] Oelsner, *Hellenische Poleis*, II, 1056.

[29] See also BE 8/1 85, dated at Nippur early in the reign of Cambyses: the agent of an official "in charge of revenues of the Euphrates of Nippur" rents out grain-producing land; in addition to an annual rental, the lease stipulates "he (the tenant) will pay in full the king's share at the king's harbor" (lines 9f.: *zitti šarri gammirtu igammarma ana kāri ša šarri inandin*); cf. Stolper, BiMes 7 (1977), 259.

without visible involvement of members of the temple's upper administrative echelons. It was mandated not to members of the temple's own staff, but to an independent firm of general contractors, the Murašû house[30].

Finally, BE 9 80 adds crucial information on the jurisdiction of canal managers. It records a receipt of produce by two managers in the following terms (lines 1-6):

> *libbû giṭṭi ša* LÚ *sipirri ša kunukki ša* ^{md}*Ea-bullissu u* ^{m}*Nidintu ša muḫḫi sūti ša* ÍD *Ḫarri-Piqūdu u* ÍD *Sūru kunukki ša ina pān* ^{md}*Enlil-šum-iddin apli ša* ^{m}*Murašû ša nārātišu ša epinnēti*(GIŠ.APIN.MEŠ)*-šu u errēšī ša ina* ÍD *Ḫarri-Piqūdu imitti u šumēli gabbi*
>
> In accordance with the certificate (drafted) by the scribe from the sealed document (issued) by Ea-bullissu and Nidintu, who are in charge of the revenues of the Ḫarri-Piqudu and Suru Canals, the document which is in the possession of Enlil-šum-iddin, son of Murašû, governing all his canals, his plows[31], and farmers on the right and left of the Ḫarri-Piqudu Canal[32].

The officers had conferred on the Murašû firm, therefore, not only the use of canals, but also agricultural equipment and cultivators—meaning, probably, disposal of their labor or their rents.

The legal status of farmers called *errēšu* in Neo-Babylonian texts is a matter of debate; Murašû texts contribute little additional information toward a conclusion[33]. Worthy of emphasis here is the fact that, although the firm regularly supplied equipment to its tenants, in no other text do the Murašûs receive agricultural equipment from the landholders who leased to them. Furthermore, as Cardascia observed, equipment and water were the most expensive factors in the firm's leases to its tenants, while land was comparatively cheap[34]. Expensive

[30] Note here Oelsner's suggestion (*Hellenische Poleis*, II, 1060) that later Persian kings checked the strength of Babylonian temples by expropriating temple lands for distribution to crown dependents. Secularization of the management of remaining temple land would be consistent with such a policy.

Two Murašû texts concern lands of ecclesiastical personnel under different management. In BE 9 72, bow lands of the "priests of Larak (LÚ.KID.BAR.MEŠ *ša* UD.UD.KI), under control of an official called *rab umma*, is leased to the Murašû firm. That is, land belonging to the temple personnel of the city of Larak was managed by another officer with his own estate and staff (cf. LÚ *šaknu ša* LÚ *sipirē* MEŠ *ša bīt* LÚ *rab umma*, PBS 2/1 196:7, 13; *zēru ... ša* LÚ É *rab* AMA-*mu* [sic], PBS 2/1 175:1), who in turn rented the land to the Murašûs. On land of "priests of Akkad of the Tigris" (LÚ.SANGA.URI.MEŠ *ša* ÍD.IDIGNA) in PBS 2/1 135, see below, p. 95.

[31] "Plows" rather than "norias": see Falkenstein, *ZSS* 70 (1954), 411; von Soden, *Or.* NS 16 (1947), 169-171; *BiOr* 11 (1954), 206; A. Salonen *Agricultura*, 88. Note, however, Cardascia, *RA* 60 (1966), 153-164 and summary of the current state of discussion in Cardascia, *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 55 (1977), 646.

[32] Cardascia *Murašû*, 85 f., 71.

[33] See Dandamayev, "The Legal Status of Cultivators in Neo-Babylonian Documents of the VIIth-IVth Centuries B.C.", 27th International Congress of Orientalists, Papers presented by the U.S.S.R. Delegation (Moscow, 1967), 1-11; *OLZ* 67 (1972), 548 f.; *Rabstvo v Vavilonii*, 341 ff.

[34] Cardascia *Murašû*, 136 and below, p. 133.

factors affected commercial strategy and prices more than did cheap ones. As far as the Archive shows, the firm leased these expensive factors only from the canal management.

Texts from outside the Murašû Archive add some detail to the discernible role of canal managers. Two deserve mention here.

In TCL 13 150[35], a man named Aqrija is required to muster ten workers from among his field hands[36] for work on a canal, subject to the order of the "man in charge of revenues on the Piqudu Canal" (*ša muḫḫi sâti ša muḫḫi* ÍD URU *Piqūdu*)[37]. Failure to comply results in reprisal by the satrap[38]. Evidently the canal manager was charged with maintenance of waterways as well as with their disposition, and, acting with the satrap's sanction, was empowered to collect labor from landholders.

Again, in VAS 5 122[39], an individual entitled *ša muḫḫi sūti ša* Í[D ...][40] leases to another man the right to collect the canal inspector's fee (LÚ *gugallūtu*). Functions and revenues of the *gugallu* official, that is, fell under the canal manager's authority; and the latter was able to transmit them, as he did the real properties in his charge, by commercial instruments.

To summarize: canal managers were agents of the crown; they controlled the use of waterways and crown properties, agricultural equipment, and even field workers; they leased their holdings to others. Without the managers' own records, the range of their customers cannot be determined. Among the customers was a firm of general contractors, the Murašû house.

Mašennu Officials

Canal managers, however, did not have final authority in these matters. They were the subordinates of another grade of royal officials. The characteristic title of these officials emerges from No. 48, a fragmentary receipt dated in the nineteenth year of Artaxerxes I. The sense of the damaged text is clear: agents of Enlil-šum-iddin, son of Murašû, paid crops as rental on land of Bel, in keeping with the stipulations of a prior document; the payment was received by an agent of Artambaru; the latter is called a *mašennu* official (line 7′: [^{m}*A*]*r-ta-am-ba-ru* LÚ *ma-še-ni*). The same Artambaru reappears, with his title spelled LÚ.IGI+DUB, in BE 9 14, BE 9 15, and BE 10

[35] Dated 14/III/2 Cambyses, at Maškan-ili, near Uruk; see Cocquerillat *Palmeraies*, 100.

[36] LÚ.ENGAR.ME (not *amēl ālāni*).

[37] Evidently the same canal as the Ḫarri-Piqudu of the Murašû texts. The spelling ÍD *Pi-qu-*[*du*] appears in PBS 2/1 175:2.

[38] *Ḫīṭu ša* ^{m}*Gūbāri šadādu*: Petschow *Pfandrecht*, 29 n. 64.

[39] San Nicolò-Ungnad *NRV*, no. 390; 21/—/2 Darius II, at Šarranitu.

[40] Not *ša muḫḫi sūti* A.[ŠÀ ...] as in San Nicolò-Ungnad *NRV*.

60[41]. The texts thus confirm the reading IGI+DUB = *mašennu* in late Babylonian—at least in the Murašû Archive—as against Assyrian IGI+DUB = *abarakku*, "steward"[42].

The identification of the two Artambarus and the equivalence between the two spellings of the title find additional support in the fact that the title LÚ.IGI+DUB regularly appears in comparable contexts. In No. 43, the canal manager Bel-eriš figures as coadjutor with Ribat, the latter called "servant of Tattannu, the *mašennu*" (LÚ *qalla ša* ^{m}*Tattannu* LÚ.IGI+DUB). In BE 9 14 and BE 9 15, the canal manager Jadiḫ-il is himself called the agent (*mār bīti*) of Artambaru, the IGI+DUB. In BE 9 59, the canal manager Mitraen is the subordinate of Tattannu, the *mašennu*, and his receipt of payments due for use of canals and land of Bel is to be cleared with the "*mašennu* of the king" (LÚ.IGI+DUB *ša šarri*)[43]. Finally, the lease issued to the Murašû firm by the canal manager Libluṭ in TuM 2-3 147 was drafted in the presence of an "investigator" (*iprasakku*, from Iranian **frāsaka-*) of the *mašennu*'s "estate" (É LÚ.IGI+DUB). The obvious inference from these associations is that canal managers acted as subordinates of *mašennu* officials.

This inference gains strength from the fact that its reciprocal is equally well documented: the *mašennu*'s jurisdiction included rentals of canals, crown lands, and land of Bel, as texts which omit explicit mention of canal managers imply. In No. 48, Ina'duš, recipient from the Murašûs of rent due for land of Bel, is a subordinate of the *mašennu* Artambaru. In BE 10 123, payments due on the Simmagir Canal are collected by Ḫarmaḫi, subordinate of Ḫurrimunnatu, again a *mašennu* (LÚ.IGI+DUB). In PBS 2/1 143, similar payments are collected on the authorization of Ḫarmaḫi', again termed a subordinate of Ḫurrimunnatu, the *mašennu*. Finally, in PBS 2/1 78, Rimut-Ninurta, son of Murašû, pays barley due on crown land (*uzbarra*) and various canals in response to an authorization ([*akī šipirti*] *u kunukki*) issued by Šamašaja, the *mašennu*. The pattern of this mournful recitation is clear.

The following *mašennu* officials appear in available Murašû texts:

I. Artambaru (= Artabara)
  1. No. 48: —/—/19 Artaxerxes I
  2. BE 9 14: 28/X/28 Artaxerxes I
  3. BE 9 15: 1/XI/28 Artaxerxes I
  4. BE 10 60: 25/IX/2 Darius II

[41] Cf. Eilers *Beamtennamen*, 62f. n. 2.

[42] The reading IGI+DUB = *mašennu* was proposed by J. Schawe, *AfO* 6 (1931), 224f.; rejected by Landsberger, *ZA* 41 (1933), 298; favored with reservations in *CAD* A/1, 35; and adopted in *CAD* M/1, 363.

[43] Disregard the correction of BE 9 59 made in *CAD* A/1, 34b; compare the equivalent phrase, *itti* PN LÚ.IGI+DUB in BE 10 60:10f. Omission of the king's name after a regnal year mentioned in the body of the text is common.

II. Tattannu
  1. No. 43: 19/—/24 Artaxerxes I
  2. BE 9 32: 27/XII²/32 Artaxerxes I
  3. BE 9 39a: 12/I/35 Artaxerxes I
  4. BE 9 59: —/—/37 Artaxerxes I

III. Bel-ittannu
  1. Ni 2659: 29/III/40 Artaxerxes I

IV. Šamašaja
  1. PBS 2/1 78: —/—/[3] Darius II

V. Ḫurrimunnatu (= Ḫurrumunnatu, Ḫurrunnatu)
  1. PBS 2/1 130: 21/—/6 Darius II
  2. BE 10 123: 27/V/7 Darius II
  3. PBS 2/1 143: 29/—/9 Darius II

VI. Balaṭu, son of Tattannu (?)[44]
  1. BE 9 32: 27/XII²/32 Artaxerxes I
  2. BE 9 32a: 5/V/33 Artaxerxes I

The ubiquity of the various *mašennu* officials' subordinates[45] and the apparent contemporaneity of several *mašennu*s strongly indicate that the functions of the office included more than supervision of canal managers. The "Court Calendar of Nebuchadnezzar", a century older than the Murašû texts, lists twenty-two Neo-Babylonian court officials under the rubric *mašennu*; most of them were functionaries within the royal household[46]. The Murašû texts too provide a wider range of contexts for the title than those already mentioned. In BE 9 32 the *mašennu* orders the release of mortgaged properties, seemingly a judicial function[47]. No. 59 mentions two scribes of the *mašennu*'s "estate" who "measured out" (*imdudū*, that is, verified for accounting, or transferred from one account to another?) a payment of grain made by paymasters (*ušta'āmānu*) of Enlil-šum-iddin to the Persian prince Manuštanu, the satrap's son.

More notably, *mašennu*-officials controlled groups of feudatories. In BE 9 39a, the foreman of "grooms" (*kizû*) is called a servant of Tattannu, the *mašennu*; the "grooms" constituted a *ḫaṭru* (below, p. 74). A nearly contemporary text, not part of the Murašû Archive, refers to a "*ḫaṭru* of *urāšu* workers of the *mašennu*'s estate" under the control of its foreman (*šaknu*)[48]. In other Neo-Babylonian texts, workers labeled *urāšu* appear chiefly in connection with the construction and maintenance of canals, levees, and other earthworks—that is, in contexts associated with the

[44] Following the restorations of BE 9 32 and 32a proposed in *CAD* A/1, 34.
[45] See Eilers *Beamtennamen*, 62 and n. 3. Add: Nos. 1, 59.
[46] Unger *Babylon*, 282 ff.; Oppenheim in *ANET*, 307 ff.
[47] Cardascia *Murašû*, 21 n. 6, 183.
[48] Moore *Michigan Coll.* 43, dated 15/IV/14 Darius II, at Babylon.

upkeep of irrigation facilities[49]. The *mašennu*'s office was evidently supported by an administrative benefice, an estate; it controlled a labor force of fiefholders; and the *mašennu*'s subordinates extracted both service and taxes from feudatories nominally attached to the estate.

No other contexts, however, appear so frequently as those which show the affiliation of the *mašennu*'s with the canal managers, and no other contexts are so important to understanding the management of resources in the environment of the Murašû house. The *mašennu*'s connections with the administration of canals was already of some antiquity, to judge by Nbk. 63, which refers to a "canal inspector of the *mašennu*"[50].

Beyond this specific administrative framework, the *mašennu*'s control of crown properties was evidently extensive. So in BE 9 32a, a "deputy" of a *mašennu* (LÚ *šanû ša* LÚ.IGI+DUB) authorizes his agents to collect from Enlil-šum-iddin rents due on "all fields which are crown property" (*zēru gabb[i] makkūr šarri*)[51]. It is likely, therefore, that the *mašennu*s of fifth-century Nippur, like those at the sixth-century court of Nebuchadnezzar, were in some way connected with the royal households. In fact, Eilers, noting the administrative precedence of the *mašennu* over the canal managers, considered the former to be a member of the staff of the crown prince's Babylonian estates[52].

But the higher level of control, above the *mašennu*s', is elusive; it lies at the edge of the range of vision afforded by the Murašû texts. The changes brought about when Persian rule replaced the Neo-Babylonian monarchy are not obvious. Under the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, final control over the management of crown interests presumably rested with the king himself. When Babylonia became a province of the Persian Empire, the new rulers delegated command over royal interests in the province to surrogates, presumably men with wide competence. That is, another layer was created in the hierarchy of control. A few Murašû texts point, though not conclusively, to the rank and identity of some members of this administrative grade.

In the first place, there are circumstantial reasons for endorsing Eilers's proposal that at least one *mašennu* was a subordinate of the crown prince (detailed below, p. 55). Secondly, in BE 10 84, Rimut-Ninurta pays rent for canals; among them is the Canal of Nergal-danu, named in TuM 2-3 147 as the boundary of crown lands leased to the Murašû firm by the manager Libluṭ; the recipient of the rent is Pakiki, called "servant of Gobryas" (LÚ.ARAD *ša* ^{m}*Gubarri*); and this Gobryas can only be

[49] See Cocquerillat *Palmeraies*, 100 n. 170; Dandamayev, *OLZ* 67 (1972), 550.
[50] Cf. Stolper, BiMes 7 (1977), 258.
[51] Not *zēru zaq[pu]* as in Augapfel, 29, excluded both by the traces and by the context.
[52] *Beamtennamen*, 62 ff.

the satrap of that name who governed Babylonia during the reign of Darius II [53]. Thirdly, an unpublished text indicates that recipients of rents for land of Bel and for canals were administratively responsible in at least one instance not only to a canal manager and *mašennu*, but also to a certain Manuštanu, son of Artareme [54]; Manuštanu was a member of the Achaemenid royal family, he controlled other administrative interests in Babylonia, and his father was the satrap of Babylonia in the time of Artaxerxes I (below, pp. 90 f.).

Taken together, these points suggest that lines of control over canals and other crown properties ran upward through a social as well as an administrative scale. They ended not in a single viceroy but in various figures of imperial court rank: not only the satrap, but also other members of the royal family. This construction is consistent with evidence from other categories of property still to be discussed.

Conversely, seen from the highest ranks it appears that title to the use of canals and supervision of at least some of the crown's other holdings passed along this line: king — princes, satrap — *mašennu* — canal manager — Murašû firm — tenants of the Murašû firm.

The Canal Management and the Murašû Firm

The managers of canals and other crown interests conferred on the Murašû house two categories of real resources, land and water. The firm, in turn, subleased these properties to its own tenants. This practice is explicit in No. 25, where prospective tenants ask Enlil-šum-iddin (lines 2-4):

> *mê ṣibittu ša* [*šarri ... u zēru uzbarra ša ina muḫḫi ša ana sūti*] *lapāni* ^{m}*Tattannu ša muḫḫ*[*i sūti ša* ÍD NN] *kullātu bī innannâšima*
>
> Give us (scil. on sublease) the waters of the [royal] reservoir [... and the *uzbarra* field adjoining it, which] you hold [on lease] from Tattannu, who is in charg[e of revenues of the canal NN] [55].

As suppliers of rented land, canal managers stood in much the same contractual and economic relationship to the firm as did other landholders. Eilers considered these relations to be a mechanism of tax farming; his position was extensively criticized by Cardascia [56]. In fact, payments exacted by canal managers and their superiors were not taxes, but rents. But since the crown was the lessor, rents were

[53] Meissner, *OLZ* 7 (1904), 384 f.; *DLZ* 1904, 2210; W. Röllig, *RLA* 3, 671 f.; Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 97.
[54] Ni 2659.
[55] The restorations are certain. ŠE.NUMUN *uzbarra* is restored from line 7 of the same text. On the canal manager's title, see n. 12. The whole phrase is paralleled by PBS 2/1 123:4 f. ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ ... *ša ana* GIŠ.BAR *lapāni* PN [... *k*]*ullātunu ana* GIŠ.BAR *bī innanš*[*i*]*mma*.
[56] Eilers *Beamtennamen*, 61-64; Cardascia *Murašû*, 189-192.

crown revenues comparable in substance—at least from the crown's point of view—to taxes drawn from property in the hands of others [57]. Since the individuals who received the rents were agents of the crown, it is fair to characterize them as "fiscal officers" at least in an extended sense, and to consider the canals named in their titles to be labels of "fiscal districts" [58].

As a supplier of rented water, on the other hand, the canal management was unique. So far as the Murašû texts show, *only* the canal management supplied the firm with title to canals and reservoirs. Correspondingly, one must presume that most if not all of the canals at the disposal of the Murašûs were leased on similar terms from the same source [59]. These leases had an important effect on the firm's economic position. They provided the firm with an income over and above that which it drew from the exploitation of land and movable factors alone. The Murašûs obtained this added income in two ways.

First, they sold water directly to independent farmers. Two texts illustrate this practice. In BE 9 7, a group of feudatories rents from Enlil-šum-iddin and two other persons [60] the use of water from a royal reservoir (*ṣibittu ša šarri*). They are to irrigate their bow land for four days in each month. In return, they are to pay one third of the crop watered by direct flow (É A.MEŠ = *bīt mê*) and one fourth of the crop from land watered by bucket irrigation (*bīt dāli*). In addition, they are to pay one shekel of silver for each *kur* of area of the former land, and two-thirds shekel for each *kur* of the latter.

In BE 9 16, another group of feudatories rents from Enlil-šum-iddin water from the Bel Canal, a derivative of the Sin Canal, for use on the orchards of their bow land. In return, they are to pay a share of their date crop, evidently one fourth [61]. In this case, Enlil-šum-iddin demonstrably acquired the water to be rented to his tenants in a prior lease from the canal management: No. 2 preserves the lease which transferred the Bel Canal to Enlil-šum-iddin's control.

By these means, the Murašûs' contracts with the canal management provided them with an income drawn from bow lands which were not under the firm's own management. The income was as much as a quarter to a third of the production

[57] Similarly, Cardascia *Murašû*, 99, considers the "king's share" (*zitti šarri*) a tax. In BE 9 73, it is paid on crown land (*uzbarra*); in PBS 2/1 59, on canals; in PBS 2/1 32, it is called "rent" or "revenue" (GIŠ.BAR = *sūtu*) of a canal. Compare the "king's harvest" (*ebūru ša šarri*) paid as "rent/revenue" on land of Bel in No. 41.

[58] Thus Zadok, *IOS* 8 (1978), 281 and passim.

[59] Contrast Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 31.

[60] The coadjutors, Bel-naṣir and Iddin-Bel, cannot be identified with more precision. The former may be the canal manager named in No. 2.

[61] On BE 9 7 (12/IX/26 Artaxerxes I) and BE 9 16 (5/XII/28 Artaxerxes I), see San Nicolò, *Studi Arangio-Ruiz*, I, 69-74 and Cardascia *Murašû* 178 f.

from such properties, amounts comparable to the rents paid by tenants who leased grain-producing land from the firm on sharecropping terms (*ana errēšūti*)[62]. Although the feudatories of BE 9 7 and 16 held outright legal possession of their bow lands, with respect to the Murašûs their position was economically tantamount to tenancy; and conversely, these two leases of water gave the Murašûs an income equivalent to that of a landlord.

BE 9 7 and 16, however, are the only two surviving contracts of their kind in the Archive. A second means of disposing of canals is much more frequently recorded. The firm rented canals to its own tenants, usually together with land, draft animals, equipment, and seed. Indeed, the Bel Canal figures once more in a fragment of such a lease, No. 30.

As Cardascia saw, when canals are explicitly included in such leases, the rents required of the tenants are markedly higher than when no canals are mentioned[63]. The bases and implications of this observation are amplified in Chapter VI. For the present it is enough to remark that the properties which the firm leased from the canal management not only produced rents directly for the firm but also brought about a substantial increase in rents which the firm was able to draw from other resources. The officials who controlled the use of canals and other crown holdings transmitted to the firm a resource which greatly enhanced its economic strength; the crown's own agents, therefore, fostered and effectively underwrote the major operations of the firm.

[62] Cardascia *Murašû*, 139; Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 78. Add No. 10, where the stipulated rental is a one-fourth share.

[63] Cardascia *Murašû*, 136 and n. 2.

CHAPTER III

TENURE AND MANAGEMENT: LANDED ESTATES

There is general agreement that notables in the Achaemenid Empire commonly held large and widely scattered estates. Both Classical and Near Eastern texts allude frequently to lands and villages throughout the Empire which belonged to members of the royal family, courtiers, and other members of the Empire's uppermost political or social ranks.

There is less agreement on the composition, character, and uses of these holdings. Cardascia viewed estates in Babylonia to be "granted in fief" to their prominent owners, hence grossly comparable in status to lands held by *ḫaṭru* associations [1]. Dandamayev considered such estates to be tax-free alods, distinct not only in scale but also in fiscal and juridical status from the "feudal" holdings which comprised the *ḫaṭrus* [2]. Oelsner concluded that Babylonian textual evidence is insufficient to determine the private or "feudal" character of the Achaemenid aristocracy's real properties [3].

The issue has historical importance. Any encumbrances on large estates immediately affected both the absolute amounts of the resources at the state's command and the channels through which the state extracted and expended those resources. Furthermore, since real property, revenues, and services were a large part of the aristocracy's wealth, they were also determinants of its political behavior. Estates of the Empire's most powerful figures contributed both to the existence and to the playing out of struggles between the Great King and his rivals.

Diverse sources show that large estates ought not to be considered simply as part of their owners' personal wealth, remote from the functions of imperial administrative services and the governance of the Empire. Persepolis Fortification texts from the reign of Darius I, for example, use "estate" (Elamite *irmatam*) and "house" (Elamite *ulhi*) as terms of address in recording receipts and disbursals of commodities which were the immediate concern of royal archivists. State workers were assigned at these places; state revenues were spent there; and records were compiled

[1] *Murašû*, 7.
[2] "Achaemenid Babylonia", 304; *Historia* Einzelschrift 18, 29 f.; *AoF* 1 (1974), 123; similarly Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 108.
[3] *AoF* 4 (1976), 147.

there of transactions in the state economy monitored from Persepolis[4]. The Persepolis texts also provide grounds for reinterpreting the numerous Classical allusions to the Great King's gifts of villages to his relatives and courtiers. The grants did not confer unrestricted ownership of lands and persons; rather, they ceded part of the revenues otherwise due to the crown, and delegated responsibility for collecting the remainder of the crown's levies[5].

In the fifth century B.C., Aršam, satrap of Egypt, sent one of his minions from the court at Susa or Babylon to his satrapy; he issued an Aramaic document which ordered superintendents at stations along the route to supply the party of travelers with rations "from my estate which is in your district"; that document survives[6]. In the past, it was understood to indicate that Aršam owned estates throughout Syria. Lately, Whitehead has shown convincingly that the text instead reflects administrative practices which are copiously documented in the Persepolis archives. The Aramaic letter authorizes superintendents of estates held by other members of the nobility to supply the travelers and to debit Aršam's own estates; debits are to be transferred and cleared through a system of accounting operated by the imperial government[7].

These instances indicate that imperial administrators routinely drew on the resources and facilities of the estates of noblemen to extract, expend, and record the state's wealth. Landed estates were not insulated from the apparatus of political control; they were part of it.

At the same time, large holdings were a potential threat to the Great King. His courtiers and relatives included his political rivals. Their estates were means of supporting their political behavior. A sufficient example is familiar from Xenophon's Anabasis: Cyrus the Younger quartered and supplied a rebel army at his own estates and parks and at those of his mother, the queen Parysatis, during his march against his brother, Artaxerxes II (Anabasis 1.2.7, 1.4.7).

Murašû texts refer to estates of named individuals with the general term "house" (É = *bītu*), comparable to Aramaic *byt'*, Elamite *ulhi*, Old Persian *viθ-*, all with the same general meaning and the same specific nuance. In these as in other languages, "house" covers many shades of meaning. But enough Murašû texts clearly indicate that land belonging to men and women of outstanding rank is meant that the term

[4] Hallock, *PFT*, 704 s.v. *irmatam*, 767 s.v. *ulhi*; Hinz, *Neue Wege im Altpersischen*, Göttinger Orientforschungen, III. Reihe: Iranica, 1 (Wiesbaden, 1973), 60-62; Dandamayev, *AoF* 2 (1975), 76. Cf. P. Briant, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, Ser. III, 9/4 (1979), 1395 n. 89.

[5] Briant, *JESHO* 18 (1975), 177f.; *Annali ... Pisa* 9/4 (1979), 1394; *Zamân* 2-3 (1980), 83f. (all reprinted in *Rois, tributs et paysans* [1982]); cf. Hallock, *PFT*, 23.

[6] Driver, *Aramaic Documents*, Letter VI; Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte*, no. 67.

[7] Whitehead, "Early Aramaic Epistolography", 60-64; independently, Briant, *Annali ... Pisa* 9/4 (1979), 1395 n. 89; cf. Greenfield, *VT* Supplement 32 (1981), 126 n. 51.

"landed estates" is justified. The size of estates cannot be determined with any precision. The holdings were run by local bailiffs, while the owners are remote figures in the texts. But the owners are regularly named, and they are sometimes identifiable from other sources. Princes and courtiers are egregious among them.

The following pages survey the Murašû texts' evidence bearing on the management, composition, and ownership of the most conspicuous estates. The discussion concentrates on holdings of the royal family. Philological issues necessitate occasional digressions. The purpose of this survey is to establish two premises: first, that figures of major political importance held landed interests in Babylonia, specifically within the Murašû firm's range of concern; and second, that their properties were economically and juridically complex, in that they included land held in "feudal" tenure by members of *ḫaṭru* associations. Hence, if the estate owners were politically active, and if their properties supported their political ambitions, the pattern of tenure transmitted the effects of their activity to the petty feudatories of the region.

The Crown Prince's Estate

The most conspicuous of the estates of the royal family is that of the crown prince. The Murašû texts normally refer to it with the unequivocal Babylonian name "house of the king's son", É (LÚ.)DUMU.LUGAL = *bīt mār šarri*[8]. During the first seven years of the reign of Darius II, it was in the care of a single overseer, Labaši, son of Nabu-mit-uballiṭ. He is entitled "bailiff" or "superintendent" (*paqdu*) of the estate, and its lands are said to be "in his hands"[9]. The properties under his supervision, however, included not only lands of the estate itself (*zēru ša bīt mār šarri*)[10], but also bow lands which constituted a *ḫaṭru* named for the estate (*ḫaṭru ša bīt mār šarri*)[11].

In BE 10 101, Labaši authorizes his agents to collect silver for taxes (*ilku*) due on fifteen fiefs of this *ḫaṭru*; the fiefs are under the immediate management of the Murašû firm. Labaši, then, occupied a position comparable to that of the foremen of other *ḫaṭru*s, or to that of their superiors. Conversely, at least a portion of the crown prince's estate was parceled out in fiscally liable bow lands. Taxes from the fiefs did not pass directly to the crown, but went first to the management of the estate.

Another *ḫaṭru* is affiliated, at least in name, with the same estate. Four texts refer to a *ḫaṭru* of "swordbearers(?) of the crown prince's estate" (LÚ.GÍR.LÁ.MEŠ *ša* É

[8] BE 10 5, 31, 45, 59, 95, 101; PBS 2/1 51, 52, 90, 133, 202.
[9] BE 10 59, 101; PBS 2/1 90, 202.
[10] BE 10 95:2; PBS 2/1 202:2.
[11] BE 10 101:12; 31:3.

DUMU.LUGAL)[12]. Several men are named at various times as foremen. One is Artambar, son of Sîn-eṭir[13]. Eilers proposed that this Artambar was identical with the *mašennu* official of the same name, and that in both capacities he was a member of the staff of the crown prince's estate and an agent of the crown[14].

Without the *mašennu*'s patronym this identification cannot be confirmed. It can, however, be supported by an elaborate train of circumstantial connections. First, lands under the control of Artambar the foreman included bow-fiefs in a place called Bit Kibbu[15]. Second, one of the agents of the canal manager Jadiḫ-il, himself a subordinate of Artambar the *mašennu*, is a man entitled "ration apportioner ... who is in charge of the *gardu* persons of Bit Kibbu" (LÚ *pitipabaga ... ša ina muḫḫi garda ša* É *Kibbu*)[16]. Third, among the agents authorized by Labaši the bailiff to collect rents on lands of the crown prince's estate are men entitled "clerk of the *gardu* persons" (LÚ *sipīri ša* LÚ *gardu*) and "ration apportioner of the *gardu* persons" (LÚ *pitipabaga ša* LÚ *gardu*), while a man called "chief of *gardu* persons" (LÚ *gardupatu*) appears as Labaši's co-adjutor[17].

The circumstantial association between the two Artambars, that is, is triangular: Artambar the foreman had an area of jurisdiction comparable to that of the subordinate of Artambar the *mašennu*; the surbordinate of Artambar the *mašennu* had a title comparable to that of the subordinate of Labaši; and the estate which Labaši managed appears to include the *ḫaṭru* which was under the supervision of Artambar the foreman[18]. There is enough overlap of detail to support the contention that the two Artambars are the same.

If so, it is likely that the canal management and the staff of the crown prince's estate were functionally and administratively interrelated. The precise nature of the putative interconnection is not manifest.

[12] BE 10 5, 45; PBS 2/1 128, 133. On the ambiguity of GÍR.LÁ = *nāš patri*, "swordbearer", or *ṭābiḫu*, "slaughterer", see Brinkman, *Or.* NS 34 (1965), 249 n. 1; the choice adopted here follows Butz, *WZKM* 68 (1978), 199. Compare the *ḫaṭru* of "lancebearers" (*aštebarriāna*) BE 10 76, below, p. 78. The texts give no grounds for deciding whether "swordbearer" has true military reference or is an honorific court title; for the latter sense, cf. the "spearbearer" and "bowbearer" of Darius I labeled on the tomb relief at Naqš-e Rustam (DNc, DNd; Borger, *VT* 22 [1972], 389 ff.).

[13] PBS 2/1 128:3 f.; 133:8 f.

[14] *Beamtennamen*, 62 ff.

[15] PBS 2/1 133 (21/VI/7 Darius II).

[16] BE 9 15 (1/XI/28 Artaxerxes I).

[17] BE 10 95 (3/XII/4 Darius II).

[18] In fact the "*ḫaṭru* of the crown prince's estate" may be an elliptical name for the organization also called "*ḫaṭru* of the swordbearers of the crown prince's estate"; see below, pp. 79 ff. on *ḫaṭru* names of the type (*šušānē ša*) *bīt* NN.

Gardu and Associated Terms

In fact, each of the middle terms of the foregoing prosopographic comparison conceals a crux. The word *gardu* and its congeners are the objects of much discussion but only partial consensus [19]. An excursus is needed to summarize issues attached to the word and to the titles associated with it in the Murašû texts.

The etymological equivalence of Babylonian *gardu* with Aramaic *grd'*, Elamite *kurtaš*, and an original Iranian **gṛda-* [20] has been generally accepted since it was proposed by Walter Henning; so has Henning's etymological comparison of the various forms with Avestan *gərəda-*, "house", and his semantic comparison with Greek οἰκέτης and Old Persian *māniya-*, "domestic servant" [21]. Most subsequent discussions concentrate on the richly documented Elamite form but imply the general applicability of their conclusions to kindred terms and contexts from other Achaemenid sources [22].

Translations and interpretations of the social implications of *gardu*, *grd'*, and/or *kurtaš* fall roughly into two schools:

(a) "Slaves": prisoners of war, reduced to slavery (Dandamayev); slave artisans, owned by the satrap (Kraeling); enslaved workers, whose income and security were superior to those of free workers (Altheim and Stiehl) [23].

(b) "Workers": half-free workers and craftsmen (Harmatta); fully free workers (Tiurine); domestic personnel and workers in general (Klíma, Hinz, Grelot); workers in the widest sense, including artisans, conscripts, semi-free persons, and chattel slaves (Hallock, Dandamayev); state-dependent workers comparable to the λαοί βασιλικοί of Hellenistic kingdoms (Briant) [24].

[19] Eilers, *ZDMG* 90 (1936), 193 f., citing previous literature. Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen* (Wiesbaden, 1964), 120; Schmitt, *Kratylos* 25 (1980), 39.

[20] Hinz, *Neue Wege im Altpersischen*, 53 and *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 107, postulates the underlying Iranian form as **gṛdya-*.

[21] Henning apud Gershevitch, *Asia Major* N.S. 2 (1951), 141 f. V. O. Tiurine demurred even in acceptance of this etymology: "Quelques nouvelles observations sur les documents économiques élamites de Persepolis", XXV[e] Congrès internationale des orientalistes, Conférences présentées par la délégation de l'U.R.S.S. (Moscow, 1960), 1-7.

[22] A commendable exception is Dandamayev, "Forced Labor in the Palace Economy in Achaemenid Iran", *AoF* 2 (1975), 71-78, scrupulously distinguishing among Elamite, Babylonian, and Aramaic textual and social contexts.

[23] Dandamayev, "Foreign Slaves", 2-3, citing Diakonoff, *VDI* 1959 no. 4, 78; Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, 34; F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden* (Frankfurt, 1959), II, 173-177, 181.

[24] J. Harmatta, "Das Problem der Sklaverei im altpersischen Reich", in *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der alten Welt*, ed. by Elisabeth C. Welskopf (Berlin, 1964), I, 3-11; Tiurine, "Quelques nouvelles observations", 5; Hinz, *Neue Wege im Altpersischen*, 53; *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 107; O. Klíma, *AoF* 5 (1977), 92 f.; Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte*, 313; Hallock, *PFT*, 717; Dandamayev, *Historia* Einzelschrift 18, 37-42; *AoF* 2 (1975), 75-77; Briant, *Annali ... Pisa* 9/4 (1979), 1395, cf. *Index* 8 (1978-79), 77.

The weight of opinion has favored the second school since Hallock's publication of Persepolis Fortification tablets. In those texts, *kurtaš*, the Elamite reflex of **gṛda-*, is the chief label for members of the state-controlled labor force—that is, workers assigned, paid, and accounted for through the state agencies controlled from Persepolis.

The re-edited Babylonian version of Darius's Bisitun inscription adds a fresh datum to the issue. In the much-discussed § 14, it refers to Darius's restoration to the army (OP *kāra-*, Elamite *taššup*, Babyl. *ūqu*)[25] of property which Gaumāta had taken away. The property is summarized as "cattle, sheep, fields, hired workers, bow lands". Babylonian LÚ.ḪUN.GÁ = *agru*, "hired worker", renders Elamite *kurtaš* and Old Persian *māniya-*[26]. The implication of this usage is scarcely unequivocal, but it favors the general sense of "workers" and the particular nuance of "workers assigned by the crown to estates"[27]. Similarly, Dandamayev summarizes the evidence of Babylonian legal texts with the assertion that *gardu* persons in Babylonia were workers attached to the estates of kings and their nobles, not enslaved but "semi-free" (*glebae adscriptii*)[28].

The understanding of Babylonian *gardupatu* and Elamite *kurdabattiš*, both reflexes of an Iranian **gṛda-pati-*, depends on the sense attributed to *gardu*. Most authors limit their translations to "chief of *gardu*s" or the like. Hinz, however, distinguishing between **gṛda-* "house" and **gṛdya-* "household personnel", holds that **gṛdapati-* is to be understood as "Haushofmeister" or "major-domo" in the service of the king or of landed aristocrats, hence roughly synonymous with Babylonian *paqdu* (or LÚ.GAL.É = *rab bīti*, see below, p. 60)[29].

The final title associated with *gardu* in the texts adduced above, *pitipabaga*, was the object of extended discussion by Eilers, who determined the probable meaning "steward"[30]. Subsequent treatments agree in rendering Iranian **piθva-* (**piθfa-*) as "rations" and **piθva-baga-* as "distributor of rations"[31]. No cognate loanword

[25] In Babylonian, plural, hence "army", not "populace"; see von Voigtlander *Bisitun*, 17:26; for Wiesehöfer, *Die Aufstand Gaumātas*, 100 ff., the passage refers to the Persian nobility in particular.

[26] Von Voigtlander *Bisitun*, 17:26.

[27] At the time of DB's composition, translation, and dissemination, the Iranian loanword *gardu* was not yet in common Babylonian use. The Babylonian version of DB generally avoids loanwords. An approximate Babylonian equivalent was selected to render the original Elamite *kurtaš*. In the context, LÚ.ḪUN.GÁ = *agru* cannot imply free wage laborers. I presume the term was selected to indicate workers drawing periodic payments as distinct from those remunerated with income-producing property.

[28] *AoF* 2 (1975), 75.

[29] *Neue Wege im Altpersischen*, 54; *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 107.

[30] *Beamtennamen*, 59-81; similarly Hinz, *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 193; von Soden, *AHw.*, 869, cites Eilers, but translates "messmate".

[31] Benveniste, *JA* 1954 300 and n. 1; Eilers, *AfO* 17 (1936), 333; Driver, *Aramaic Documents*, 61; Harmatta, "Das Problem der Sklaverei", 7; Brandenstein and Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*,

occurs in Achaemenid Elamite. In Fortification texts, "rations" are expressed with an Elamite noun (*gal*); the individuals apportioning rations, with Elamite verbal phrases (*šarama-*). But identification of "ration apportioners" is the most frequent form of specification for groups of *kurtaš* workers [32].

Rations (PAD.ḪI.A = *kurummātu*) for *gardu* persons appear in VAS 3 138 and 139 [33]. Both occurrences of Babylonian *pitipabaga* link the title with *gardu*s. The man so designated in BE 9 15, already cited, reappears in PBS 2/1 2 (11/—/Acc. Darius II) without title, but in a similar connection. Here, he and another man collect from the Murašû firm a payment of dates due on land of *gardu*s under the firm's management. The recipients are authorized to make the collection, however, neither by the *mašennu* nor by the manager of the crown prince's estate, but by three other men: Ardija, son of Bulluṭ, without title; Aḫušunu, foreman (*šaknu*) of *gardu* persons; and Ṣiḫa', called "satrap" (LÚ *aḫšadrapanu*).

Despite the striking title, the real functional identity of this "satrap" is open to question. The title may label the provincial governor of Babylonia, that is, the satrap in the sense usual among modern historians. But Babylonian texts normally identify Achaemenid governors with the Babylonian titles LÚ.EN.NAM = *bēl pīḫāti*, or LÚ.NAM = *pīḫātu*, *pāḫātu*; and Ṣiḫa' is not otherwise attested as governor (see below, p. 94). "Satrap" may equally refer to a lower ranking political or administrative officer, with only local competence [34]. In either case, the Iranian etymology of the word, **xšaθra-pāvan-*, "protector of the king" [35], strongly suggests that the individual so entitled was a crown officer, hence that the *gardu*s in Babylonia, like *kurtaš* workers at Persepolis, were under the surveillance of a crown agency.

There is, therefore, some convergence—albeit intricate—between these inferences and observations and the earlier remarks on Artambar the *mašennu*. The *mašennu* appears to be one of the administrative superiors of *gardu*s employed on the crown prince's estate; in other contexts, the *mašennu* is charged with overseeing crown interests. Ṣiḫa' the "satrap" is an administrative superior of *gardu*s; to judge by his title alone, he is an agent of the crown. There are grounds for supposing that in Babylonia, as at Persepolis, state agencies oversaw the assignment and remuneration of *gardu* workers and consequently that administrative apparatuses of state and estate were effectively interdependent.

140; Zadok, *BiOr* 33 (1975), 5. (The cognate term proposed by Zadok, Babylonian *LÚ *pit-pu-da* from Iranian **piθfa-dā-*, "ration giver", does not exist. In CT 4 27 Bu. 88-5-12, 336:5 and 8, read LÚ.TIL.GÍD.DA = *qīpu*).

[32] See Hallock, *PFT*, 27f.

[33] San Nicolò-Ungnad *NRV* no. 678.

[34] M.H. Pognon, *JA* 1917, 394ff. But note the sequence *ana šarri aḫšadrapānu u dajānu*, "(lawsuit) before king, satrap, or judge", PBS 2/1 21:7.

[35] Most recently, R. Schmitt, "Der Titel 'Satrap'", in *Studies in Greek, Italic and Indo-European Linguistics offered to Leonard R. Palmer*, ed. by A.M. Davies and W. Meid (Innsbruck, 1976), 373-390.

A further salient question must remain unexplored here, but it may at least be posed: can the occasional mentions of *gardu*s and their superiors be understood to imply the existence in fifth-century Babylonia of a royal economic apparatus comparable in type, scale, and complexity to that documented in sixth-century Elamite texts from Persepolis? That is, did a regime of production and extraction based on state-assigned workers drawing supplies and rations from state agencies, the central concern of the Persepolis texts, co-exist with the regime of "feudal" and manorial agriculture which is the chief concern of the Murašû texts? One striking difference between the two situations is plain. As far as the Persepolis archives show, workers called *kurtaš* were paid rations through an intricate system of storage, disbursal, and control. To judge by the associated title *pitipabaga*, "ration apportioner", and the clear reference of VAS 3 138 and 139, Babylonian *gardu* workers also drew rations, seemingly under state supervision. But other texts (PBS 2/1 2, BE 10 92) demonstrate that Babylonian *gardu*s also held bow lands organized in a *ḫaṭru* association. That is, they drew on *both* of the classic remunerative devices of ancient Near Eastern state economies: ration payments and allotments of income-producing property[36]. The two types of payment were at least not incompatible.

Despite the somewhat tangled concerns and inconclusive evaluations of this excursus, one fact remains clear. The crown prince's estate included taxable "feudal" holdings, organized in *ḫaṭru*s. The management of the estate collected the taxes for which the feudatories were liable. The personal services of the feudatories must also have been extracted by the staff of the estate. The feudatories must be considered the immediate dependents or subordinates of the estate and its master.

Comparable results emerge from consideration of philological cruxes in another group of texts dealing with the same estate.

Bīt Umasupitrû

Two Murašû texts refer to the crown prince's estate under an Iranian name, spelled É *ú-ma-as-pi-it-ru-ú* (BE 9 101:2) and É *ú-ma-su-pi-it-ru-ú* (BE 10 15:4, 6). Formal explication of the term is mainly due to Eilers, according to whom the Babylonian spellings render an Iranian **vaisapuθra-*, which is in turn linked etymologically with **vīsa-puθra-*, literally "son of the house". Congeners and reflexes of these terms appear throughout the languages of the Achaemenid Empire and its successors: Avestan *vīso-puθra-*, Middle Iranian *vāspuhr* and *vispuhr*, Sogdian *wyšpšy*, Achaemenid Elamite *misapušša*, *mišša putra*, and *misapušaš*, Aramaic *br byt'*, Babylonian DUMU.É = *mār bīti*, and so on. In its Achaemenid uses, "son of the house"

[36] By extension, the same may have been true of other feudatories, though no comparable evidence exists.

designates a "prince". On Eilers's interpretation, the *bīt umasupitrû* is the crown prince's estate[37].

Yet no less an authority than Walter Henning explicitly rejected Eilers's conclusions[38]. Part of Henning's critique can be rebutted; the rest in fact favors identifying the *bīt umasupitrû* with the crown prince's estate.

First, Henning considered the Aramaic *br byt'* a clear indication that the contemporary Old Iranian term was understood as two separate elements. The various Elamite spellings, however, now offer still clearer countervailing examples. The Iranian word in Achaemenid times was a single compound noun. Aramaic *br byt'* as well as Babylonian DUMU.É = *mār bīti* are loan translations[39].

Second, Henning argued that Middle Iranian *vāspuhr* is distinct in meaning from *vispuhr*, "prince". The Pahlavi context on which he drew requires *vāspuhr* to distinguish the crown prince in particular from his various rival princes. He added that Sassanian practice, supposedly following Achaemenid usage, did not use *vispuhr* of the king's sons, but only of his uncles, cousins, and so on. In fact, the Murašû texts accommodate this critique. If *umasupitrû* refers to the same figure as DUMU.LUGAL does, it distinguishes the crown prince's estate from those of twelve other men who appear in the Archive with the appellative DUMU.É, "prince". Wherever plausible identifications can be made, these men are cousins, uncles, and so on, rather than sons of the king. The various cognate forms, it now appears, are best sorted according to the equations proposed by Butz[40]: Iranian *vis(a)puθra* = Elamite *mišša̯putra*, etc. = Aramaic *br byt'* = Babylonian DUMU.É = "prince" (i.e., agnate of the king); Iranian **vās(a)puθra* = Babylonian DUMU.LUGAL = "crown prince"; Babylonian *umasupitrû* transcribes a derived adjective, Iranian **vās(a)puθrava-*.

Finally, in BE 10 15, the foreman (*šaknu*) of the *bīt umasupitrû* is a certain Labaši. His patronym is not supplied. He is represented by his "associate" (ŠEŠ = *aḫu*), Bel-idišu, son of Bel-asua. The associate reappears in PBS 2/1 21 as Bel-idiš, the "assistant of the major domo" (*šanû ša rab bîti*). Without further qualification, LÚ.GAL.É = *rab bīti* is unlikely to refer to a different function than does LÚ.GAL.

[37] On *umasupitrû*: Eilers, *AfO* 17 (1956), 335; "Die altiranische Vorform des *Vāspuhr*", in *A Locust's Leg*, 55-63. On other reflexes: H. W. Bailey, *Transactions of the Philological Society of London* 1956, 91; E. Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres en Iranien ancien*, Travaux de l'Institut d'études iraniennes de l'Université de Paris, 1 (1966), 22-26; Driver, *Aramaic Documents*, 12-14; Mayrhofer, *Studia Pagliaro*, III, 110; et al.

[38] "The Survival of an Ancient Term", in *Indo-Iranica, Mélanges présentées à Georg Morgenstierne* (Wiesbaden, 1964), 95-97.

[39] Cf. S. A. Kaufman, AS 19 (1974), 70.

[40] *WZKM* 68 (1976), 200. Zadok's reading with personal determinative LÚ (*IOS* 7 [1977], 108) is erroneous.

É DUMU.LUGAL = *rab bīt mār šarri*, "major domo of the crown prince"[41], and it is correspondingly probable that Labaši the foreman of the *bīt umasupitrû* is the same man as Labaši the bailiff of the crown prince's estate (É DUMU.LUGAL = *bīt mār šarri*).

If the *bīt umasupitrû* is indeed the crown prince's estate, then BE 10 15 gives more evidence on the partitioning of that estate into holdings liable for taxes and service. In that text[42], Labaši's associate turns over to Enlil-šum-iddin the bow lands of persons termed LÚ *girisuakarrānu u* LÚ *ālik madakta ša bīt umasupitrû*. In return, Enlil-šum-iddin is to make an annual payment of six minas of silver, designated *palāḫ šarri*, "royal service". The exceptional terminology of the transaction requires another digression.

First, the appellative *girisuakarrānu* is unique. It is presumed to be an Iranian loanword, formed on the root *kar-*, "work, make", with Babylonian plural ending *-ānu*. The rest of its etymology and meaning are uncertain[43].

The second appellative, *ālik madakta*, is also unique. The phrase *ana madakta alāku*, "to perform military service", however, is frequent in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid texts. It appears in the Murašû Archive in PBS 2/1 114, which records a loan of silver and barley as (lines 1-2)

> *idī u* [*ṣi*]*dītu gamri ša* 3 *ṣābī šarri ša ana a-*[*l*]*a-ku ana ma-*ʳ*dak-tú*ˀ
>
> full pay and supplies for three royal soldiers, for performing military service[44].

Third, the phrase read in BE 10 15 as *palāḫ šarri* was formerly read PA.Ú LUGAL, with uncertain meaning[45]. The correct reading is established by No. 31, in which a certain Ninurta-iddin says to Enlil-ḫatin of the Murašû firm (lines 2′-6′):

> *eqlēti ... ša ana pa-làḫ šarri ina pānika bī innamma lukīl šarra ina muḫḫi lu-pal-lìḫ u ebūru uṭṭatu u suluppē ša ina libbi ana ramanija kūm pal-làḫ šarri lūš*
>
> Turn over to me the fields ... which are at your disposal for performance of royal service; let me take possession of them. I will perform the royal service due from them, and I will take for myself the crops, the barley and dates, which (grow) on them, as compensation for the royal service.

[41] E.g., VAS 5 60, 129; VAS 3 36. Note LÚ.GAL.É among the *mašennus* listed in the "Court Calendar of Nebuchadnezzar": Unger *Babylon* 285 iii 39.

[42] 8/II/1 Darius II; cf. Augapfel, 58 f.; Cardascia *Murašû*, 140; Eilers, *A Locust's Leg*, 55 ff.

[43] See Eilers *Beamtennamen*, 9 n. 1; *A Locust's Leg*, 55 ff.; Hinz, *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 153 s.v. **kršvakara-*; Zadok, *JAOS* 102 (1982), 115.

[44] Collated. 20/XII²/5 Darius II; cf. Augapfel, 18.

[45] Cardascia *Murašû*, 133 f.; Eilers, *A Locust's Leg*, 57; Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 41 f.

Still, the real meaning of "royal service" is less immediately plain than the reading of the Akkadian term. San Nicolò suggested a connection and probable synonymy between *ilku*, "service, taxes", and *šarra palāḫu*, "to do royal service". Both he and Petschow pointed to TCL 13 203:29, a passage from the early reign of Artaxerxes II, which deals with the division of bow lands and stipulates *mannu ina muḫḫi zittišu šarra ipallaḫ*, "each one will perform royal service for his own share"[46]. Similar interpretation suits BE 10 15. In that text, the bow lands at issue were mandated to the Murašûs on sole condition of the firm's payment of incumbent taxes and services. The text makes it clear in any event that the crown prince's estate included properties encumbered by such obligations; that the obligations could be commuted to silver payments; and that, while the obligations were nominally due to the crown, they were collected in fact by the local management of the estate.

The Queen's Estate

Various Classical and cuneiform sources allude to landed property held by Persian queens[47]. The Murašû Archive supplements this evidence. Two Murašû texts from the reign of Artaxerxes I refer to an "estate of the Lady of the Palace", É SAL *ša* É.GAL[48]. The "Lady of the Palace" is certainly a queen[49]. Whether the phrase refers to one of Artaxerxes' four wives or to the queen mother Amestris, however, is an open question. Both texts refer to land in the same places. The earlier contract (BE 9 28) distinguishes two categories of land: Enlil-šum-iddin pays rent for crown land (*uzbarra*) held by the estate, but specifically excepts bow land (*elat zērī bīt qašāti*). The implication is clear that the estate included both juridical categories of property. The later text (BE 9 50) uses neither juridical term, but the "rental" which Enlil-šum-iddin pays here includes "(payment for) twenty-five royal soldiers" (25 *ṣābī šarri*). Normally, the "royal soldier" forms part of the tax (*ilku*) levied on bow fiefs, usually one "soldier" to a fief[50]. The term must be similarly understood

[46] San Nicolò, *Or.* NS 19 (1950), 222f., Petschow *Pfandrecht*, 111 n. 346, 145; for the date, see Oelsner, *WO* 8 (1976), 313 n. 10. Cf. also *ana* PN *u ṣābī ša* PN_2 *ana šarri pa-làḫ ittaššû*, "(sesame) for PN and the (other) men whom PN_2 took away to do royal service", UCP 9/1 68 no. 50:5 (reign of Nebuchadnezzar); *eqlu u zēru ... ša ana pa-làḫ ša*[*rri*] *itti bīt* PN *ša ana mandattu ina pān* PN_2, "fields which are in PN_2's possession on terms of 'royal service', along with property of PN which is (in PN_2's possession) on terms of lease," UET 4 43:8 (reign of Philip Arrhidaeus); and probably *kūm*(?) *'pa-làḫ* LUGAL' *ana Enlil-ḫātin iddin*, "he gave (a half-share of a bow fief) to Enlil-ḫatin on condition of 'royal service'," BE 9 2:5 (22/XII/10 Artaxerxes I), see Cardascia, *Murašû*, 134. The latter text continues (lines 6-10) "Enlil-ḫatin will pay any (obligation claimed from) the field by the crown (lit. the king's house) that may arise."

[47] Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 22.

[48] BE 9 28 = TuM 2-3 179 (18/VII/31 Artaxerxes I). BE 9 50 (20/VIII/36 Artaxerxes I). See Cardascia *Murašû*, 77f.

[49] Despite CAD E, 61f.; see Borger *Esarh.* 99 n. 43; *BiOr* 18 (1961), 151-154; Landsberger, *VT* Supplement 16 (1967), 200.

[50] Cardascia *Murašû*, 99.

here: the queen's estate, like the crown prince's, included bow fiefs, evidently at least twenty-five of them, and the managers of the estate collected the incumbent fiscal or military obligations.

The managers of the queen's estate do not use the common title *paqdu*, "bailiff", but an Iranian epithet rendered in Babylonian as *ustarbar*. The title's etymology and literal meaning are a matter of argument [51]. In BE 9 28, Enlil-šum-iddin's payment includes "rations" (PAD.ḪI.A = *kurummātu*) for the *ustarbar*'s deputy (*šanû*); in BE 9 50, it includes rations for the *ustarbar* himself. In this case, therefore, the managers drew their remuneration from rents paid for lands of the estate itself.

Parysatis

The name of the notorious queen Parysatis, wife and half-sister of Darius II, has been recognized in the Murašû Archive since the texts were first published [52]. She appears only in texts dated after her husband's accession to the throne, from the first through the eleventh years of Darius II [53]. Most references are to her agents or to officials in her service, most conspicuously her "judges" [54].

Two texts, however, refer to lands of her estate (PBS 2/1 50 and TuM 2-3 185); the Murašû firm pays rents to her bailiff, a man named Ea-bullissu, or to his agents. A third text (PBS 2/1 60) [55] refers to lands of her "servants" (LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ); the servants collect rents on their own lands, but the guarantees which they offer against subsequent litigation show that they were responsible to the same bailiff, Ea-bullissu [56]. The servants must accordingly be considered holders of fiefs within the estate. In fact, the bailiff himself held such a fief, according to TuM 2-3 185 [57]. That is, fiefholders within the estate were personally subordinate to the estate owner, Parysatis; and the bailiff drew support from a prebendal holding within the estate.

[51] Eilers *Beamtennamen*, 81-115: **vistar-bara-*, literally "Teppichträger", court security police, serving also in the entourages of lesser dignitaries. Hinz, *Neue Wege im Altpersischen*, 57 and *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 258: **vastra-bara-*, "Gewandträger, Kammerer". Additional occurrences: Nos. 52:10′, 109:9.

[52] Meissner, *OLZ* 1904, 264f.; *DLZ* 1904, 2209-2211; Eilers, *ZDMG* 90 (1936), 178 n. 3; *Beamtennamen*, 14 n. 6; Cardascia *Murašû*, 7 n. 1; Hinz, *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 182.

[53] PBS 2/1 38 (—/—/1 Darius II); PBS 2/1 75 (6/—/3); PBS 2/1 105 (—/—/3); PBS 2/1 60 (3/IV/3); PBS 2/1 50 (12/IX/3); BE 10 97 (21/—/4); TuM 2-3 185 (11/VI/4); BE 10 131 (21/VI/11); PBS 2/1 146 (21/VI/11); PBS 2/1 147 (24/VI/11).

[54] LÚ.DI.KU$_5$ *ša* É/KÁ ᶠ*Purušâtu*: BE 10 97, PBS 2/1 105, TuM 2-3 185; LÚ *ustarbari ša* ᶠ*Purušâtu*: PBS 2/1 38; LÚ.ARAD *ša* ᶠ*Purušâtu*: PBS 2/1 60, 146, 147; BE 10 131.

[55] Augapfel, 30f.

[56] Cf. Cardascia *Murašû*, 80.

[57] Ibid., 95f.; Eilers, *AfO* 9 (1934), 333.

In addition, in PBS 2/1 75, Parysatis's bailiff authorizes the collection of rents on orchards of a woman named Madumitu; the orchards form part of Parysatis's estate and so are "in the hands" of Ea-bullissu. In BE 9 39, however, a text from the thirty-fourth year of Artaxerxes I, land of the same Madumitu forms part of the estate of a woman called Amisiri'. Madumitu, it appears, was a woman of the court, first in the retinue of Amisiri', during the reign of Artaxerxes I, then in the retinue of Parysatis, during the reign of Darius II [58]. It is an inviting speculation to identify Amisiri' as a Babylonian rendering of the name of Artaxerxes' queen-mother, Amestris [59]. If it were so, the changing condition of Madumitu's holding would mirror political change: after her husband's accession, Parysatis succeeded to control of Amestris's property, both land and personnel. While this speculation is historically plausible [60], it cannot be supported philologically. Identification of the Iranian names underlying Greek Amestris and Babylonian Amisiri' is conjectural; equating the two names only compounds the difficulties [61]. For the present, Amisiri' cannot be confidently identified except as a woman of property, and probably of court rank. Nonetheless, PBS 2/1 75 demonstrates a further subdivision of the estate of Parysatis, albeit in uncertain terms [62].

Aršam

Nine Murašû texts from the original series of publications name Aršam. One of them calls him DUMU.É = *mār bīti*, "prince" [63]. A tenth document, not part of the Archive but nearly contemporary with it, adds a further reference to land in the vicinity of Nippur belonging to Aršam the prince (spelled ^{m}*Ar-šá-am-mu* LÚ. DU[MU.É]) [64] By common agreement, this Aršam is Arsames, the satrap of Egypt, named in Aramaic texts from Egypt, also as *br byt'*, "prince" [65].

[58] On the etymology of the name Madumitu, see Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 113; Butz, *WZKM* 68 (1976), 200.

[59] So König, "Amisriš", *RLA* 1, 95; *Persika*, 93 n. 12.

[60] Cf. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 22.

[61] Mayrhofer, *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 109 (1972), 201 and n. 37; *Onomastica Persepolitana*, 124, 8.50; Hinz in *Mémorial Jean de Menasce*, ed. by P. Gignoux and A. Tafazolli (Louvain, 1974), 126; *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 113 f. The name appears in BE 10 45:9 as ^{r}*Am-mi-is-ri-*' and in No. 1:5 as ^{r}*A-mi-si-ri-*'.

[62] Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 109 f. infers from geographical considerations that lands from Parysatis's estate were granted as an appanage to the prince Siṭunu. The texts do not associate the prince and the queen by name.

[63] PBS 2/1 144 (8/VI/11 Darius II); BE 10 130, 131, PBS 2/1 145, 146 (all 21/VI/11 Darius II); PBS 2/1 147 (24/VI/11) Darius II; PBS 2/1 148 (25/VI/11 Darius II); BE 10 132 (29/III/13 Darius II); BE 9 1 (28/VII/1 Artaxerxes II). Aršam is called DUMU.É only in the last of these.

[64] TCL 13 203:8 (—/VI/2 Artaxerxes II); cf. Oelsner, *WO* 8 (1976), 314 n. 12.

[65] König, "Aršâma", *RLA* 1, 155; Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, 32 f.; Meissner, *SPAW* 1938 no. 1/2, 25; San Nicolò, *ZSS* 71 (1954), 381 f.; Driver, *Aramaic Documents*, 88-90; Petschow *Pfandrecht*, 114; Cardascia, *BiOr* 15 (1956), 36; Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte*, 298; Zadok, *West Semites in Babylonia*, 13.

The nine Murašû texts record leases of Aršam's livestock issued by his bailiff, Enlil-suppe-muḫur. The bailiff appears in earlier texts as a servant (*ardu*) or bailiff (*paqdu*) of the Murašû family. The nine texts form a distinct subgroup, as the latest texts in the Archive, with unparalleled contents (cf. above p. 23). Now, however, two more texts indicate an earlier and more routine connection between Aršam and the Murašû firm.

In No. 11, Enlil-šum-iddin leases out a series of grain fields, including land of Aršam's estate (É ^{m}*Ar-šá-mu*), crown lands (*uzbarra*), and other holdings. The text finally confirms that Aršam owned real estate in Babylonia and leased it to the Murašû firm. The contract is dated in the fortieth year of Artaxerxes I.

A fragmentary text from the end of the following year, No. 109, records a lawsuit brought against Enlil-šum-iddin by a "servant" of Aršam (LÚ.ARAD *ša* ^{m}*Ar-šá-am-mu*).

If the Aršam of these texts is the same man named in the nine later documents, it is now clear that his connections with the Murašû firm spanned at least twenty-one years: from 425 B.C. or earlier, through 404 B.C.—approximately the same interval during which he held office as governor of Egypt[66]. These texts give no explicit information, though, on the extent or organization of Aršam's Babylonian estates.

On the other hand, Aršam's Aramaic letters do provide a view of his Egyptian properties[67]. In Egypt, his extensive estate was managed by a series of men entitled "bailiff, comptroller" (*pqyd*). It included small farms, designated "allotments" (*bg'*), held by the owner's personal subordinates. The farms were required to pay tax or services (*hlk'*) to the estate (*'l byt'*)[68]; in the same way, Labaši, for example, collected the *ilku* due from bow lands within the crown prince's estates. Aršam's Egyptian bailiffs held property within the estate, once termed a "grant" (*dšn*)[69], conferred by Aršam and the king; similarly, Parysatis's bailiff held a fief within her estate, and agents of the crown collaborated with the bailiffs in control of personnel on the crown prince's estate.

In short, even allowing for social and administrative differences between the two widely separated provinces, and for Aršam's special position as satrap of Egypt, the structure of Aršam's Egyptian estate corresponds in broad outline and in terminological particulars to the structure inferred for the estates of other members of the

[66] Cf. Lewis, *Historia* 7 (1958), 396; Whitehead, "Early Aramaic Epistolography", 18f. An unpublished Murašû text, Ni 523, mentions É ^{m}*Ar-šá-am-mu* as early as the thirty-fifth year of Artaxerxes I.

[67] See Whitehead, "Early Aramaic Epistolography", 22-27.

[68] Driver, *Aramaic Documents*, Letter VIII.

[69] Eilers, *AfO* 17 (1956), 333; Benveniste, *JA* 242 (1954), 300; Whitehead, "Early Aramaic Epistolography", 40; Briant, *Annali ... Pisa* 9/4 (1979), 1395.

royal family in Babylonia. It is correspondingly likely that similar structural features, supported by the same underlying policies, were common to landed holdings of the Achaemenid aristocracy in other provinces of the Empire as well [70].

Landed Princes

In addition to Aršam, eleven other men are entitled "prince" in the Murašû texts [71]. Most owned land in the region of Nippur. Most cannot be confidently identified elsewhere in the historical record of the Achaemenid Empire.

Arrišittu is named as prince in two texts from the seventh year of Darius II; his subordinates appear as witnesses in seven more texts, all from the second year of Darius II [72]. The dates appear to rule out identification with Arsites, the half brother of Darius II, who, according to Ctesias, was killed after Darius's ascent to the throne [73]. Both of the later Murašû texts refer to Arrišittu's land in a place called "Estate in Front of the Palace" (URU É *ša ina pān* É.GAL); the prince's interest is represented by his "servant" (*ardu*).

Lands of the prince Aḫiabanuš (or Aḫiamanuš = Greek Achaemenes) [74] were managed by a bailiff, *paqdu* (BE 10 85). The son of Aḫiabanuš, Ipradatu (= Phradates), also called prince, owned lands "in the environs of Nippur" (*limītu* EN.LÍL.KI) [75]; rents on them were paid either to the prince himself or to his servants (PBS 2/1 103, 201). The princes Dundana' (BE 10 82, 89) and Niba'mardu (PBS 2/1 20) dealt with the Murašû firm through agents called *paqdu*. Rents on lands of the prince Uštana (= Hystanes) were paid to his "servant", who was to transfer them to the bailiff of the estate (*paqdu ša bīt* ^{m}*Uštāna*, PBS 2/1 105). A prince Siṭunu had lands managed by his "servant" (BE 10 117). Two *paqdu*s of the prince Dadaršu are named (PBS 2/1 37, TuM 2-3 147).

All these documents deal with the Murašû firm's payments of rents on the princes' land to the princes' agents. There is no mention of subdivision of the estates into

[70] On the theme of common structures and policies in the Achaemenid Empire, with special reference to comparison of Classical and Near Eastern documentary sources, see Briant, *Index* 8 (1978-79), 48-98.

[71] Names and texts are conveniently summarized by Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 109-111.

[72] *Arrišittu* LÚ.DUMU.É: TuM 2-3 190, PBS 2/1 137. LÚ.ARAD *ša Arrišittu*: PBS 2/1 48, 51, 52, 59, 191; BE 10 58.

[73] Cardascia *Murašû*, 7 n. 4; Eilers *Beamtennamen*, 65 n. 3, 125; Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 24 n. 132, 80 n. 192. The date of Arsites' uprising and death is not certain from Ctesias's report. It seems to fall early in Darius's reign. It is certainly not as early as 424 B.C. (so Cardascia and Eilers), since Darius was not yet on the throne in that year. König suggested 422 (*Persika*, 20 n. 14). Unless Ctesias or his epitomizers are grossly misleading, a date as late as 417 B.C. is improbable.

[74] Dandamayev, "The Domain-Lands of Achaemenes in Babylonia", *AoF* 1 (1974), 123 ff., identifies this prince as a likely homonymous grandson of Achaemenes, Aršam's predecessor as governor of Egypt. Zadok, *IOS* 6 (1976), 66 and *IOS* 7 (1977), 109, reads Aḫiabanuš.

[75] See Zadok, *IOS* 8 (1978), 286 ff.

bow lands. Other indications, however, do point to subdivision of the princes' holdings.

First, TuM 2-3 148 is a lease of agricultural land to the Murašû firm. The firm obtains land described as "granted to Pitibiri', the *ustarbar* official, in the hands of Bel-aḫ-ušabši, Pitibiri's bailiff" (*ša ana* ^{m}*Pitibiri'* LÚ *ustarbari nadnu ša ina qātē* ^{md}*Bēl-aḫ-ušabši* LÚ *paqdu ša* ^{m}*Pitibiri'*)[76]. BE 10 129, drafted on the same day, is a receipt for the firm's payment of the first year's rent, to the same bailiff[77]. Among the witnesses to both texts is Baba-iddin, called "bailiff of the estate of Siṭunu which was granted to Pitibiri'" (LÚ *paqdu ša bīt* ^{m}*Siṭūnu ša ana* ^{m}*Pitibiri' nadnu*)[78]. Siṭunu can only be the prince named in BE 10 117, a text from the previous year.

How are these titles to be unraveled? Conceivably, the prince Siṭunu died or fell out of favor after the seventh year of Darius II; his estate was granted by the king to a courtier, the *ustarbar* official Pitibiri'; and in the following year the former owner's name and the reassignment of possession were still useful for identifying a property of somewhat anomalous juridical standing. The foregoing discussions, however, make it far more likely that Pitibiri' was himself a member of the prince's retinue, as such given property from the prince's holdings, like Aršam's Egyptian bailiff. Both prince and *ustarbar* were landlords; both dealt with the Murašû firm through local bailiffs, seen here acting simultaneously.

Second, according to TuM 2-3 204, Arbareme the prince granted to his "servant" Girparna'[79] land in the "estate of the equerry" (*bīt rab urātu*). The same Girparna' appears in PBS 2/1 114 as foreman of the *šušānu* persons of the same estate, themselves fiscally liable feudatories. Reserving Arbareme, the estate, and the *ḫaṭru* for later discussion (below, pp. 95 f.), it is enough for the present to observe the repetition of circumstances already observed in connection with other estates: the prince's estate was at least partially subdivided into bow lands held by members of a *ḫaṭru*; the *ḫaṭru* was supervised by a subordinate of the prince; and that subordinate himself held a grant of property within the estate.

Miscellaneous Estates

Various properties loosely characterized as "house, estate" occur in more or less oblique references in the Murašû texts. Some are simply named in locating other

[76] 13/I/8 Darius II; cf. Cardascia *Murašû*, 160 f.
[77] Ibid., 90 f.
[78] TuM 2-3 148:15, up. ed.; BE 10 129:16. The seal caption BE 10 129 up. ed. abbreviates the title to "bailiff of Pitibiri'".
[79] On the name, see Hinz, *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 107.

properties [80]. Others may be reflected in geographic names of the form URU É PN [81]. Others are certainly contained in the names of *ḫaṭru* associations, listed below (pp. 72 ff.).

Bailiffs of a number of men appear variously, either in bare mentions as witnesses or in texts dealing with the management of lands but omitting the label "estate". Many of the men whom these bailiffs served have Persian names or titles; the masters must be considered Persian gentry with Babylonian estates [82].

Summary

These observations are not startling, though they are significant. In fact, the scattered evidence of the Murašû texts scarcely does justice to the probable size, complexity, and economic importance of the estates of Achaemenid notables in Babylonia. The evidence is nevertheless sufficient to show that such manors were not homogeneous, autarkic establishments, isolated from crown controls or from the fiscal regime of Babylonia.

There are grounds for supposing — though not for demonstrating to a certainty — that functionaries who were otherwise engaged in management of crown properties also shared in management of at least some great estates. This supposition is consistent with inferences drawn from other sources, that the Great King's grants to his family and courtiers were not unrestricted gifts but concessions of use of revenues or property in which the crown retained interests [83].

It is beyond serious doubt that the estates were not simple alods immune from state claims. They demonstrably included taxable holdings, bow lands sometimes organized in *ḫaṭrus*. If taxes and services incumbent on the included bow lands were due ultimately to the crown, they were nevertheless collected in the first instance by the staff and owners of the estates. The personal relations between owners and feudatories are not documented. Yet enough cases occur which label feudatories as servants or subordinates of estate owners to establish the conclusion that owners had access not only to the feudatories' tax payments, but also to their personal services.

This survey has concentrated on estates of members of the royal family. They are the most conspicuously marked manors. More importantly, they stand for signi-

[80] E.g., É ^{m}*Bulluṭ*, TuM 2-3 147:3; É ^{m}*Didê*, BE 9 88:3.

[81] Cardascia *Murašû*, 2 f.; Dandamayev, "Achaemenid Babylonia", 301 n. 18; Zadok, *IOS* 8 (1978), 266 ff. passim.

[82] E.g., the *paqdu* of Artaumanu, No. 4; of Ipraduparna', BE 10 114; of Mitratu, BE 10 114; of Parnuš (Parrinuš), PBS 2/1 70, BE 10 103; of Umartaspa', PBS 2/1 70; of Unnatu, No. 10; of Šibbu, the royal *ustarbar*, PBS 2/1 43. See Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 108, 110-112.

[83] Above, p. 53 n. 5. The fact that *uzbarra* land, elsewhere crown property, forms part of the queen's estate (BE 9 28) points in the same direction.

ficant political powers. In the recurrent upheavals of the fifth century B.C., the leading figures were rival members of the Achaemenid family contending for the throne. The organization of their manors, as far as it is visible in the Murašû texts, implies that they were able to call on elements of the Babylonian "feudal" system and its revenues in support of their political efforts[84]. A closer look at the *ḫaṭrus* leads to congruent results.

[84] Similarly Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 73 f.

CHAPTER IV

TENURE AND MANAGEMENT: THE *ḤAṬRU*S

Despite the importance of the crown's properties and the aristocracy's estates, the land holders with whom the Murašû firm did business in the great majority of its preserved contracts were occupants of bow lands, grouped in *ḫaṭru* associations. A view of the *ḫaṭru*'s structure is essential to understanding the Murašûs' administrative and political connections and to evaluating their economic environment.

Cardascia devoted an extended study to the *ḫaṭru*'s organization and antecedents [1]; that essay is unpublished, but its conclusions are outlined in Cardascia's other writings [2]. In Cardascia's view, the primary meaning of the word *ḫaṭru*—that is, the nuance which was etymologically original, though comparatively rare in use—was territorial: the word designated a block of land granted to a corporate group of feudatories. The more frequent social reference of the word, the landholding group itself, was a secondary extension of meaning. About sixty such groups are named, distinguished with ethnic, territorial, professional, military, and social specifications. Constituent land was divided into fiefs held by families and transmitted by inheritance in the male line. In each *ḫaṭru*, a foreman (*šaknu*) was responsible for the allocation of fiefs or shares among members, for assuring that land was in use, for the collection of taxes, and for the feudatories' performance of military or service obligations incumbent on them. The foreman was at times represented in his contractual relations by his assistants, entitled *šanû*, *aḫu*, *paqdu*, and so on. As the foremen appear in the Murašû texts, their main role was that of a fiscal officer. Correspondingly, the *ḫaṭru* was in effect a small-scale fiscal district; the institution was a means of producing and extracting taxes for the Achaemenid state. At the same time, it was a means of insuring and extending agricultural production, the basis from which state revenues were drawn. And, not least, it was a means of supporting a standing military reserve, a local garrison force [3], and cadres of state-controlled workers.

[1] Guillaume Cardascia, "Le *ḫaṭru* et les collectivités en Babylonie, d'après les archives de la maison Murašû", Mémoire présentée à l'École des Hautes Études, 1946; cited in Cardascia *Murašû*, 241 and passim.

[2] Cardascia *Murašû*, 7f. 29f., 191 and n.2; "Les droits cunéiformes", in R. Monier, J. Imbert, and G. Cardascia, *Histoire des institutions et des faits sociaux des origines à l'aube de la moyen âge* (Paris, 1956), 63; "Le fief", 67; "Ḫaṭru", *RLA* 4, 150f.; "Armée et fiscalité", 1-10.

[3] Compare Xenophon's notices on provincial garrisons, discussed by H. T. Wade-Gery, *Essays in Greek History* (Oxford, 1966), 216.

After some general considerations, the following discussion focuses on the *ḫaṭru*'s management rather than on its internal operations. The discussion aims first to characterize the connections between the foreman and the association, and then to identify remoter levels of control, ranking above the foreman. By these steps it seeks to identify the institutional links which tied petty feudatories of the Nippur region to politically active figures of the Achaemenid Empire.

The Word ḫaṭru (ḫadru)

The form and origin of the word *ḫaṭru* itself are in dispute. It is commonly spelled (LÚ) *ḫa-ad/ṭ/ṭ-ru/ri*; variants are (LÚ) *ḫa-d/ṭa-ri*, LÚ *ḫa-dar/tár/ṭár*, and LÚ *ḫa-d/ṭa-ad/ṭ/ṭ-ri*[4]. The spellings leave the quality of the middle, dental consonant uncertain. Both common transcriptions, *ḫadru* and *ḫaṭru*, are admissible; the latter is in wider use.

The word is almost peculiar to the Murašû texts. It appears in only four texts outside the Archive, all approximately contemporary with the Archive[5]. These limits of occurrence provoke the supposition that *ḫaṭru* is a loanword in Babylonian. The likely donor language is either Aramaic or an Iranian dialect. Attempts to identify a parent form have not obtained secure results or general agreement[6].

The places at which texts using the word were drafted are far enough apart to suggest that *ḫaṭru* was not a term confined to the contractual usage of Nippur[7], hence that the institution itself was not confined to a particular region rather than a particular time. In fact, comparable institutions—that is, comparable organizational features and underlying policies, though not labeled with the same word—are seen in documents bearing on Achaemenid Anatolia and Egypt and on

[4] (LÚ) *ḫa*-DA-*ri*: PBS 2/1 3:8, 18; 189:6; BE 10 5:4; 14:4. LÚ *ḫa*-DAR: PBS 2/1 128:2. LÚ *ḫa*-DA-AD-*ri*: PBS 2/1 198:4. (LÚ) *ḫa*-AD-*ru/ri*: passim.

[5] VAS 6 302:2: uncertain date, but certainly Achaemenid; Moore *Michigan Coll.* 43:3: Babylon, 15/IV/14 Darius II (so Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia in the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods in the Light of the Babylonian Sources* [Tel Aviv, 1976], 22 n. 4 and Oelsner, *WO* 8 [1976], 314 n. 11, despite Cardascia, *RLA* 4, 151 and "Armée et fiscalité", 3); Durand, *TBER*, pl. 50 AO 17637 r. 10: Nippur, reign of Artaxerxes II; ibid., pl. 51 AO 17641:5: Nippur, 18/V/37 Artaxerxes II.

[6] Aramaic candidates and consequent problems are reviewed by von Soden, *Or.* NS 35 (1966), 10, correcting *AHw.*, 337. Cardascia, "Armée et fiscalité", 3, favors etymological association with Neo-Babylonian *ḫaṭiru*, "enclosure, park", itself borrowed from Aramaic. Eilers, *AfO* 17 (1956), 331 tentatively adduced Arabic *ḫaṭar*, "rank, honor".

Iranian candidates have had less attention. Eilers, *ZA* 51 (1955), 234 n. 1 suggested a connection with Achaemenid Elamite *hatarrimannu* (cf. Hallock, *PFT*, 694), presuming the latter to be an Iranian loanword. Hinz subsequently identified the Elamite form as a rendering of Iranian **haθra-manya-*, "like-minded, dependent, follower" (*Neue Wege im Altpersischen*, 55 and *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 119). Livshits now proposes that *ḫaṭru* was borrowed from a Median substantive, **hāθra-*, "aggregate, union" (*VDI* 1979 no. 4, 100; cf. Postgate, *AnSt* 30 [1981], 75 n. 5).

[7] Moore *Michigan Coll.* 43 and PBS 2/1 34 are both written at Babylon; PBS 2/1 128, at Susa (KUR *Šu-šá-an*). The latter two texts both deal with property in the Nippur region.

Hellenistic successor states [8]. As a means of control and extraction, the *ḫaṭru* was a characteristic formation of the Achaemenid Empire.

Names

The names of most *ḫaṭrus* are formed from personal appellatives or ellipses from them. The sense of many terms is uncertain. In fact, because the Murašû texts deal with *ḫaṭru* members chiefly as holders of land and attached obligations, the texts provide no real evidence that *ḫaṭru* names actually characterize the members' professional or social statuses, that is, that the names have descriptive as well as identifying value. Nevertheless, there is some indirect evidence that the names are descriptive: administrative connections between *ḫaṭrus* named for estates and the estates themselves; and the incidence of foreign personal names among members of *ḫaṭrus* which have foreign ethnic names [9]. Assuming that the *ḫaṭrus* of fifth-century Nippur were comparatively recent creations, and that their names had not become mere proper nouns, those names give a general notion of the membership of *ḫaṭrus*.

The dictionaries of Akkadian (*CAD* and *AHw.*) give partial lists of *ḫaṭru* names and text citations. An extensive enumeration follows. Citations include: (a) texts which use the word *ḫaṭru*; (b) texts which refer to *šaknus* or other officers of a *ḫaṭru*; (c) texts which use a term appearing elsewhere as a *ḫaṭru* name, but which themselves omit the word *ḫaṭru*; and (d) texts which refer to persons or properties identified elsewhere as belonging to a given *ḫaṭru*, but which omit the *ḫaṭru* name itself, and other texts with similar contexts. Square brackets indicate confident restoration of damaged passages.

1. LÚ *Arūmaja*, (an Iranian ethnic group) [10]:
   (a) BE 10 86, 100, 113, 128; PBS 2/1 51, 122; TuM 2-3 186, 191
   (b) BE 10 86, 100, 111; PBS 2/1 77
   (c) BE 9 74; PBS 2/1 116; No. 37
   (d) BE 9 28a, 46, 106; BE 10 50, 66; PBS 2/1 192
2. LÚ *aspastūa*, LÚ *aspastūtu*, "horse-feeders" [11]:

[8] Briant, *Index* 8 (1978-79), 67 ff.

[9] See Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 89 ff. and passim; Eilers, *ZDMG* 94 (1940), 189 ff.; Eph'al, *Or.* NS 47 (1978), 74 ff. The still higher incidence of Babylonian personal names marks a process of acculturation of immigrant groups.

[10] *Arūmaja* rather than **aršammaja*. There is no occurrence of Ú = *šam* in Murašû texts. The reading *Aršammaja*, and any connection between the *ḫaṭru* and the prince Aršam, must be discounted (despite König, *Persika*, 93; Krückmann, TuM 2-3, p. 48; *CAD* A/2, 308). The identification *Arūmaja* = "Areians" was proposed by Eilers, *AfO* 9 (1934), 333 and followed by Dandamayev, "Klinopisni'e danni'e ob Ariakh", in *Istoria, Arkheologiia i Yetnografiia Sredni Azii* (Festschrift S. P. Tolstov) (Moscow, 1968), 86-94. Problems of this identification, along with later literature, are reviewed by Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 113 f. Zadok renders the ethnic name "Arva", without positive identification.

[11] Eilers *Beamtennamen*, 77; Salonen *Hippologica*, 235.

(a) BE 10 [80]; PBS 2/1 95; PBS 2/1 189
(b) same texts

3. LÚ *Aššiʾaja*, "people from (the region) Aššа" [12]:
(a) PBS 2/1 191
(b) PBS 2/1 65, 191

4. LÚ *banaikānu*, meaning unknown [13]:
(a) PBS 2/1 52
(b) BE 9 102; BE 10 67; PBS 2/1 52

5. LÚ *Ban(a)nēšaja*, "Carians" [14]:
(a) BE 10 126
(b) same text
(d) URU *Ban(a)nēšu*: BE 9 28, 50, 101; BE 10 93; PBS 2/1 42, 126, 196, 204; No. 54

6. *bīt* ^{m}*Itti-*^{d}*Šamaš-balāṭu*, "estate of Itti-Šamaš-balaṭu":
(a) TuM 2-3 184
(b) PBS 2/1 166, 196; TuM 2-3 184; No. 40

7. *bīt mār šarri*, "crown prince's estate":
(a) BE 10 31, 101
(b-d) see above, pp. 54 f.; below, item 31

8. *bīt narkabti*, "chariot depot":
(a) BE 10 91
(b) same text

9. *bīt rab urātu*, "equerry's estate" = LÚ *šušānū ša bīt rab urātu*, "*šušānu* persons of the equerry's estate", and LÚ *šušānū ša mašāka*, "*šušānu* persons of the equerry" [15]:
(a) BE 9 [94a]; PBS 2/1 [40], 114, 178, 198; TuM 2-3 124, 183
(b) BE 9 107; PBS 2/1 114, 136, 137, 198; TuM 2-3 183, 184, 190
(d) URU *Bīt rab urātu*: BE 9 107; BE 10 94
URU *Bištu ša rab urātu*: PBS 2/1 9
bīt bištu ša ina bīt rab urātu: TuM 2-3 204
bītu ša mašāka: PBS 2/1 88
see below, pp. 95 f.

10. *bīt* LÚ *simmagir* ($^{(d)}$UD.SAR.ŠE.GA), "estate of the *simmagir*-official" [16]:

[12] Zadok, "On Some Foreign Population Groups in First-Millennium Babylonia", *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), 169 f.

[13] Possibly an ethnic or geographical appellative, i.e., geographical name + Iranian *-ka-āna-*: Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), 171.

[14] Eilers, *ZDMG* 94 (1940), 225 ff.; Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), 168; cf. URU LÚ *Bannēšaja*, ROMCT 2 27:12 (reign of Cambyses).

[15] Stolper, JAOS 97 (1977), 547-549.

[16] Von Soden, *ZA* 62 (1972), 84 ff. The *simmagir* official himself appears in contexts normally occupied by *šaknu*s.

(a) BE 9 95; BE 10 62, 71, 125; PBS 2/1 142
(b) PN LÚ *simmagir*: BE 9 26, 79, 83, 84; BE 10 71
(c) BE 9 79
(d) No. 63; cf. ÍD *Simmagir*: BE 9 86a; BE 10 87, 112, 123; PBS 2/1 43, 44, 53, 72, 79, 104, 115, 117, 120, 143, 154, 157, 193, 205, 207; Nos. 11, 75

11. *bīt* TÚG *talbultu*, "garment storehouse":
(a) BE 10 18

12. LÚ *gardu*, "workers":
(a) BE 10 92
(b) PBS 2/1 2
(c) see above, pp. 56 ff.

13. LÚ *Gimirraja*, "Cimmerians" [17]:
(a) BE 10 69, 97; TuM 2-3 189
(b) same texts and No. 42

14. LÚ *ḫuṭarū*, meaning unknown:
(a) PBS 2/1 228
(b) BE 10 114; PBS 2/1 135
(c) BE 10 6; PBS 2/1 178

15. LÚ *kaškadinnū*, "pastry cooks":
(a) BE 10 63; PBS 2/1 130, 168, 203
(b) same texts

16. LÚ *kerkaja*, meaning unknown [18]:
(a) (VAS 6 302:2)
(b) No. 116
(d) perhaps = LÚ *šušānū ša* LÚ *kerkēti*, below, item 44

17. LÚ *kizû*, "grooms":
(a) TuM 2-3 187
(b) BE 9 39a; TuM 2-3 187
(c) No. 51

18. LÚ *limītu*, "inhabitants of suburbs (scil. of Nippur)" [19]:
(a) BE 10 96, 98; TuM 2-3 188
(b) TuM 2-3 188
(d) *limītu (ša) Nippur* as location: BE 10 9; PBS 2/1 3, 103, 128

19. LÚ *magallat(u)a-karrānu*, "parchment-roll makers" [20]:

[17] Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 121 ff.; Dandamayev in *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, 103 ff.

[18] Eilers, *ZDMG* 94 (1940), 189: "Carians"; Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods* (Jerusalem, 1977), 21: perhaps a West Semitic tribal name; Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), 168: uncertain.

[19] Zadok, *IOS* 8 (1978), 286.

[20] Von Soden, *Or.* NS 35 (1966), 15; E. Salonen, *Über das Erwerbsleben im alten Mesopotamien*, I, Studia Orientalia 41 (1970), 217 f. (= E. Salonen *Erwerbsleben*); cf. *RA* 72 (1978), 96.

(a) BE 10 93; PBS 2/1 136
(b) same texts

20. LÚ *magullaja*, meaning unknown[21]:
(a) BE 10 81
(b) BE 10 81, 84

21. LÚ *māḫiṣū ša imitti*, "scouts (?) of the right flank (sc. of the army)"[22]:
(a) BE 10 34; PBS 2/1 41

22. LÚ *māḫiṣū ša šumēli*, "scouts of the left flank":
(a) PBS 2/1 188 (without *šumēli*)
(b) BE 10 58; PBS 2/1 193 (without *šumēli*)
(c) cf. ÍD *(ša)* LÚ *māḫiṣē*: PBS 2/1 39, 78, 188

23. LÚ *malāḫānu*, "boatmen":
(a) PBS 2/1 6, 33
(c) No. 11
(d) cf. URU *Ḫuṣṣētu ša* / URU *Malāḫānu*: BE 9 68, 91; BE 10 38, 101; PBS 2/1 6, 33; Nos. 61, 64, 120

24. LÚ *maqtūtu (maqqutūtu)*, "refugees"[23]:
(a) BE 10 19, 20, 25; PBS 2/1 25, 31, 176
(b) BE 9 23
(d) BE 9 6; URU *ša Maqtūtu*: PBS 2/1 31, 176; No. 66

25. LÚ *mār Dēraja*, "people from (the city) Der"[24]:
(a) PBS 2/1 22; No. 66
(d) PBS 2/1 14; URU LÚ.DUMU *Dēraja*: PBS 2/1 22; URU *Man-Dēraja*: BE 9 104

26. LÚ *maṣṣarū bābāti* (EN.NUN.KÁ.MEŠ), "gate guards":
(a) PBS 2/1 217; No. 54
(b) BE 10 128; PBS 2/1 133; PBS 2/1 217; No. 46

27. LÚ *maškannû*, "sanctuary personnel (?)":
(a) BE 10 83; PBS 2/1 74
(b) same texts

28. LÚ *Miliduaja*, "people from Melitene"[25]:
(a) PBS 2/1 180
(d) see below, item 53

29. LÚ *musaḫḫirū*, "purchasing agents"[26]:
(a) BE 10 96

[21] Zadok, *West Semites in Babylonia*, 233.
[22] With *CAD* M/1, 102. Cf. E. Salonen *Erwerbsleben*, 275 f.: "weavers"; von Soden, *AHw.*, 584, s.v. *māḫiṣu* mng. 2: "der das Vieh stempelt (auch kastriert?)"; Cardascia *Murašû*, 51 n. 1: "bowmakers (?)".
[23] Zadok, *West Semites in Babylonia*, 20.
[24] Ibid., 18, 398.
[25] Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), 169.
[26] Von Soden, *Or.* NS 35 (1966), 19 f.

30. LÚ *naggārū*, "carpenters":
    (a) BE 10 99
    (b) same text
31. LÚ *nāš patrī* (GÍR.LÁ.MEŠ) *(ša bīt mār šarri)*, "swordbearers (of the crown prince's estate)":
    (a) BE 10 5, 45; PBS 2/1 128, 133
    (b) BE 10 5, 95; PBS 2/1 128, 133
    (d) BE 9 13; *bīt rab nāš patrī*: BE 10 84, 85; see above, p. 54 f.
32. LÚ *rabarabarānu*, meaning unknown[27]:
    (a) BE 10 75
33. LÚ *rāki/usū ša gišri*, "bridge builders"[28]:
    (a) PBS 2/1 140
    (c) PBS 2/1 100 + No. 110
34. LÚ *rē'û*, "shepherds":
    (a) BE 10 46; PBS 2/1 36
35. LÚ *sipīrū* = LÚ *sipīrū ša ūqu* = *ḫaṭari ūqu*, "scribes of the army/people":
    (a) BE 10 7, 33, 37, 57, 102; PBS 2/1 3, 11, 29, 34, 89; No. 82
    (b) BE 10 7, 102; PBS 2/1 27, 29, 34, 66, 218
    (d) BE 10 5; PBS 2/1 173; UCP 9/3 269 ff.;
    LÚ *sipīrū ša bīt rab umma*: PBS 2/1 196; see below, pp. 93 ff.
36. LÚ *sipīrē ša bīt rab* ERÍN.QU-*ātu*, "scribes of the estate of the chief ... (?)":
    (a) PBS 2/1 185
37. LÚ *Ṣūraja*, "Tyrians"[29]:
    (a) PBS 2/1 197
    (b) BE 9 77
    (d) cf. URU *Bīt* $^{(m)}$*Ṣūr(r)aja*: BE 9 79; BE 10 33; PBS 2/1 89
38. URU *Šarrabanūa*, "people from (the town) Šarrabanu"[30]:
    (a) BE 9 60
    (d) URU *Šarrabanu*: BE 9 60; No. 13
39. LÚ *Šumutkunaja*, (an ethnic name)[31]:
    (a) BE 10 115
40. LÚ *šušānū ša bīt* ^{m}*Ḫammataja*, "*šušānu*s of the estate of Ḫammataja":
    (a) BE 10 16, 17, 47, 48; PBS 2/1 200; No. 76
    (b) No. 61
    (c) PBS 2/1 57
    LÚ *šušānū ša bīt rab urātu*: see above, item 9

[27] Cf. Hinz, *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 195 and Zadok, *BiOr* 33 (1976), 215.
[28] E. Salonen *Erwerbsleben*, 36, 54; Cardascia, *RA* 60 (1966), 160: "sluicekeepers".
[29] Zadok, *West Semites in Babylonia*, 232; "Phoenicians, Philistines, and Moabites in Mesopotamia", *BASOR* 230 (1978), 60.
[30] Zadok, *West Semites in Babylonia*, 18; *IOS* 8 (1978), 305.
[31] Zadok, *West Semites in Babylonia*, 21.

41. LÚ *šušānū ša bīt* LÚ *šaknūtu* = LÚ *šušānū mārū* LÚ *šaknu* MEŠ, "*šušānu*s of the estate of foremen" = "*šušānu*s, 'sons' (i.e., members of the class) of foremen":
    (a) BE 10 112; PBS 2/1 117, 181, [207], 226; [No. 52]
    (b) BE 10 6(!), 64, 112; PBS 2/1 226; No. 109
    (c) BE 10 79
42. LÚ *šušānū ša bīt* ^{m}*Zuzā* = LÚ.KI.ZA.ZA.MEŠ *ša bīt* ^{m}*Zuzā*, "*šušānu*s of the estate of Zuza":
    (a) PBS 2/1 76
    (b) BE 10 51, 65; PBS 2/1 63, 116(!), 138, 224
43. LÚ *šušānū ēpišānu ša* IM = LÚ *šušānu* [...] *ša kāri*, "*šušānu*s, ...-workers(?)", "*šušānu*s, ... of the levee(?)"[32]:
    (a) PBS 2/1 120, [193]
    (b) PBS 2/1 120, 135, 193
44. LÚ *šušānū (ša)* LÚ *kerekī/kerekēti*, "*šušānu*s ...-workers"[33]
    (a) PBS 2/1 48, 101
    (b) BE 9 12; PBS 2/1 101; TuM 2-3 190, 191
    (d) No. 50; above, item 16
45. LÚ *šušānū* (LÚ) DUMU (MEŠ) *ḫisannu*, "*šušānu*s 'sons' of ..."[34]:
    (a) BE 9 94; BE 10 14, 49, 61; PBS 2/1 194
    (b) PBS 2/1 54, 63, 66, [80], 87, 162, 194; No. 3
    (c) PBS 2/1 30
    (d) BE 9 44
46. LÚ *šušānū mārū ikkarāte* (DUMU.MEŠ LÚ.ENGAR.MEŠ), "*šušānu*s, 'sons' of field hands":
    (a) BE 9 82; PBS 2/1 210; [No. 55]
    (b) BE 9 81, 82; PBS 2/1 224; [No. 55]
    (d) BE 9 73
47. LÚ *šušānū (ša) ṣāb šēpē* (LÚ.ERÍN.GÌR^{II}), "*šušānu*s, bodyguards(?)":
    (a) BE 10 90; PBS 2/1 220
    (b) same texts
    (d) BE 10 122; No. 114
    LÚ *šušānū ša mašāka*: see above, item 9
48. LÚ *šušānū ša (bīt) nakkandu*, "*šušānu*s of the storehouse/treasury":
    (a) BE 9 75; BE 10 41, 65, 88
    (b) BE 9 83; BE 10 65, 88; PBS 2/1 205
    (c) PBS 2/1 106, 123; No. 32; see below, pp. 89 ff.

[32] Cardascia *Murašû*, 108 and 117 n. 2: "dock workers". In PBS 2/1 135:24, the appellative appears as LÚ *šušānē* [...] *šá ka-a-ri*. But cf. LÚ *e-piš* (DÙ-*uš*) *dullu* IM.ḪI.A *ša bīt ilāni ša Uruk*, Sarkisian, *FuB* 16 (1974), 31 10:2, 33 13:8, 36 20:7, and YBC 11633:6 (all Seleucid Uruk).

[33] *AHw.*, 468 derives *kerku*, "Aufstauung (v. Wasser)", from a verb *karāku*, citing these *šušānu*s.

[34] Cardascia, "Le fief", 59 n. 2: *ḫisannu* = "gardes(?)".

49. LÚ *šušānū šādidī ša sīsî*, "*šušānu*s, teamsters":
    (a) PBS 2/1 125
    (b) PBS 2/1 66, 101, 125
50. LÚ *tamkarū* (DAM.GÀR.MEŠ), "merchants'[35]:
    (a) BE 10 54
51. LÚ *taššalīšānu ša imitti*, "shieldbearers (literally: third men) of the right flank"[36]:
    (a) BE 10 36; PBS 2/1 132
    (b) BE 10 117, 124, 127, 128; PBS 2/1 132, 133
52. LÚ *taššalīšānu ša šumēli*, "shieldbearers of the left flank":
    (a) BE 10 26
    (b) BE 10 130; PBS 2/1 144, 146, 147
53. LÚ *Uraštaja u Miliduaja*, "Urartians and Melitenians"[37]:
    (a) BE 10 107
    (b) same text
    (d) see above, item 28
54. LÚ *ustaribarra*, "*ustarbar* officials":
    (a) BE 10 32

In addition to these, similar appellatives occur without actual use of the word *ḫaṭru*, but in contexts which permit them to be appended with confidence to the list of *ḫaṭru* names:

55. LÚ *aškappū* (AŠGAB.MEŠ), "leatherworkers":
    (b) BE 9 70
    (d) URU *(ša) Aškappē*: BE 9 70, 97, 98, 100; BE 10 22; PBS 2/1 161
56. LÚ *Arbaja*, "Arabs":
    (b) PBS 2/1 48
57. LÚ *aštebarriānu*, "lancebearers"[38]:
    (b) BE 10 76
58. LÚ *Indūmaja*, "Indians"[39]:
    (b) BE 9 76; BE 10 53, 70; PBS 2/1 135; TuM 2-3 190
59. LÚ *itinnū* (?) (DÍM!?[GÁ × MAŠ].MEŠ), "housebuilders (?)"[40]:
    (b) PBS 2/1 24, 46, 92
    (d) BE 10 78

[35] Dandamayev, *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Orients* 1 (1971), 76f.
[36] Salonen *Hippologica*, 216f.; Meissner, *GGA* 1914, 380; Landsberger *Brief*, 31; Eilers, *ZDMG* 90 (1936), 190f.
[37] Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), 169.
[38] Eilers *Beamtennamen*, 106 n. 3; Hinz, *Neue Wege im Altpersischen*, 36.
[39] Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 125.
[40] With *CAD* I/J, 297, *itinnu* usage h. The sign (GÁ × MAŠ, perhaps GIGIR[!]) and its reading are uncertain.

60. LÚ *Muškaja (u* LÚ *Sapardaja)*, "Phrygians (and Sardians)"[41]:
(b) BE 10 67, 90; PBS 2/1 144
61. LÚ *sasinnū*, "bowmakers":
(b) TuM 2-3 180
62. LÚ *širāku (*^{d}*Bēl)*, "oblates (of the god Bel)":
(b) PBS 2/1 94, 211; TuM 2-3 182
(d) see above, p. 42

Finally, a few other appellatives appear in contexts which suggest with somewhat less strength the existence of similarly-named *ḫaṭru*s; for instance:

63. *bīt* LÚ *rab batqa*, "estate of the chief ... official(?)":
(b) BE 10 83
64. LÚ *girisuakarrānu u* LÚ *ālik madakta ša bīt umasupitrû*:
(c) BE 10 15
(d) see above, p. 61
65. LÚ *Ḫamqadūa*, (an ethnic group):
(b) BE 10 82
66. LÚ *Nippuraja*, "people of Nippur":
(c) BE 9 65; TuM 2-3 145
67. LÚ *sirāšû*, "brewers":
(b) No. 40; PBS 2/1 166

If these names are truly representative of *ḫaṭru* membership, the institution of the *ḫaṭru* affected a diverse social range. Judging solely by the names of groups, proprietors of organized bow lands were recruited from ethnic or geographical groups, some from distant parts of the Achaemenid Empire (Indians, Carians, Cimmerians, etc.), others original to Babylonia (people of Der, of Šarrabanu, etc.); from specialized military services (lance-, sword-, shieldbearers, scouts); from military support professions (grooms, bowmakers, army scribes); from agriculture, crafts, and services (teamsters, cooks, shepherds, field hands, leatherworkers); from workers attached to manors (*šušānu*s of estates of named individuals) or to state facilities (*šušānu*s of the treasury/storehouse, of the equerry's estate). To all appearances, the common element among *ḫaṭru* members was not military, professional, or ethnic identity as such. Rather, it was a condition of economic and juridical dependence on the state or the state's concessionaires that is strongly marked by frequent use of the term *šušānu* in *ḫaṭru*-names.

Šušānu

The appellative *šušānu* (plural *šušānū*) appears in *ḫaṭru* names either attached to the name of an estate or as appositive to an occupational term. It is not, however,

[41] Zadok, *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979), 167.

peculiar to such contexts; it is common throughout texts of the Neo- and Late-Babylonian periods. It has been the object of extensive, but still somewhat inconclusive, discussion.

An etymology, chiefly expounded by Ebeling, takes Babylonian *šušānu*, Assyrian *susānu*, and a cognate Hittite *aššuššanni* to be derived from an Indo-European source, citing Indic *açva-śani-*, "horse training". Following this suggestion, some authors understand those Neo-Babylonian texts which connect *šušānu* persons with horses, cattle, and other animals to indicate that the term designates first "horse handlers", and then "animal keepers" in general[42]. Ebeling proposed a further semantic development, which moved the term from an occupational to a status designation, labeling a menial or servile social rank[43].

In fact, whatever the term's etymological status, later Achaemenid and Seleucid contexts of *šušānu* require it to be understood not as a professional term, but as a marker of social or administrative status. It labels workers of many kinds, in diverse activities, neither chattel slaves nor fully free. Most opinion now adopts some form of this interpretation, and this is the range of meaning which applies to *šušānu* in Murašû texts[44]. All the same, despite their frequent use of the term in naming *ḫaṭru*s, the Murašû texts offer few clues to the real meaning of *šušānu*.

First, Cardascia correctly pointed out one Murašû text which replaces *šušānu* with the logogram LÚ.KI.ZA.ZA. The logogram KI.ZA.ZA elsewhere renders the verb *šukênu*, "to prostrate oneself"[45]. But the equation between the logographic appellative LÚ.KI.ZA.ZA and the participle *muškēnu* is not otherwise established, and *muškēnu* does not occur in Neo- and Late Babylonian as a label of juridical status as it does in Old Babylonian. Inferring strict synonymy between NB/LB *šušānu* and OB *muškēnu* is not justified. Nevertheless, the writing LÚ.KI.ZA.ZA does imply that *šušānu* belongs in a range of general meaning indicating a recognized status of subjection, subordination, or dependency.

Second, in PBS 2/1 189:7, 10, the foreman of a *ḫaṭru* is himself called "royal *šušānu*" (LÚ *šušānu* LUGAL), implying that *šušānu* persons were not only feudatories, but also agents of the crown supervising other feudatories. The existence of a *ḫaṭru*

[42] Ebeling *Wagenpferde*, 11; *ZA* 50 (1952), 213. See also Mayrhofer, *Indo-European Journal* 7 (1964), 208 n. 2; Kinnier Wilson *Wine Lists*, 54, with literature.

[43] *ZA* 50 (1952), 213.

[44] Cardascia *Murašû*, 172 n. 3; "Le fief", 59 n. 2; Dandamayev, *Slavery in Babylonia*, 626 ff. Compare I. M. Diakonoff, "Socio-Economic Classes in Babylonia and the Babylonian Concept of Social Stratification", ABAW NF 75 (1972), 49.

[45] Cardascia, *Histoire des institutions et des faits sociaux*, 52 n. 33; *Murašû*, 172. The text is BE 10 51:16, 1e. ed. It refers to ^{md}*Bēl-upaqqa* LÚ *šaknu ša* LÚ.KI.ZA.ZA.MEŠ *ša bīt* ^{m}*Zuzā aplu ša* ^{md} *Bēl-ēṭir*; the same man appears in BE 10 65:15, 1e. ed. and PBS 2/1 63:22 as ^{m}*Ana-*^{d}*Bēl-upaqqa* LÚ *šaknu ša* LÚ *šušānē ša bīt* ^{m}*Zuzā aplu ša* ^{md}*Bēl-ēṭir*. In addition, LÚ.KI.ZA.ZA-*ú-tú* = *šušānūtu*, VAS 5 128:9 (despite Landsberger, *ZA* 39 [1930], 288 and *CAD* A/2, 212; cf. Oelsner, *AoF* 4 [1976], 136).

of *šušānu*s who are "'sons' of foremen" (above, item 41) implies that other superintendents had similar status.

Third, a slave sale document, PBS 2/1 65, includes a routine guarantee that the persons sold did not belong to any of various protected categories: servants of the crown, free citizens, temple oblates, *šušānu*s, and others[46]. The language of the clause can be securely reconstructed from slave sales of the Seleucid period, which regularly include the same guarantees[47]. The Achaemenid *šušānu*, then, like the Seleucid, was protected in legal practice against reduction to chattel slavery.

Fourth, No. 113 adds an exceptional context. There, four persons make Enlil-šum-iddin the following offer (lines 6-11):

> *kūm nikkassika rašûtu ša ina muḫḫini* ITI 40 *ṣābī* [*n*]*iddakkamma dullu ina muḫḫi bītika līpušu u idī munnaššunūtu u* 10 *ṣābī ana* LÚ *šušānē niddakka*
>
> In payment of the debt of your goods which we owe, we will give you forty workmen for a month. They are to work on your estate, and you are to pay them wages. Furthermore, we will give you ten men as *šušānu*s.

It is striking to observe in this passage that in the manorial environment in which the Murašûs operated, labor—even ascribed labor—could be treated as a commodity, exchanged for credit. Furthermore, it is clear that *šušānu*s were ascribed. They could be transferred to the effective control of others at the behest of their superiors; and they were in some social or economic quality distinct from workers who were given regular pay. The difference is hardly clear from the text, but it is a plausible speculation to consider that the ten *šušānu*s of this context were distinguished by the possession of income-producing allotments to which they were bound, while the forty other workers depended on wages or rations for support.

Finally, a number of *ḫaṭru*s are said to be composed of the *šušānu*s of "estates" or "houses". As Cardascia remarks, in most if not all cases the phrase LÚ *ḫaṭru ša bīt* ... is simply an ellipsis for LÚ *ḫaṭru ša* LÚ *šušānē ša bīt* ...[48]. The frequency of the ellipsis indicates that *šušānu*s were commonly attached both to the manors of large-scale proprietors and to government installations, and that they held bow lands within the lands assigned to these domains. This inference is of course compatible with observations made earlier on estates of the nobility.

Šušānu, then, indicates a juridical status within the nebulous range of "semi-freedom" commonly found in records of the complex urban societies of all periods in ancient Mesopotamia. It marks greater constraint than full legal privilege, but

[46] Cardascia *Murašû*, 172, despite San Nicolò, *Or.* NS 23 (1954), 282.
[47] Krückmann, *Babylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus der Zeit Alexanders und der Diadochen*, 19 f.; Eilers, *OLZ* 37 (1934), 94.
[48] Cardascia *Murašû*, 30.

greater protection and security than full chattel slavery. As proprietors of bow lands, *šušānu* workers held grants of income-producing property. They were bound to their holdings by restrictions on alienation, and by tax and service encumbrances. Their personal and professional services were controlled by the masters of the superordinate organizations to which they were attached.

The frequency of the term *šušānu* in characterizing *ḫaṭru*s and their members indicates that this status was typical and perhaps universal among Babylonian feudatories[49]. From the point of view of the Murašû firm, the feudatories were small-scale landholders; from the point of view of the crown, they were taxpayers; from the point of view of state organizations and of state-granted manors, they were dependent, ascribed workers.

Management

The Murašû texts deal with the social and occupational status of *ḫaṭru* members only by implication. Their immediate concern is with the agricultural, legal, or fiscal handling of *ḫaṭru* lands transmitted to the firm. Their information on precedence in management of those lands reveals some of the *ḫaṭru*'s administrative connections and their political consequences.

The focus of interest here is the foreman of the group, entitled *šaknu*, etymologically "installed, appointed"[50]. He appears commonly as a fiscal officer, who collects and transmits to his superiors the taxes due from constituent lands of the association[51]. Occasionally, he figures as a manager, leasing out lands of the *ḫaṭru* to the Murašûs or collecting rents on behalf of the feudatories[52]. The foreman is frequently assisted or represented by men with various titles. The most characteristic is "deputy, second" (*šanû*); "associate, brother" (*aḫu*) and "bailiff, manager" (*paqdu*) also occur[53]. The titles are interchangeable; the men so entitled themselves sometimes succeed to the post of foreman.

[49] Oelsner, *AoF* 4 (1976), 137; Dandamayev, *Rabstvo v Vavilonii*, 477 and 484; cf. Briant, *Index* 8 (1978-79), 67 ff.

[50] Spellings: LÚ *šak-nu* (passim); LÚ.GAR (PBS 2/1 34:4, 9); LÚ.GAR-*nu* (No. 46:6; BE 9 82:12); glossed with Aramaic *sgn* in BE 10 126 rev. In BE 10 6 le. ed. read LÚ *šak-nu!-ú-tú*, despite Cardascia *Murašû*, 104 and 109; the man named in BE 10 6, Madanu-iddin, reappears in No. 109:10 as LÚ *šaknu ša* LÚ *šušānē ša* LÚ *šak-nu-ú-tú*.

[51] Cardascia *Murašû*, 7, 104, and 191 f.

[52] Ibid., 127 f.

[53] *Šanû* (always spelled LÚ.2-*ú*): BE 9 44:16, le. ed.; BE 10 5:10; 75:11, le. ed.; 81:18; cf. Cardascia *Murašû*, 105. *Aḫu* (ŠEŠ): BE 10 61:16; PBS 2/1 27:8; 29:8; 66:19, lo. ed.; 136:[9], up. ed.; 162:12; 191:10; 194:13, le. ed.; TuM 2-3 189:11, 13, le. ed.; UCP 9/3 269 ff.: 23, up. ed.; cf. Cardascia *Murašû*, 105 n. 3. *Paqdu* (also *paqudu*, *paqqadu*): BE 10 102:10, rev.; PBS 2/1 74:4; 92:6; 130:7, 10, rev.; 198:17, 19, 23, up. ed., le. ed.; TuM 2-3 184:22, lo. ed.; 187:7, 10. The logogram (or abbreviation) LÚ.PA renders *paqdu* (not *aklu* or *šāpiru*): compare LÚ.PA *ša* GN (e.g., BE 10 62:15; PBS 2/1 65:26; 105:16; 195:17) with LÚ·*paqdu*/*paqudu ša* GN (e.g., No. 95:16; BE 9 5:9; 9:13; 19:15; 34:23; 35:29, etc.).

A clear example emerges from texts dealing with the *ḫaṭru* of "army scribes". In BE 10 102 and PBS 2/1 66 Zabin, son of Balaṭu, is named as *šaknu*; in the former text, Bel-šum-iddin, son of Zimma', is his *paqdu*; in the latter, the same Bel-šum-iddin is Zabin's *šanû*. Zabin recurs as *šaknu* in PBS 2/1 27, 29, and 34; in the first two of these, Nabu-mit-uballiṭ, also son of Balaṭu, is appropriately called his "brother" (*aḫu*); in the third, Nabu-mit-uballiṭ is Zabin's deputy (*šanû*); and in PBS 2/1 89 and BE 10 7 (= TuM 2-3 181), Nabu-mit-uballiṭ himself is *šaknu* of the group [54].

In a second example, Enlil-mukin-apla, son of Naṣir, is called *dālû* (?) [55] and functions as agent for the *šaknu* of the "housebuilders (?)" in PBS 2/1 24. He is called *paqdu* in PBS 2/1 92 and *šaknu* in PBS 2/1 46 [56]. A third example is Šapannu, son of Bel-eṭir, who is entitled *paqdu* of Mušallim-Marduk, *šaknu* of the *maškannû* in PBS 2/1 74, and then himself called *šaknu* in BE 10 83 [57].

Agents of the foreman appear with other titles as well, functioning as subordinates, rather than as colleagues [58]. The most evocative title is *dēkû*, "summoner" [59], a term which connotes more specifically than the others the role of the foreman and his staff in marshaling the taxes and services incumbent on land holders.

Foreman and *Ḫaṭru*—Stable Connections

It must be asked next how closely the foreman and his staff were attached to the *ḫaṭru* they administered, and whose interests they served. Was the *šaknu* a "foreman" in a representative sense? Specifically, was the foreman himself a feudatory who belonged to the *ḫaṭru*?

[54] BE 10 7 = TuM 2-3 181 (2/I/1 Darius II): Augapfel, 37 f. PBS 2/1 27 (14/—/1 Darius II): Cardascia *Murašû*, 113 f. PBS 2/1 29 (14/—/1 Darius II): Augapfel, 43. PBS 2/1 34 (—/—/1 Darius II): Augapfel, 44. PBS 2/1 89 (28/IX/4 Darius II): Augapfel, 16.

[55] *Dālû*, spelled in PBS 2/1 24:6 LÚ *da-lu*!-*ú*, cannot mean "drawer of water". It is perhaps a scribal hypercorrection for *sipīru*, taken from LÚ.A.BAL = *sipīru* and LÚ.A.BAL = *dālû*, or an aberrant spelling of *dajālu*, "inspector."

[56] PBS 2/1 24: 4/XII/1 Darius II. PBS 2/1 46: 26/IV/2 Darius II. PBS 2/1 92: 4/X/4 Darius II.

[57] PBS 2/1 74 (2/—/3 Darius II): Augapfel, 28. BE 10 83 (11/IV/4 Darius II): Kohler and Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden aus der Spätzeit des babylonischen Schrifttums* (Leipzig, 1911), no. 81 (= *HAU*); Sidersky, *Revue des études juives* 87 (1929), 193.

[58] "Messenger" (*mār-šipir*): PBS 2/1 3:16. "Agent" (DUMU.É = *mār bīti*): BE 10 91:11; PBS 2/1 125:10, 1e. ed.; 188:9. "Scribe" (*sipīru*): PBS 2/1 95:11. "Servant" (*ardu*): BE 10 80:8.

[59] BE 9 75:6; PBS 2/1 188:10; 193:21; No. 50:4′; cf. Cardascia *Murašû*, 117 n. 21. Note also PN *u* PN_2 LÚ *de-ki* MEŠ *ša* LÚ *ḫa-dar ša* LÚ.SAG.URU.A, Durand, *TBER*, pl. 51 AO 17641:4 (Nippur, 18/V/37 Artaxerxes II) and PN LÚ *de-ku-ú*, TuM 2-3 178:4 (Nippur, 21/II/13 Artaxerxes), both times as recipients of *ilku* payments; and PN PN_2 PN_3 LÚ *de-ke-e*, YBC 11551 (Nippur, 14/VII/3 Darius II), as recipient of rent paid for bow land.

This is demonstrably the case only in a single instance. In BE 10 111, Bel-eriš, son of Bagadata, is foreman of the Arumaja. He reappears with the same title in PBS 2/1 77, where he receives rents on lands in the town of Bit Zabin and elsewhere; his co-recipient is named Bel-ibni, son of Šezatu. The same Bel-eriš, son of Bagadatu, appears in PBS 2/1 192, together with the same Bel-ibni, son of Šezatu, and others, this time as one of the holders of a fief in Bit Zabin [60].

Other cases are plausible but not certain. For example, in BE 9 23 rev., Bel-aḫ-iddin is called the foreman of LÚ *šušā[nū]*; he is certainly the same man whose name is broken in line 14 of the same text, entitled "[fore]man of the *šušānu*s and 'refugees' "; and the lands on which he draws taxes from the Murašû firm clearly belong to the *ḫaṭru* of "refugees". This foreman is conceivably identical with Bel-aḫ-iddin, the son of Bel-eṭir, named as a member of the same *ḫaṭru* in PBS 2/1 31:3. Without the foreman's patronym, certainty cannot be obtained [61].

Such cases may be exceptional. It may be that the majority of foremen did not own land in the *ḫaṭru*s under their supervision. On the other hand, the lack of parallel cases may indicate only that other foremen found it unnecessary to avail themselves of the services of the Murašû firm in managing their own holdings. Other circumstances, at least, combine to suggest stable and intimate connections between foreman and *ḫaṭru*.

In the first place, several foremen maintained their posts over periods of several years at a time; for example:
1. Gusuri, son of Labaši, foreman of the "horse-feeders": PBS 2/1 189 (23/—/1 Darius II); BE 10 80 (14/XII/3 Darius II); PBS 2/1 95 (24/XII/4 Darius II).
2. Aḫuna, foreman of the "pastry cooks": BE 10 63 (4/XII²/2 Darius II); PBS 2/1 203 (24/VII/4 Darius II); PBS 2/1 130 (21/—/6 Darius II).
3. Šamaš-kaṣir, foreman of "parchment-roll makers": BE 10 93 (27/IX/4 Darius II); PBS 2/1 136 (14/VIII/7 Darius II).
4. Nabu-nadin, son of Bel-bullissu, foreman of the *šušānū ēpišānu ša* IM: PBS 2/1 193 (25/VII/2 Darius II); PBS 2/1 120 (23/V/6 Darius II); PBS 2/1 135 (6/VIII/7 Darius II).
5. Bel-šar-uṣur, son of Marduk-belšunu, foreman of the *šušānū mārū ḫisannu*: PBS 2/1 [30] (18/—/1 Darius II); UCP 9/3 269ff. (18/VII/2 Darius II); PBS 2/1 162 (18/X/2 Darius II); BE 10 61 (18/X/2 Darius II); PBS 2/1 194 (23/X/2 Darius II);

[60] BE 10 111 (20/VI/6 Darius II): Dandamayev, "Klinopisni'e danni'e ob Ariakh", 91f.; PBS 2/1 77: 9/—/3 Darius II (restore lines 8f.: ^{md}EN-KÁM LÚ *šaknu ša* LÚ *A[r-ú-ma-a-a* A *šá]* ^{m}*Baga'dātu*; restore Bel-ibni's name and patronym from the nailmark caption on the up. ed. PBS 2/1 192: 22/VII/2 Darius II.
[61] BE 9 23: 12/—/30 Artaxerxes I. Feudatories named in the text include Dannat-Belti, son of Iddin-Bel (line 7), who is named as a member of the *ḫaṭru* of "refugees" in PBS 2/1 176:2; and a man whose name is missing, son of Ḫandašanni, surely Iltammeš-raḫia, son of Ḫandašanu, named as a member of the "refugees" in BE 10 20:2.

BE 10 65 (5/V/3 Darius II); PBS 2/1 63 (—/V/3 Darius II); PBS 2/1 76 (8/V/3 Darius II); PBS 2/1 66 (—/VI/3 Darius II); PBS 2/1 80 (5/VII/4 Darius II).

Secondly, in several cases, successive foremen of a single *ḫaṭru* belonged to a single family; for example:
1. Eriba, son of Nana-iddin, foreman of the *banaikānu*: PBS 2/1 52 (7/VII/2 Darius II); Kuṣura, son of Nana-iddin, foreman of the same group: BE 10 67 (13/VI/3 Darius II).
2. Zabaddu, foreman of the "gate guards": No. 46 (9/V/29 Artaxerxes I); Ḫana'-il (or Ana'-il), son of Zabaddu, foreman of the same group: PBS 2/1 217 (10/VIII/6 Darius II); PBS 2/1 133 (21/VI/7 Darius II); BE 10 128 (22/—/7 Darius II).
3. Zabin, son of Balaṭu, foreman of the "army scribes": PBS 2/1 27 (14/—/1 Darius II); PBS 2/1 29 (14/—/1 Darius II); UCP 9/3 269ff. (18/VII/2 Darius II); PBS 2/1 66 (—/VI/3 Darius II); BE 10 102 (21/VIII/5 Darius II); Nabu-mit-uballiṭ, son of Balaṭu, foreman of the same group: BE 10 7 (2/I/1 Darius II); PBS 2/1 89 (28/IX/4 Darius II).
4. Sin-apla-iddin, son of Sin-eṭir, foreman of the "swordbearers of the crown prince's estate": BE 10 95 (3/XII/4 Darius II); Artambar, son of Sin-eṭir, foreman of the same group: PBS 2/1 128 (10/XII/6 Darius II); PBS 2/1 133 (21/VI/7 Darius II).
5. Possibly: Ina-Esagila-lilbir, son of Šulum-Babili, foreman of the "*šušānu*s, teamsters": PBS 2/1 66 (—/VI/3 Darius II); Šulum-babili, son of Bel-uballiṭ, foreman of the same group: PBS 2/1 101 (—/—/4 Darius II); PBS 2/1 125 (8/IX/6 Darius II)—i.e., father succeeds son?

It is possible to view these various circumstances as general indications that the connections between the *ḫaṭru* and its foremen were stable enough to produce a close identification between the interests of the group and those of its supervisors. Nevertheless, a number of other circumstances point to a somewhat different interpretation.

Foreman and *Ḫaṭru*—Unstable Connections

A first indication of unstable connections is the circumstance that some foremen evidently held lands in *ḫaṭru*s other than the ones which they managed. This is the most likely interpretation of PBS 2/1 48[62], in which Mušezib-Bel, foreman of the *Arbaja*, receives payments on lands described thus (lines 1-6):

> *zēru zaqpu u pī šulpu mišil bīt sīsî ša* ^{m}*Ša-*^{d}*Nabû-šū aplu ša* ^{m}*Kiribti ša ina* URU *Bīt* ^{m}*Balāssu ša ḫaṭri ša* LÚ *šušānē* MEŠ *ša kerēki mala zitti ša* ^{m}*Mušēzib-*^{d}*Bēl zē[ru zaq]pu u pī šulpu ša* LÚ *Arbaja ša ina* GN *ina* GN_2 *ina* GN_3 ... *ša ina qātē* ^{m}*Mušēzib-*^{d}*Bēl* LÚ *ša[kn]u ša* LÚ *Arbaja*

[62] 13/V/2 Darius II; Augapfel, 38f.

> Orchards and grain-producing land, the half horse fief of Ša-Nabu-šu, son of Kiribti, in Bit Balassu [63], of the *ḫaṭru* of *šušānē ša kerekī*, the entire share of Mušezib-Bel, and the orchards and grain fields of the "Arabs" in GN, GN_2, and GN_3 ... which are under the control of Mušezib-Bel, foreman of the "Arabs".

Augapfel connected the "share of Mušezib-Bel" with the following "lands of the 'Arabs' ", assuming that the foreman's property was within his *ḫaṭru*. But the regular usage of the Archive requires the "share" to be understood as part of the preceding horse fief [64]. That is, the properties listed are not (1) half horse fief of Ša-Nabu-šu, (2) share of Mušezib-Bel, and (3) land of "Arabs"; they are (1) Mušezib-Bel's half-share in the horse fief and (2) lands of "Arabs". The foreman holds property in another *ḫaṭru* than the one he superintends.

A clearer case is that of Iltammeš-barakku, son of Nidintu-Bel, who is named as foreman of "Melitenians and Urartians"in BE 10 107, but as a member of the *ḫaṭru* of "boatmen" in PBS 2/1 6 [65]. Identity of both name and patronym excludes coincidental homonymy of two distinct individuals.

In the second place, single persons appear as foremen of distinct *ḫaṭru*s. For example, Bel-uṣuršu, son of Bel-ab-uṣur, is foreman of the "Carians" in BE 10 126, but foreman of the "*šušānu*s, bodyguards(?)" in BE 10 90 and PBS 2/1 220. Coincidental homonymy is not possible: Bel-uṣuršu uses the same seal with both titles [66].

Pe-é-kuššu, son of Ṣaḫartu (or Ṣaḫarturu), appears in PBS 2/1 198 and TuM 2-3 184 with the title *paqdu* of Amurru-šum-iškun, *šaknu* of the "equerry's estate". The construction leaves it unclear which of the two men is the foreman; in either case Pe-é-kuššu belongs to the staff of this estate and *ḫaṭru*. In TuM 2-3 188, however, Pe-kuššu, son of Ṣaḫartu, is foreman of the *limīti*. Name and patronym, in their various spellings, occur nowhere else in the Archive; coincidental homonymy is improbable [67].

[63] This same property is pledged in BE 9 36 and BE 10 35; neither text names Mušezib-Bel.

[64] Compare, e.g., UCP 9/3 269ff.: 3f. *bīt sīsî ša* PN *mala zitti ša* PN_2.

[65] BE 10 107 (—/V/6 Darius II); PBS 2/1 6 (—/II/1 Darius II): Augapfel, 1.

[66] BE 10 126 (28/VIII/7 Darius II): Clay, BE 10, p. 32. BE 10 90 (27/VIII/4 Darius II): *HAU*, no. 83. PBS 2/1 220 (14/XII/6 Darius II). For a related transaction see No. 113. Seals: Legrain, PBS 14, no. 944.

[67] On the names, see Zadok, *West Semites in Babylonia*, 61 and 233. PBS 2/1 198 (24/X/3 Darius II): Augapfel, 15f. TuM 2-3 184: 22/VIII/4 Darius II. TuM 2-3 188: 14/XI/6 Darius II. PBS 2/1 198 also names ^{m}*Nidintā* LÚ *paqqadu ša* ^{md}*Amurru-šum-iškun ša ana muḫḫi bīt šakin māti* (LÚ.GAR.KUR) *aplu ša* ^{md}*Bēl-uballissu*. Neither Nidinta, nor Amurru-šum-iškun, nor the *bīt šakin māti*, "governor's estate", is mentioned elsewhere; the names cannot be sorted out with finality. Augapfel, 16, considered Amurru-šum-iškun to be the foreman of the equerry's estate, Pe-é-kuššu his assistant, and Nidinta "in charge of the governor's estate", presumably as a subordinate of Amurru-šum-iškun.

A corollary circumstance appears in BE 10 6, where Madanu-iddin, foreman of the "estate of foremen", receives taxes due from fiefs of the *ḫuṭarū*—presumably belonging to the *ḫaṭru* of the same name—and from fiefs of "architects" (LÚ.ARAD. É.GAL.MEŠ) [68], which may be constituents of an otherwise undocumented *ḫaṭru*. Like Mušezib-Bel, foreman of "Arabs", Madanu-iddin seems to be a foreman drawing payments on lands of a *ḫaṭru* other than the one mentioned in his title.

In some cases, then, foremen were plainly mobile in their tenure and responsibility. A third consideration reinforces this conclusion: in some cases, a series of different men appear as foremen of a single *ḫaṭru* over fairly short periods of time. Their terms of tenure may be intercalated, rather than strictly successive. For example:

1. Foremen of the *Arūmaja*:
   a. Bel-eriš, son of Bagadatu:
      PBS 2/1 77 (9/—/3 Darius II)
   b. Tiridatu, son of Tata':
      BE 10 86 (16/VI/4 Darius II)
   c. Tattannu, son of Bagi'azu:
      BE 10 100 (16/V/5 Darius II)
   a. Bel-eriš, son of Bagadatu:
      BE 10 111 (20/VI/6 Darius II)
2. Foremen of the (*šušānū ša*) *bīt rab urātu*, etc.:
   a. Bel-apla-uṣur, son of Bel-eriš:
      BE 9 107 (6/VIII/41 Artaxerxes I) [69]
   b. Pe-É-kuššu (or Amurru-šum-iškun):
      PBS 2/1 198 (24/X/3 Darius II)
   c. Iddin-Marduk, son of Ḫammassu:
      TuM 2-3 183 (3/III/4 Darius II); PBS 2/1 88 (—/VII/4 Darius II)
   b. Pe-É-kuššu (or Amurru-šum-iškun):
      TuM 2-3 184 (22/VIII/4 Darius II)
   c. Iddin-Marduk:
      TuM 2-3 124 (28/VIII/4 Darius II)
   d. Girparna', son of Girparna':
      PBS 2/1 114 (20/XII²/5 Darius II)
   e. Bel-ana-bitišu, son of Ninurta-iddin:
      PBS 2/1 136 (14/VIII/7 Darius II); TuM 2-3 190 (21/VIII/7 Darius II); PBS 2/1 137 (22/VIII/7 Darius II).

[68] BE 10 6 (—/—/Acc. Darius II): Cardascia *Murašû*, 109 f. LÚ.ARAD.É.GAL does not occur elsewhere in the Murašû Archive. Recent summaries of discussions of this term: E. Salonen *Erwerbsleben*, 37-39; Kümmel *Familie*, 37 f.

[69] The title used here is the synonym LÚ *šaknu ša* LÚ *šušānē ša* LÚ *mašāka*: see Stolper, *JAOS* 97 (1977), 547 ff.

In short, although some circumstances produce an impression of relatively long-term stability in the management of *ḫaṭru*s, others show pronounced short-term variation.

Subordinate Foremen

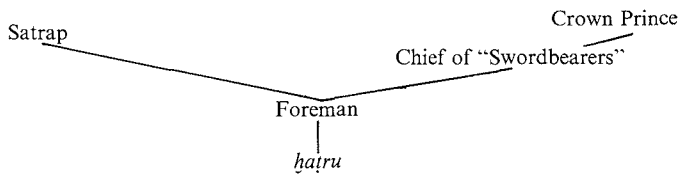
An explanation of these differing conditions can be sought in a further observation: some foremen are explicitly designated as the subordinates of other persons.

In PBS 2/1 189, Gusuri', foreman of the "horse-feeders", is called a *šušānu* of the king. *Šušānu* here manifestly indicates both juridical dependence and functional subordination; the foreman was an agent of the crown. Similarly, Bel-uṣuršu, foreman of the "grooms" in BE 9 39a, is the "servant" (LÚ.ARAD) of Tattannu, the *mašennu*. If the *mašennu* is a crown agent, so is his subordinate. Again, Pakiki, foreman of the "estate of the chief of 'swordbearers'" (LÚ *šaknu ša bīt* LÚ *rab nāš patrī*) is also a servant of the satrap Gobryas according to BE 10 84 and 85 [70].

The position of Nana-iddin, son of Bel-ab-ušur, is similarly suggestive but uncertain. In a series of texts dated in the seventh year of Darius II, he is foreman of the "shieldbearers of the right flank" [71]. In PBS 2/1 122, from the previous year, the same man is called "scribe" (*sipīru*) of Mušallim-Bel. This Mušallim-Bel *may* in turn be the man of the same name entitled *rab kaṣir* in PBS 2/1 68. If so, he was a royal officer of substance: in Achaemenid times, Babylonian *rab kaṣir* was synonymous with the Persian title borrowed in Babylonian as *ganzabaru*, "treasurer" [72].

The most straightforward explanation of these varying observations on circumstances of foremen is that the *šaknu* was not necessarily recruited from the

[70] Admittedly, in the last example only use of the title *šaknu*—rather than *paqdu*—indicates that the man supervises a *ḫaṭru*. I assume that "estate of the chief of 'swordbearers'" is an ellipsis for "*ḫaṭru* of the estate of the chief of 'swordbearers'", and that this *ḫaṭru* is the same as that called elsewhere "'swordbearers' of the crown prince's estate". If so, this allusion agrees with earlier conclusions that large manors included parcels assigned to staff and courtiers, themselves subdivisible into bow lands; and that the satrap's agents participated in administration of the crown prince's manor. That is, the suggested scheme of precedence is:



[71] BE 10 117, 124, 127, 128; PBS 2/1 132, 133.

[72] Dandamayev in *Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft und Kulturkunde, Gedenkschrift ... Brandenstein*, 235-239.

membership of the *ḫaṭru*; a superior official appointed the *šaknu* ad hoc; the superior had the authority to order bow lands to be mandated, or rents and taxes to be collected from them [73]. The superior might put the foreman's duties in the hands of a single man or a single family for years at a time, and the foreman might himself be a member of the group in his charge. On the other hand, the superior could equally transfer his subordinates from one position to another over short terms, and so some foremen collected the revenues of *ḫaṭru*s with which they had no titular connection.

On this view, the foremen and their assistants appear not merely as fiscal officers intervening in specific cases between the Murašû firm and the holders of bow lands, but also as a relatively homogeneous class of minor functionaries, mobile in their tenure and jurisdiction, appointed to mediate between more or less petty dependent landholders and more or less powerful superordinate figures. The foremen were, in effect, the functional representatives of high-ranking individuals.

This proposal raises a further set of thorny questions: who were the foremen's superiors, and what was their relationship with the *ḫaṭru*s? These matters are best considered by examining a few cases for which some tractable information is available.

Šušānu*s of the Storehouse/Treasury*

In addition to the *ḫaṭru* of "*šušānu*s of the storehouse" (*nakkandu* or *bīt nakkandu*), the Murašû texts mention "field(s) of the royal storehouse", *zēr* (ŠE.NUMUN) *nakkandu ša šarri* (LUGAL) [74]. These fields are identical with the holdings of the *šušānu*s of the storehouse, as comparison between PBS 2/1 106 and PBS 2/1 123 shows.

In the earlier of those texts, PBS 2/1 106, Rimut-Ninurta of the Murašû family leases to his servants Ribat and Raḫim (line 3) *zēru zaqpu u pī šulpu ša* L[Ú *šušānē*] MEŠ *ša nakkandu*, "orchards and grain fields of the [*šušānu*s] of the storehouse". In PBS 2/1 123, the same Ribat and Raḫim sublet the same lands to their own tenants. The subtenants describe the property as (lines 4 f.) *zēru* [*ša*] *nakkandu ša ana sūti lapāni* ^{m}*Rī*[*m*]*ūt*-[^{d}*Ninurta aplu ša* ^{m}*Murašû k*]*ullātunu*, "lands [of] the storehouse, which you [h]old on lease from Rimut-N[inurta, son of Murašû]" [75].

[73] Even selection of the word *šaknu*, bearing the etymological sense and probably the effective connotation of "appointee", rather than a title which might connote representation (e.g., *rēšu* or *rabû*) favors this construction.

[74] BE 10 34:10 f.; PBS 2/1 31:11; 41:9. Compare BE 8/1 13:1 (28th year of Nebuchadnezzar II) *imitti ša uṭṭati ša nakkanda šarri*, "barley assessment of (i.e., payable to) the royal storehouse"; and TCL 13 203:15 (Nippur, 2nd year of Artaxerxes II), *zēr nakkandu ša šarri*).

[75] PBS 2/1 106 (—/[V]/5 Darius II): Cardascia *Murašû*, 154 f. PBS 2/1 123 (22/VIII/6 Darius II), collated: cf. Cardascia *Murašû*, 197.

One can confidently infer from this usage that lands of the storehouse formed what may be called for convenient reference an "administrative estate". The storehouse was a royal administrative facility. It was devoted at least to storage of some crown revenues, and surely to processing, expending, and accounting for them as well. As a corporate entity, this establishment was the proprietor of lands. Some produced revenue for the establishment directly. Some was divided into bow fiefs, committed to the support of dependent workers, *šušānu*s. The feudatories were workers in the storehouse, organized as a taxpaying group, a *ḫaṭru*. With this structure, the "administrative estate" differs from manors of the aristocracy only in the identity of the proprietor: an institution rather than a named individual. At the same time, the institution fell under the control of an individual, identifiable through the attached *ḫaṭru*'s chain of administrative precedence.

According to BE 9 83, taxes from lands of the *ḫaṭru* were paid to a man named Unnatu. He is called in lines 8-10 both the foreman of the *šušānu*s of the storehouse and the servant of Manuštanu the prince (LÚ.DUMU.É), the son of Artareme [76]. The text requires Unnatu to clear the receipt in the records of Manuštanu. His position as "servant" was thus coextensive with his position as foreman. The case supports the inference drawn earlier, that foremen were the appointees of superior officers.

The superior, Manuštanu, also appears in BE 9 75 as the issuer of documents (*šipirtu u kunukku*) authorizing the collection of taxes due on fiefs of the *ḫaṭru* of *šušānu*s, here an abbreviated reference to the *ḫaṭru* of the storehouse [77]. Manuštanu occurs once more in BE 9 84, this time with explicit epithet "royal prince" (LÚ.DUMU.É.LUGAL = *mār bīt šarri*) [78].

The storehouse was a royal establishment, and the status of the man ultimately responsible for gathering taxes from the lands attached to it was accordingly high, in fact princely. But his power was not limited to tax collecting. He was sufficiently active and influential to merit appearance in the historical narrative of Ctesias.

Ctesias tells of a man named Menostanes, the son of Artarios. Artarios was satrap of Babylon and a brother of Artaxerxes I. Menostanes served his uncle Artaxerxes I as the commander of an army sent against the rebellious Megabyzos. During the later contest for the throne, Menostanes became commander of the guard for the unsuccessful claimant Sogdianus (Sekyndianos). He died soon after the victory of Darius II Ochos [79].

The combination of name, patronym, and royal title places the identification of Manuštanu with Menostanes (Iranian **Manuštāna-*) and Artareme with Artarios

[76] BE 9 83 (—/—/40 Artaxerxes I): Hilprecht, BE 9, pp. 43-45.
[77] BE 9 75 (24/VII/40 Artaxerxes I): *HAU*, no. 77.
[78] BE 9 84 = TuM 2-3 202 (4/I/41 Artaxerxes I): Cardascia *Murašû*, 108 f.
[79] Ctesias apud Photios, §§ 38, 39, 46, and 48; König, *Persika*, 15-19.

(Iranian **Ṛtāraiva-*) beyond reasonable doubt[80]. The dates at which the names occur in the Murašû texts are in full accord with the identification. Manuštanu is named only in the last years of the reign of Artaxerxes I[81]. Artareme is named most often in the same reign[82], but one text dated in the first year of Darius II names Zitti-Nabu, son of Mušezib-Bel, as "law-officer" (*dātabaru*) of Artareme[83]. Assuming that the father fell from favor and power when the son's faction was defeated, these late mentions are still consistent with the identification. The triumph of Darius II and the destruction of his opponents were completed only in the middle of Darius's first regnal year, if not later.

The Murašû texts nowhere explicitly call Artareme satrap or governor. But his subordinate Zitti-Nabu is the only man in the Archive entitled *dātabaru*. It is reasonable to believe that the title labels an officer in the satrapal service, homologous with the judges (DI.KUD.MEŠ) of Gobryas the satrap, mentioned in later texts of the Archive[84].

The *ḫaṭru* of the storehouse *šušānu*s, then, was under the control of a man with real power, rank, and historical importance. But after Manuštanu passed from the scene, the storehouse and the *ḫaṭru* continued to exist. In the third year of Darius II, the foreman of the association was Išribi-Jama, son of Pillu-Jama; he gave way in the following year to Pamun, called the servant of Artaḫšar[85]. And this Artaḫšar, in the view of most commentators, is Ctesias's Artoxares, the Paphlagonian eunuch who returned from exile in Armenia to help raise Darius II to the throne, became an influential figure at Darius's court, and eventually fell victim to the intrigues of Darius's queen, Parysatis[86]. The likelihood of this identification

[80] On these identifications, see König, "Artarêwa", *RLA* 1, 158; *Persika*, 77f.; Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 18 n. 94, following Hüsing, *Porušātiš und das achaemenidische Lehnswesen* (Vienna, 1933); contrast Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 97. On the names, see Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, 165 8.599; Hinz, *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 159, 214.

[81] BE 9 83 (—/—/40 Artaxerxes I); BE 9 75 (24/VII/40 Artaxerxes I); BE 9 84 (4/I/41 Artaxerxes I); TuM 2-3 180 (15/VII/40 Artaxerxes I); TuM 2-3 145 + No. 27 (25/VII/40 Artaxerxes I); No. 59 (—/X/— [Artaxerxes I]); No. 56 (—/—/20+[x] [Artaxerxes I]).

[82] BE 9 39 (26/VII/34 Artaxerxes I); BE 9 72 (15/VI/40 Artaxerxes I); BE 9 83 (—/—/40 Artaxerxes I); BE 9 84 (4/I/41 Artaxerxes I); No. 55 (13/XII/40 Artaxerxes I).

[83] PBS 2/1 185 (2/VII/1 Darius II). Cf. PBS 2/1 1 (22/XII/Acc. Darius II) and 34 (—/—/1 Darius II), both naming Zitti-Nabu as *dātabaru*.

[84] Cf. Hinz, *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 85 ("Richter"); similarly Bowman, *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis*, OIP 91 (1968), 31. Further occurrences of *dātabaru* in Babylonian texts: No. 55 le. ed.; No. 110:7′; and BM 30136, cited from Kennedy by Zadok, *BiOr* 33 (1976), 214; and *ZA* 5 (1890), 280 r. 5 (collated, Dandamayev).

[85] Išribi-Jama: BE 10 65 (5/V/3 Darius II): Sidersky, *Revue des études juives* 87 (1929), 192. Pamun: PBS 2/1 205 (16/—/4 Darius II): Augapfel, 41f.; cf. Cardascia *Murašû*, 76 n. 1. Augapfel and Cardascia read the name as *Is-mu-un*. The correct reading is established by BE 10 88:9, le. ed. ^{m}*Pa-mu-nu* LÚ *šaknu ša* LÚ *šušānē ša nakkandu ardu ša* ^{m}*Artaḫšari*, and by PBS 2/1 104:9 ^{m}*Pa-mu-nu ardu ša* ^{m}*A*[*rtaḫšari*]; compare the same name, spelled *Pmwn*, in Driver, *Aramaic Documents*, 67.

[86] Ctesias apud Photios, §§ 39, 40, 49, and 53. On the identification, see König, "Artaḫšâra", *RLA* 1,

is reinforced by Artaḫšar's evident succession to the prerogatives of Manuštanu, that is, to control of the *ḫaṭru* of storehouse-*šušānu*s.

Artaḫšar had other local interests as well. On the one hand, he commanded another *ḫaṭru*: the foreman of "scouts (?)" (*māḫiṣē*) was his servant, Bazuzu[87]. On the other, he maintained a Babylonian estate, run by his bailiff (*paqdu*), Nidintu-Šamaš, son of Kartakku[88]. But Artaḫšar's succession to Manuštanu's administrative position stimulates another observation. Pamun, the servant of Artaḫšar and foreman of the storehouse-*šušānu*s, appears earlier, in No. 59, as Pamunu, the servant of Manuštanu the prince[89]. That is, Artaḫšar succeeded not only to Manuštanu's post, but also to the control of Manuštanu's former agents.

The management of this *ḫaṭru*, then, leads not simply through the lower echelons of a local fiscal hierarchy, but directly to the innermost circles of the imperial court. Control of the storehouse and the *ḫaṭru* attached to it was of enough importance —or, more probably, it was tied closely enough to other political prerogatives— that it was among the spoils of victory taken by an influential ally of the successful claimant to the throne. Furthermore, it appears that when the great lords of the Empire fought for political dominance, their subordinates in local bureaucracies kept their own positions unscathed; that the underlings changed masters without changing jobs; and that the actual management of resources and income was unaffected by the extreme violence of the succession at court. This notion, however, will require substantial amendment after further discussion in the next chapter.

The Murašû texts are regrettably silent on a point of considerable interest, namely the real function and nature of the royal storehouse or treasury[90]. The texts support only such inference as can be drawn from the name of the establishment, and from the occurrence of similarly-named institutions in other Achaemenid sources. The Elamite administrative texts from Persepolis are suggestive in this

156; *Persika*, 78; Eilers, *ZDMG* 90 (1936), 174; *Beamtennamen*, 52, 90; Cardascia *Murašû*, 7; Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 75 n. 168. On the name (= **Ṛtaxšara-*), Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, 164 8.582; Hinz, *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 211.

[87] BE 10 58: 28/VII/2 Darius II. PBS 2/1 193: 25/VII/2 Darius II.

[88] PBS 2/1 84: 19/V/4 Darius II. PBS 2/1 29: 14/—/1 Darius II. The same man is called servant of Artaḫšar in BE 10 58:13, up. ed.; PBS 2/1 193:18, lo. ed.; and PBS 2/1 172:12, lo. ed.

[89] Pamunu's seal impression on No. 59 is a handsome circular stamp depicting a man in Iranian garb walking beside a miniature horse, moving left to right. The identical seal impression appears on BE 10 101, 114, 118; PBS 2/1 72, 75; and No. 111. But in those cases, it is captioned as the seal of Nabu-ittannu, son of Enlil-danu, who, in BE 10 101:26, is entitled LÚ *gitepatu*. Why two men shared a single seal is obscure. Since Nabu-ittannu appears only as a witness, contexts offer no useful grounds for inference. K. Butz (personal communication) suggests a single man with two names, rather than two men sharing a single seal; cf. Butz's remarks on double names, *WZKM* 68 (1976), 200 f.

[90] Both Cardascia *Murašû*, 51 and Dandamayev, "Achaemenid Babylonia", 306 n. 50 prefer the translation "treasury", and consider "land of the royal treasury" to be part of a royal estate.

regard. Among many other administrative loci, they name "treasuries"[91]. In addition to the central treasury at Persepolis itself, at least seven treasuries in other towns appear, seemingly district centers for the major subdivisions of the territory administered from Persepolis. These centers gathered and stored produce and taxes; disbursed rations to state workers; probably supported some craft activity, processing of raw materials, and police or security services; and had their records routinely audited from Persepolis[92]. The royal storehouse of the Murašû texts, though perceived in a different aspect, can plausibly be considered an analogous establishment. *Bīt nakkandu* is likely to label a district center for storage of crown income and payment of state dependents, serving the Nippur region and overseen from the provincial capital at Babylon. Like the treasuries of the Persepolis texts, the Nippur "treasury" coexisted with many other manorial and administrative establishments involved in the same flows of commodities and services, tied to each other by complex chains of authority.

Army Scribes

Zabin and his brother Nabu-mit-uballiṭ served successively as foremen of the *ḫaṭru* of "scribes of the army/people" (*sipīrū ša ūqu*) or simply "scribes" (*sipīrū*, above, pp. 22, 76). In PBS 2/1 3, however, the Murašû firm pays taxes due from lands of the *ḫaṭru* of "scribes" which are said to be "in the hands" of a man called Abi-ul-idi. The recipient is a messenger (*mār šipir*) of Abi-ul-idi, named Bariki-Bel, son of Belšunu. He acts on written authorization from both Abi-ul-idi and a certain Ṣiḫa'[93]. Cardascia noted the appearance of the same Bariki-Bel, three days earlier, as a witness to a rental of land belonging to "army scribes" (BE 10 7 = TuM 2-3 181). He concluded that PBS 2/1 3 probably deals with the same lands and certainly deals with the same *ḫaṭru*. Since both texts treat land in the "environs of Nippur" (*limītu Nippur*), the inference is sound[94]. But in BE 10 7, the foreman of the *ḫaṭru* is Nabu-mit-uballiṭ. Abi-ul-idi and Ṣiḫa' must therefore belong to a higher level of control. Then who are they?

Abi-ul-idi is the same man called "scribe" (LÚ.A.BAL) in PBS 2/1 173; his subordinates witness the text. He is also the man called scribe (*sipīru*) in BE 10 5; there, he issues the written authorization (*šipištu*) for the collection of rents on lands of the *ḫaṭru* of "swordbearers of the crown prince's estate" by the foreman of that group[95].

[91] Achaemenid Elamite *kanzam*, from OP *ganza-*, synonymous with Elamite *kapnuški-*.

[92] In general: Hinz, *ZA* 61 (1972), 261 ff.; Briant, *Index* 8 (1978-79), 75 ff.

[93] PBS 2/1 3 (5/I/1 Darius II): Cardascia *Murašû*, 112 f.

[94] Cardascia *Murašû*, 113 n. 11. BE 10 7 = TuM 2-3 181 (2/I/1 Darius II): Augapfel, 37 f. Witnesses to an undated fragment, CBS 12865, also include (rev. 8″) [^{m}*Bari*]*kki-*^{d}*Bēl mār-šipir ša* ^{m}*Abi-ul-idi aplu ša* ^{m}*Bēlšunu*.

[95] PBS 2/1 173 (20+[x]/IX/— Darius II): Augapfel, 89 f. and Cardascia *Murašû*, 173. BE 10 5: 17/XII/Acc. Darius II.

Ṣiḫa' is harder to trace. The name is not common in Murašû texts. Of five other occurrences, the only one in comparable context is Ṣiḫa' the "satrap" (*aḫša-drapanu*), who in PBS 2/1 2 issues the authorizing document for the collection of payments on land of the *gardu*s by the foreman of that group[96]. Since the *gardu*s of the Murašû texts are pre-eminently connected with the crown prince's estate, the co-occurrence of Ṣiḫa' with Abi-ul-idi in PBS 2/1 3 enhances the probability of his identity with Ṣiḫa' the "satrap". If the latter's title is to be taken at face value, he must be considered an interim governor of Babylonia, successor to Artarios and forerunner of Gobryas (above, p. 58).

It is clear from this case, at least, that the foremen's superiors exercised authority over more than one *ḫaṭru*. Furthermore, there are grounds for seeing functional links between the management of the *ḫaṭru* of "scribes" and the *ḫaṭru*s of royal estates[97]. Abi-ul-idi and Ṣiḫa' must be considered figures of at least local administrative and political importance.

Two men of more conspicuous note also figured in control of the *ḫaṭru* of "scribes". In PBS 2/1 27 and 29, Nabu-mit-uballiṭ, brother of the foreman Zabin, receives taxes from the Murašû firm. He is to clear the receipt with Zabin and with a man named Ispitam (Ispitammu). In BE 10 33 and 37, the same *ḫaṭru* is said to be "in the hands" of a certain Patešu[98].

König, following Hüsing, proposed that Patešu and Ispitam, linked in the control of this association, were the same men whom Ctesias names as Petisas and his son Spitames, sent along with Artoxares and Artarios as emissaries to the rebel Megabyzos during the reign of Artaxerxes I[99]. An additional Murašû text affirms the connection between Ispitam and Patešu, and so enhances the likelihood of the identification. The apparent reading of No. 109:5 is ^{m}*Is-pi-ta-ma-*' [DU]MU.NITA *šá* ^{m}*Pa-te-e-šú*, "Ispitama', (eldest) son of Patešu", agreeing with the proposed identification in the detail of kinship[100]. If the equation is correct, the management of the

[96] PBS 2/1 2 (11/—/Acc. Darius II): Augapfel, 14 f. The other occurrences of the name are: ^{m}*Ṣiḫa' mār bīti ša* ^{md}*Ea-uballissu* (witness), PBS 2/1 218:16, le. ed.; ^{m}*Ṣiḫa' ardu ša* ^{m}*Ipradātu* (receives rent on authorization of Ipradatu), PBS 2/1 201:6; ^{m}*Ṣiḫa'* son of ^{m}*Adumē* (witness), BE 10 66:13, up. ed.; ^{m}*Ṣiḫa'*, father of ^{m}*Balāṭu*, BE 10 99:3.

[97] Indeed, it is possible but not demonstrable that the foreman of "scribes", Nabu-mit-uballiṭ, is none other than the like-named father of Labaši, "bailiff" of the crown prince's estate in the early years of Darius II.

[98] PBS 2/1 27 (14/—/1 Darius II): Cardascia *Murašû*, 113 f. PBS 2/1 29 (14/—/1 Darius II): Augapfel, 43 f. BE 10 33: 27/IV/1 Darius II. BE 10 37: 2/V/1 Darius II.

[99] Ctesias apud Photios, § 39; König, *Persika*, 78.

[100] No. 109 is dated 9/XII/Acc. Darius II. It must be admitted that the reading is troublesome, since the spelling DUMU.NITA = *aplu* serves nowhere else in the Archive to mark filiation. Nevertheless, the spelling in BE 9 47:5, ^{md}EN-DUMU.NITA-ÙRU, for the name spelled elsewhere in the same text as ^{md}EN-A-ÙRU, demonstrates that DUMU.NITA = *aplu* = A was in the current scribal repertoire. Cf. Butz, *WZKM* 68 (1976), 200.

"scribes'" *ḫaṭru*, like that of the *ḫaṭru* of "storehouse-*šušānu*s", extended to the circle of men closest to the crown.

Estate of Itti-Šamaš-balaṭu

TuM 2-3 184 mentions a *ḫaṭru* of the "estate of Itti-Šamaš-balaṭu" (É ^{m}KI-^{d}UTU-DIN), including properties in five villages. The foreman is Ardija, son of Bel-rašil. He is to clear his receipts with Šum-iddin, son of Ispešu, entitled "chief of brewers" (LÚ.GAL.SIRAŠ.MEŠ = *rab sirāšê*). Ardija is again called foreman "of the estate", seemingly an ellipsis for foreman of the *ḫaṭru* of the estate, in PBS 2/1 196. He reappears in PBS 2/1 166, in which he is again to clear his receipt of taxes with Šum-iddin, here entitled "chief of [brewers] of the king". No. 40 names different men but shows the same managerial succession: Nabu-bullissu, bailiff (*paqdu*) of the estate, is to clear receipts with Ḫuru, "foreman of brewers" (LÚ *šaknu ša* LÚ *sirāšê* MEŠ) [101].

Like superiors of other *ḫaṭru*s, the "chief of brewers" had more extended authority: in PBS 2/1 135, Enlil-šum-iddin disputes rights to collect rents on lands of "priests of Akkad of the Tigris" (LÚ.SANGA.URI.MEŠ *ša* ÍD.IDIGNA) with agents of Šum-iddin, here entitled "in charge of brewers" (*ša ana muḫḫi sirāšêja*) [102].

It is again apparent that the *ḫaṭru* was attached to an estate. Managers of both the estate and the *ḫaṭru* were responsible to an officer of the king. The same officer claimed jurisdiction over other properties as well. He was evidently a figure of at least local importance.

Equerry's Estate

The equerry's estate appears in two *ḫaṭru* names: the *ḫaṭru ša bīt rab urātu*, and the *ḫaṭru ša šušānē ša bīt rab urātu*. The two names manifestly indicate a single group: the same places and tenants occur with both, and the same men are named as foreman of the estate and foreman of the *šušānu*s [103]. The same association also occurs with the name *šušānē ša* LÚ *mašāka*, in which *mašāka* is an Iranian loanword (from **važāka*-) referring to the equerry [104]. The estate also figures in the place names URU *Bīt rab urātu* and URU *Bīštu ša rab urātu*, and in the phrase *bīt bīštu ša ina bīt rab urātu*, "fortress in the equerry's estate". These terms are not to be

[101] TuM 2-3 184 (22/VIII/4 Darius II): Cardascia *Murašû*, 118f. PBS 2/1 196: 29/VI/3 Darius II. PBS 2/1 166: n.d. No. 40: 25/VII/40 Artaxerxes I.
[102] PBS 2/1 135: 6/VIII/7 Darius II.
[103] BE 9 94a; PBS 2/1 114, 136, 178, 198; TuM 2-3 124, 183, 184.
[104] BE 9 107; PBS 2/1 88. See Stolper, *JAOS* 97 (1977), 547-549.

distinguished from each other; they are certainly connected with the *ḫaṭru* under consideration[105].

The proprietor of the estate, and so the man in ultimate control of the attached *ḫaṭru*, can be identified only through features of management and subordination. In TuM 2-3 204, a prince (LÚ.DUMU.É) named Arbareme cedes mortgaged properties in the equerry's estate to the control of his servant (*ardu*), Girparna'. In PBS 2/1 114, dated seven months later, Girparna' is entitled foreman of the *šušānu*s of the equerry's estate[106]. The two appellatives are inseparable: Girparna' was foreman *as* a subordinate of Arbareme; he received land from his master as a prebend in compensation for his service (see above, p. 67).

To judge by the various associated proper names, the equerry's manor was another "administrative estate". Its physical center was a permanent establishment for stabling and maintaining war or draft animals. It was extensive and complex enough to be marked in writing with the determinative normally attached to the names of towns or villages. Moreover, it was fortified. It controlled attached land. Some land was granted as bow fiefs to *šušānu* workers in the stables and the like[107]. Through his subordinates, the equerry (*rab urātu*, literally "chief of teams of horses", or *mašāka*, etymologically "in charge of draft animals") controlled the taxes and services of the attached feudatories.

The prince Arbareme controlled the estate and the *ḫaṭru*. Hence, Arbareme held the rank of "equerry". It is therefore extremely plausible to identify him with Arbarios, Sogdianus's "chief of horsemen" (ὁ τῶν ἱππέων), who, according to Ctesias, defected to Ochos during the struggle for the throne[108]. The Greek and Babylonian titles are similar[109]; and the considerable number of firmly grounded identifications of the same kind enhances the probability of this one.

If the identification is correct, Arabarios was another of the political allies whom Darius II Ochos rewarded with lands and positions of authority in Babylonia. Even without this historical identification, it is certain that Arbareme was a member of the royal family. The administrative estate, the foreman, and the *ḫaṭru* once more fell under the control of a member of the highest court circles.

[105] URU É LÚ.GAL *urātu*: BE 9 107:8. URU *Bištu ša* LÚ.GAL *urātu*: PBS 2/1 9:6, 9. É *bištu ša ina* É LÚ.GAL *urātu*: TuM 2-3 204:3 f. Contrast *CAD* B, 263 vs. ibid. 253.

[106] TuM 2-3 204 (7/VI/5 Darius II): Cardascia *Murašû*, 167 f. PBS 2/1 114 (20/XII²/5 Darius II): Augapfel, 18.

[107] Compare this inferred structure with Briant's remarks on the role of Achaemenid fortresses in Asia Minor and elsewhere, in production, collection, and administration of state revenues, and in use of state lands (*Index* 8 [1978-79], 62 ff.); and also with his comments on Greek labeling of fortified administrative posts in Achaemenid Persis as *poleis* (ibid. 79).

[108] Ctesias apud Photios § 47. König *Persika*, 19 n. 20 and Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 74 are certainly correct in rejecting the equation of Arbarios and Artarios. On the Iranian form of the name, see Hinz, *Nebenüberlieferungen*, 35; and Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 109 and n. 221.

Ḫaṭrus — *General Characterizations*

The view of the *ḫaṭrus* which these examples project is reasonably consistent. It complements the view of large landed estates already obtained. Bow lands were included in *ḫaṭrus*; *ḫaṭrus* in turn were included in larger entities, both territorial and fiscal. Some were attached to landed holdings of named individuals, members of the Achaemenid aristocracy; foremen were subordinates of the estates' masters; reciprocally, the estates' proprietors collected, through their agents, taxes and services due from feudatories. Other *ḫaṭrus* were attached to administrative estates, that is, storage or supply centers which held property as corporate entities; the individuals who held effective control of these organizations were comparable in social and political rank to the proprietors of manors; with respect to individual feudatories, their positions were functionally the same.

Other examples do not yield similarly detailed information. It must be asked if these cases are truly exemplary — in other words, if all *ḫaṭrus* were comparable organizations not only in their territorial and fiscal composition but also in their social and political ramifications. It is easy to envision a situation in which parts of a landed estate were parceled out to dependents of the estate's owner, the dependents forming an association with a name which included the name of the estate. It is somewhat less easy to see similar connections between a landed aristocracy and associations of tenants named for professional and military specializations.

Guilds?

The use of professional terms in the names of *ḫaṭrus* has led to the occasional proposition that the *ḫaṭru* was a form of guild[110]. It is nevertheless improbable that guilds, in the usual historical sense of the term, existed in first-millennium Babylonia, still less in the political apparatus of the Achaemenid Empire[111]. It is especially difficult to take the word *ḫaṭru* itself to mean "guild" in any but the loosest sense, for several reasons.

In the first place, ethnic and military "guilds" or "guilds" of estate workers are hard to conceive in a sense parallel to professional associations.

[109] The two titles have somewhat different apparent senses, though: cavalry commander versus stablemaster. Even so, the Greek version may be a misinterpretation of the Iranian and Babylonian originals. Cf. Bickerman's observation on the absence of a *magister equitum* in Seleucid armies ("The Seleucids and the Achaemenids", in *La Persia e il mondo greco-romano*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Quaderno 76 [1966], 98).

[110] E.g., von Soden, *Or.* NS 35 (1966), 10f. and *AHw.*, 337, translating *ḫaṭru* as "Zunft"; Weisberg, *Guild Structure and Political Allegiance in Early Achaemenid Babylonia* (New Haven, 1967), 103-105; E. Salonen *Erwerbsleben*, 26ff. Cf. Oppenheim in *Middle Eastern Cities*, ed. by Ira M. Lapidus (Berkeley, Calif., 1969), 18, referring to "traces of guilds" in Achaemenid Nippur.

[111] Summary of discussions of Babylonian guilds, and arguments against their existence at Neo-Babylonian Uruk: Kümmel *Familie*, 161f.

Second, the fiscal obligations of the *ḫaṭru* fell on individual properties in it and on the families who held the lands. There is no indication in the Murašû texts that responsibilities were jointly undertaken by the group. That is, there is no indication that the *ḫaṭru* functioned for the mutual aid or benefit of its members. Obligations came together only in the operations of the supervising officer, the *šaknu*.

Third, presiding officers of *ḫaṭru*s, where identifiable, were not representatives of the association and its corporate interests, recruited from the membership. Rather, they were appointees of higher-ranking figures, subject to transfer to other positions. The *ḫaṭru* functioned as an object of government, not as an actor. Any sense of such corporate action as is implicit in "guild" is missing. Professional terms, as they figure in the Murašû texts, serve only to identify some *ḫaṭru*s, not to characterize the *ḫaṭru* as an institution.

Military Colonies

A more prevalent characterization, and a more consequential one, treats the *ḫaṭru* as a form of military colony[112]. The names of constituent parcels — bow land, horse land, chariot land — reflect an original military rationale, shaped by the particular needs of Achaemenid armies. The obligations of the parcels' holders to supply service — including the "king's soldier" — reflects the continuing importance of the rationale, as do the few Murašû texts which deal explicitly with the discharge of military duties. In Cardascia's view, two thirds of the *ḫaṭru* names show primary military concerns: some were named for specialized military occupations, others for occupations which can be considered support functions. *Ḫaṭru*s bearing ethnic or territorial names are similarly considered not merely groups of transported workers, but groups of soldiers brought from distant territories of the Empire to form a garrison force or standing reserve. Their reliability and effectiveness were putatively enhanced by likely social differences among them, or between them and the indigenous population. Classical sources likewise refer to installations of foreign troops on land in other provinces, indicating that the general policy and specific organizational method were prevalent in the Empire[113]. The residue of *ḫaṭru* names

[112] See especially Cardascia, "Armée et fiscalité", 2-6; Briant, *Index* 8 (1978-79), 67-70.

[113] Ibid. 68 f. On the other hand, gangs of state workers identified by ethnic and geographical terms, but without any discernible military roles, are common in the Persepolis administrative texts. Cf. Hallock, *PFT*, 29 f., 717; Dandamayev, *AoF* 2 (1975), 71.

Note also in this connection Postgate's suggestions that the *ḫaṭru* as a means for supporting, mobilizing, and organizing military units was not only functionally similar to the Neo-Assyrian *kiṣru* but a sort of historical descendant of it; that the word *ḫaṭru* is the Babylonian form of a Median loan-translation of *kiṣru*; that this form of organization was installed by the Assyrians in their Median province, adopted by the Medes, transmitted to their Persian successors, and reintroduced into Mesopotamia by the Persians (*AnSt* 30 [1980], 75). If this elaborate historical pedigree is correct, its implications should not be exaggerated: even if the *ḫaṭru* drew on Mesopotamian precedents, it was adapted to an enlarged and different political and social structure.

without discernible military connotation reflects the extension of a regime conceived for soldiers to other, "civilian", groups, not specialized in military work, but nevertheless liable to military service and organization. The tenancies were created by early Achaemenid kings to support their armies and to secure their conquests. For the same purposes, the cleruchies of Hellenistic kingdoms kept and propagated the main features of Achaemenid military colonies, including *ḫaṭrus*.

Yet, as the proponents of this characterization stress, the *ḫaṭru* was far from being an exclusively military institution. It was a productive one as well. In fact, in the view afforded by the Murašû texts, military concerns are incidental. The main concerns are the production of crops, taxes, and rents. As a territorial entity, the *ḫaṭru* was a vehicle for assuring and extending the use of arable land under state control. As a fiscal entity, it was a vehicle for collecting and transmitting a large share of the production from state lands in the form of taxes and commuted services.

Furthermore, the extension of the *ḫaṭru* was certainly not confined by military requirements. Its members were not a sort of knightly caste. To judge by *ḫaṭru* names, the same institution organized lands and revenues of agricultural, administrative, craft, and estate workers, all subject to the same encumbrances.

In these regards, the *ḫaṭru* was not only an antecedent of Hellenistic military colonies. It was also a functional successor to earlier Mesopotamian administrative regimes which managed state-controlled lands by granting benefices to state workers [114].

Embedded Corporations

More importantly for present concerns, *ḫaṭrus* were not isolated groups, but were embedded in larger structures. Some were demonstrably attached to landed estates, others to state offices. There are grounds for supposing that such attachment was a regular feature of the *ḫaṭrus* even where their names do not suggest it. In some instances, at least, foremen were the subordinates of figures to whom their *ḫaṭrus* had no nominal attachment: a foreman of "grooms", for example, was the servant of a *mašennu* official, and a foreman of "scouts" the servant of the courtier Artaḫšar. Conjecturally, all landholding groups of dependent workers were attached, for purposes of taxation and conscription, to larger manors or to administrative estates. Control of *ḫaṭrus* and their resources was ceded by the king to his friends and trustees, like other material rewards of royal favor.

[114] Even the seemingly novel fiscal character of the *ḫaṭrus*—the fact that holders of state grants owed taxes in addition to services (cf. Cardascia, "Armée et fiscalité", 8)—has general parallels as early as Ur III times in southern Mesopotamia (cf. P. Steinkeller, *JESHO* 24 [1981], 127).

The uppermost discernible level of control is not a single state agency, a sort of "ministry of *ḫaṭrus*". It is a range of royal officials, princes, and court figures. If *ḫaṭrus* produced taxes and supported services due to the state, the state collected them through diverse channels. *At least* two levels of control intervened between the feudatories and the king: local petty supervisors, the foremen and their staffs; and superordinates of higher social rank and wider competence, estate owners and royal officers.

At least some of the latter were among the most influential figures of the Achaemenid court. They were deeply involved in political struggles and negotiations of the time. The resources at their command, it appears, included taxes and manpower extracted from Babylonian *ḫaṭrus*.

Survey of Tenure and Management

It is useful to summarize here the inferences drawn in the foregoing discussions, even if summarizing does some violence to both the day-to-day complexities of ancient historical reality and the uncertainties inherent in surviving documents.

In general, the pattern of tenure and control in which the Murašû firm operated reflects traits of the Achaemenid Empire's formation and maturity. The pronounced military cast of its elementary units was a survival of the Empire's rapid growth by conquest and the resulting need to secure conquered territories and levy expeditionary forces. Specifics of nomenclature, titulature, and contractual form show the endurance of venerable social and administrative institutions in the Babylonian state; a few Iranian terms reflect the superimposition of new, imperial controls. And the distribution of highest authority and prerogatives among members of the Achaemenid aristocracy marks the replacement of national or regional political concerns with imperial issues.

More specifically, lands under the indirect control of the state, conceded by the crown to its beneficiaries, were organized in two ranked patterns. The lower-order pattern was the *ḫaṭru*, including allotments granted to diverse groups of soldiers and workers. A part of the income from the allotments supported the recipients of the grants. Another, substantial part was returned to the crown, through the staff of the *ḫaṭru* functioning as a fiscal agency, in the form of taxes and service in arms [115].

The higher-order pattern was the manor: either a personal estate held by virtue of the proprietor's social rank, or an administrative estate committed to a permanent state office typically occupied by a figure of similarly exalted status. Some of the constituent land produced income directly for the proprietor or officeholder. Other

[115] See especially the summary and diagram of tax flow from *ḫaṭrus* in Cardascia *Murašû*, 191.

land was ceded to *ḫaṭrus* to support workers attached to the estate. The manor's proprietor, through his local staff, collected feudatories' taxes and services from the staff of the *ḫaṭru*. The same agents collected from *ḫaṭrus* without nominal connection to the manor.

Crown holdings which were not conceded to such proprietors were nevertheless controlled by a similarly segmented hierarchy. Two lower levels of control, canal managers and *mašennu* officials, are clearly identified. A third, higher level seemingly included the satrap, a satrap's son, and the occupant of the crown prince's estate — that is, the same figures found at the tops of other supervisory ladders. In fact, at least some *mašennus* appear to have controlled administrative estates and attached *ḫaṭrus*.

There is a crucial difference, though, in the real character of crown holdings. They included land producing crops for the proprietor, namely the king. But they also included canals and reservoirs which produced rental income from lease of water rights to other landholders and to such contractors as the Murašûs. Control of the irrigation network gave the crown's agents access to a share in, and a measure of effective supervision over, all agricultural production in the region.

The crown's close and profitable control over water in the Nippur region accords with occasional notices among classical authors of royal sponsorship, development, and control of major waterworks, accompanied by the extraction of revenues in addition to routine tribute, in other Achaemenid provinces[116]. In fact, all the principal elements of this pattern — extensive personal holdings, administrative benefices, and military allotments — figure in sporadic references to other provinces of the Empire and the Hellenistic kingdoms which succeeded it. Their particular Babylonian manifestations served policies and aims pursued throughout the realm: growth of population, growth of production, growth of tribute, growth of military strength — in short, growth of the Great King's wealth and power.

In practice, though, the interconnections among the hierarchies which supervised the various categories of state property in the Nippur region appear complex at the least, and sometimes turbid to the point of opacity. In part, of course, this appearance is a result of the special viewpoint of the Murašû Archive. The firm typically dealt with feudatories or low-level, local supervisors; notices of higher echelons are oblique. Much more importantly, though, the Murašû texts simply do not deal with the operation of this pattern of tenure as a productive regime. They deal instead with a commercial transformation of the pattern. The firm entered the pattern in all of its constituents, acquiring use of properties through lease, mandate, or pledge, from feudatories, estate managers, and canal managers. From the

[116] For full citations and extended discussion, see Briant, *Klio* 60 (1978), 70 n. 103 and 77; *Zamân* 2-3 (1980), 93 ff.; *La pensée* 217/218 (Jan.-Feb., 1981), 18 ff.

viewpoint of the lands' proprietors, the firm's main business was not the production of crops, but the production of rents, credits, and taxes. The underlying pattern depicted here is an inference from claims to these products. Where elements of the pattern did not undergo this commercial transformation, they are invisible in the Archive.

But the appearance of complexity or instability is assuredly also the result of real historical conditions. The boundaries between the royal family and its households on the one hand, and royal administrative and political services with their prerogatives and dependents on the other, were a priori imprecise. If single individuals or members of a single social group at once held personal estates, occupied major posts supported by prebendal estates, and controlled corporations of dependent tenants, they were apt to draw on all these resources in functionally the same way. The same structures that were meant to enhance the king's wealth and power were also means of rewarding the king's relatives and friends with shares in his fortune. In Babylonia, income and services owed to the king passed first through the control of the king's friends. Among them were politically active people: the king's friends were also his potential rivals.

It is inviting to speculate that some of the administrative complexity visible through the Murašû texts was the result of royal policy. By distributing income and authority among several figures of equivalent rank, the king checked the potential local autonomy of individual grandees and encouraged competition among them. By distributing ranking figures' holdings throughout the Empire while encouraging or requiring these aristocrats to attend the royal court, he diminished incentives or opportunities for regional secession.

To all appearances, local organizations of the Nippur region did not form a single pyramidal structure, but a series of interlocking pyramids. One may ask if control over these potentially competing structures was drawn together at the level of provincial government. Was the satrap not only etymologically a "protector of the kingdom" but also functionally a true viceroy?

The satrap's subordinates figure infrequently in the supervisory hierarchies seen in Murašû texts, but nevertheless in diverse lines of control: among controllers of canals and crown property, in management of the crown prince's estate, perhaps in control of the association of "army scribes", and in passive functions as judicial officers present at the drafting of contracts. Furthermore, the prince Manuštanu who controlled the "storehouse/treasury" was the satrap's son. Babylonian texts from the reign of Cambyses name a satrap's son in contexts which suggest that he served as the satrap's deputy[117]. Manuštanu's position can be similarly construed as an extension of satrapal authority.

[117] Briefly, Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 91 and n. 3, with references and bibliography.

It seems very likely that provincial governors did hold such general authority, at least nominally. But it also seems that, faced with competition from his social peers in the court and royal family, the satrap was not always able to realize complete power over the province. When the throne was contested after the death of Artaxerxes I, the prince Manuštanu supported the claim of Sogdianus. Yet Manuštanu and his father the satrap were not able to hold Babylonia for their faction. Moreover, Manuštanu was replaced in control of the treasury by Artaḫšar, who had no discernible ties of kinship to the satrap of his time. It therefore appears that some components of the satrap's real authority were not structurally inherent in the office, but achieved by competition and negotiation with other influential figures in the province and the court [118].

Beyond question, such manoeuvering occurred, on a vast scale and for stakes as high as control of the Empire. The interconnections of management and administration among the categories of property surveyed here encourage the supposition that political struggles among the great men of the realm taxed the resources of the little men of the Nippur region as well. Before elaborating on this supposition and considering its implications, it is necessary to examine one of the Murašû firm's major business activities, the issuing of short-term credit.

[118] Socrates' celebrated exposition of Persian provincial organization in Xenophon, Oeconomicus 4.5-11 describes a decentralized local military and economic authority, the local governors being required to monitor and denounce each other, while all such services were overseen by the satrap. Elsewhere, however, Xenophon relates that when Cyrus the Great appointed satraps he made local authorities responsible only to himself, and that in doing so Cyrus's intention was to put a check on ambitious satraps' opportunities to revolt (Cyropaedeia 8.6.1). Even if in these passages Xenophon simplified the realities of political organization to serve his immediate didactic purposes, he implies underlying traits of both structure and policy which fit very well with the suggestions of the Murašû texts.

CHAPTER V

CREDIT AND POLITICAL CHANGE

Credit

The preceding chapters treated the various categories of landholders chiefly as lessors of property to the Murašû firm; they aimed to identify administrative connections among proprietors in those texts which reflect the behavior of the firm's landlords, that is, in leases and receipts for payments of rents or taxes. Yet the number of surviving texts which actually record leases to the Murašûs is modest [1]. A second means of acquiring the use of land is much more abundantly recorded: the Murašûs issued commodity loans. The formal records of such transactions exemplify a variety of the "note of obligation" (*u'iltu*, etymologically "bond"), the foremost credit instrument of Babylonian business. Contracts in the general category, *u'iltu*, account for fully a third of the Murašû texts. Among them by far the most numerous are the documents to be considered here, treated by Cardascia under the lengthy rubric "certificates of debt with security of real property"—in short, "mortgages".

"Mortgages": Form and Terminology

Cardascia gave a thorough analysis of the form and legal effect of these transactions [2]. His conclusions were endorsed in Petschow's definitive treatment of the Babylonian law of pledges [3]. Only a summary is needed here.

In the "mortgages" of the Murašû Archive, the debt incurred is almost always expressed in the commodity, dates. The debtors are regularly holders of bow land. Single debtors appear less frequently than groups of coparceners. Landholders of other juridical categories do not appear. The security provided for the obligation is land. It is usually specified as a bow fief, generally including both orchards and grain fields [4]. The texts indicate the location of pledged properties with varying precision. Often the text names the *ḫaṭru* to which indebted feudatories and their bow land were attached.

[1] BE 9 2, 10, 48, 72, 90, 102, 107; BE 10 15, 53, 99; PBS 2/1 16, 20, 30, 35, 96, 175, 182; TuM 2-3 147, 148; Nos. 1-10: twenty-nine texts. BE 9 48 is a lease only in form; it is an antichretic loan in function (cf. Cardascia *Murašû*, 142).

[2] *Murašû*, 27-41.

[3] Petschow *Pfandrecht*, 150, addendum to n. 159a.

[4] *Zēru zaqpu u pī šulpu*, literally "field, planted and in stubble"; see Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 27-29.

In a few cases the contract specifies the origin of the debt: the feudatories owed the firm rent for another property [5]; or the firm had paid out silver for taxes assessed against the feudatories and debited the feudatories' account with the firm [6]; or the Murašûs had loaned money and supplies for military service, and the loan was translated into an equivalent obligation of dates [7].

The obligation regularly fell due at the time of the next harvest. Since the commodity is dates, the due date is normally the seventh month of the Babylonian year, following the date harvest. These contracts thus worked to convert obligations in specie (for example, silver for taxes) into obligations in commodities; and they worked to defer payments of money obligations to suit the agricultural calendar.

If the debt went unpaid at the following harvest, the consequence was not foreclosure in the strict sense of the term. The debtor's right to redeem his pledged property was not extinguished, nor was outright ownership of the land transferred to the creditor. Instead, use of the pledged land devolved on the creditor; the debt remained outstanding; and the debtor might still redeem his property, if he had the means to pay, at a later date. "Mortgage" is a term for convenient use, but it is somewhat inaccurate. In reality, the debt and pledge began as a hypothec; if unpaid, it was converted into an antichresis. In the following, this transformation is called "conversion".

These limitations were consequences of the prevailing system of land tenure; they were also eminently suited to the sort of business practiced by the Murašûs. On the one hand, the mortgaged property was a "feudal" holding; it was legally inalienable. Consequently, strict foreclosure could not take place without the use of some other means of legal circumvention. On the other hand, the Murašû firm fits easily into the scheme of agricultural management called "rent capitalism", a characteristic pattern of exploitation throughout the entire history of the Near East. A constant feature of such organization is the tendency to transform politically insecure tangible titles to real property into more resilient, intangible debt title [8].

The Murašûs supplied short-term credit to small farmers in the "feudal" order. By doing so, they facilitated the regular extraction of taxes in specie from state-assigned lands. But the service was at some cost: conversion of mortgages meant some distortion in the nominal pattern of land tenure. Opinions differ on the assessment of this cost: Cardascia considered the debtors' inability to redeem

[5] BE 9 93; PBS 2/1 12. Cardascia *Murašû*, 39 f.
[6] BE 9 94, 94a, 95, 96; BE 10 51, 57; PBS 2/1 40, 89; Nos. 66, 76, 82; CBS 13022. Cardascia *Murašû*, 40.
[7] BE 10 61, 62; PBS 2/1 162, 194; possibly No. 117. Cardascia *Murašû*, 40.
[8] See Hans Bobek, "The Main Stages of Socio-Economic Evolution from a Geographical Point of View", in *Readings in Cultural Geography*, ed. by P. L. Wagner and M. W. Mikesell (Chicago, 1962), 233-240; Eric R. Wolf, *Peasants* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1966), 55 f.

mortgaged property a relatively uncommon event; Dandamayev thought it frequent[9].

Considering the ancient uses to which legal records were put allows a partial answer to this important question, though not an exact answer. Babylonian legal documents were records of the creation or existence of an obligation. When the obligation was discharged, the record's value was at an end. Normal Babylonian business practice required that when a debt was paid, the record of indebtedness, along with any copy of it, be returned to the debtor or destroyed; failing that, another document was issued to nullify previous records[10]. Consequently, unless the Murašû firm departed radically from this long-established behavior, most or all of the mortgages retained in the Archive must be understood to have resulted in the firm's acquisition of antichretic title to pledged bow lands[11]. Since redeemed pledges ordinarily resulted in loss of the original record of debt, redemptions are invisible in the documentary record, and unpaid mortgages cannot be assessed as a percentage of all loans issued. But to judge by sheer numbers, converted mortgages constituted a large part of the Murašû firm's business.

The conversion of a mortgage entitled the creditor not only to use the land himself, but also to put it out on lease. He might lease it to a third party. Alternatively, the original owner might remain on his property as a tenant, paying rent to his creditor for as long as the debt remained unpaid[12]. The rent was then a payment for use of the land; it was not counted toward redemption of the mortgage. The process of mortgage and conversion thus brought into effect a new relationship between the Murašûs on the one hand, and the feudatories, the *ḫaṭru*s to which they belonged, and the superiors of the *ḫaṭru*s on the other. When the firm held a bow fief on lease, it paid rent to the feudatories, and might also, on their mandate, pay the taxes incumbent on the property to the feudatories' superiors; the firm then drew its

[9] Cardascia *Murašû*, 39; Dandamayev, *Historia* Einzelschrift 18, 45.

[10] Petschow *Pfandrecht*, 48-50. Three Murašû texts include clauses nullifying previous notes of obligation should they "turn up" (*elû*) in the creditor's possession: BE 10 73, 94, and 119; cf. Cardascia *Murašû*, 61 and 185.

[11] There are pairs of mortgages in which identical persons pledge identical properties, but for different amounts and at different dates: BE 9 36 (5/V/34 Artaxerxes I) and BE 10 35 (1/V/1 Darius II); No. 64 (17/[VII]/41 Artaxerxes I) and BE 10 38 (9/V/1 Darius II); PBS 2/1 40 (—/—/1 Darius II) and PBS 2/1 178 (12/IV/1 Darius II); BE 10 62 (24/X/2 Darius II) and BE 10 125 (22/VIII/7 Darius II). Although nearly all of the mortgages contain a clause which forbids pledge of the property to another creditor (see Petschow *Pfandrecht*, 96-98 and Cardascia, *BiOr* 15 [1958], 33 f.) there is nothing to prevent a second mortgage to the same creditor (so Cardascia, ibid. 34). In that case, the effect of the second mortgage was to enlarge the original debt and to strengthen and extend the antichretic title acquired by the creditor on the expiration of the first mortgage. In keeping with this view is Cardascia's observation that there is no direct proportion between the amount of the debt and the apparent size of the pledged property (*Murašû*, 38).

[12] Lease of mortgaged land to third parties: BE 9 60, 67, 69; BE 10 79; PBS 2/1 210, etc. Lease of mortgaged land to the mortgagee: BE 9 25, 63; PBS 2/1 107, 214; No. 42. See Petschow *Pfandrecht*, 106; Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 43 f.

return from sublease of the property. But when the firm acquired use of a bow fief by conversion of a mortgage, it continued to pay the incumbent taxes[13] and to draw rent from its own tenants, but it did not pay rent to the feudatories. Indeed, in some cases the feudatories remained on their land as rent-payers rather than rent-receivers. The feudatories and the firm exchanged positions on the ladder of rents, eliminating a rung to the advantage of Murašûs.

If the mortgages kept in the Archive were converted, they represent a significant intrusion of the Murašû firm into the intermediate levels of fiscal and manorial management. The number of mortgages shows them to be a major segment of the Murašûs' business. Still more striking than their sheer number is their extraordinary distribution in the history of the Archive.

Distribution

The Murašû texts record transactions distributed unevenly over a span of fifty years. Figure 3 illustrates the texts' temporal distribution, plotting number of texts (vertical axis) against regnal year (horizontal axis). The chart is assembled from all available texts in which the regnal year is preserved or can be restored with reasonable certainty. The solid black portions of the bars indicate previously published texts; the outlined portions indicate formerly unpublished texts in the University Museum and the British Museum. Unpublished texts in Istanbul are not available for inclusion. The forty-first year of Artaxerxes I and the accession year of Darius II, since they form a single calendar year, are marked in a single column; the lower portions refer to texts dated under Artaxerxes, the upper portions to texts dated under Darius.

The available corpus includes twelve more texts from uncertain regnal years of Artaxerxes I[14]. Another eighty texts dated under Artaxerxes are in the Istanbul collection. Eighteen of the available texts date from uncertain years in the reign of Darius II[15], and thirty-two more texts from the later reign are in Istanbul. Unjoined and undated fragments represent an uncertain number of additional documents. It is assumed here that these texts would, if available and datable, distribute in approximately the same fashion as those charted, and that their effect would be to smooth the overall shape of the chart and to raise it to a somewhat gentler slope on the left side. The effect of the hitherto unpublished part of the corpus encourages this assumption.

In a general way, the graph takes the shape one might expect from considering the records' duration and from prior assumptions about archival practice. The drop-off

[13] E.g., BE 9 82; No. 61.
[14] Nos. 24, 51, 59, 86, 96, 102, 107, 113; CBS 12507, 12943, 13016, 13047.
[15] PBS 2/1 151-154, 156, 160, 163-166, 168, 170-173, 227; CBS 12944, 13068.

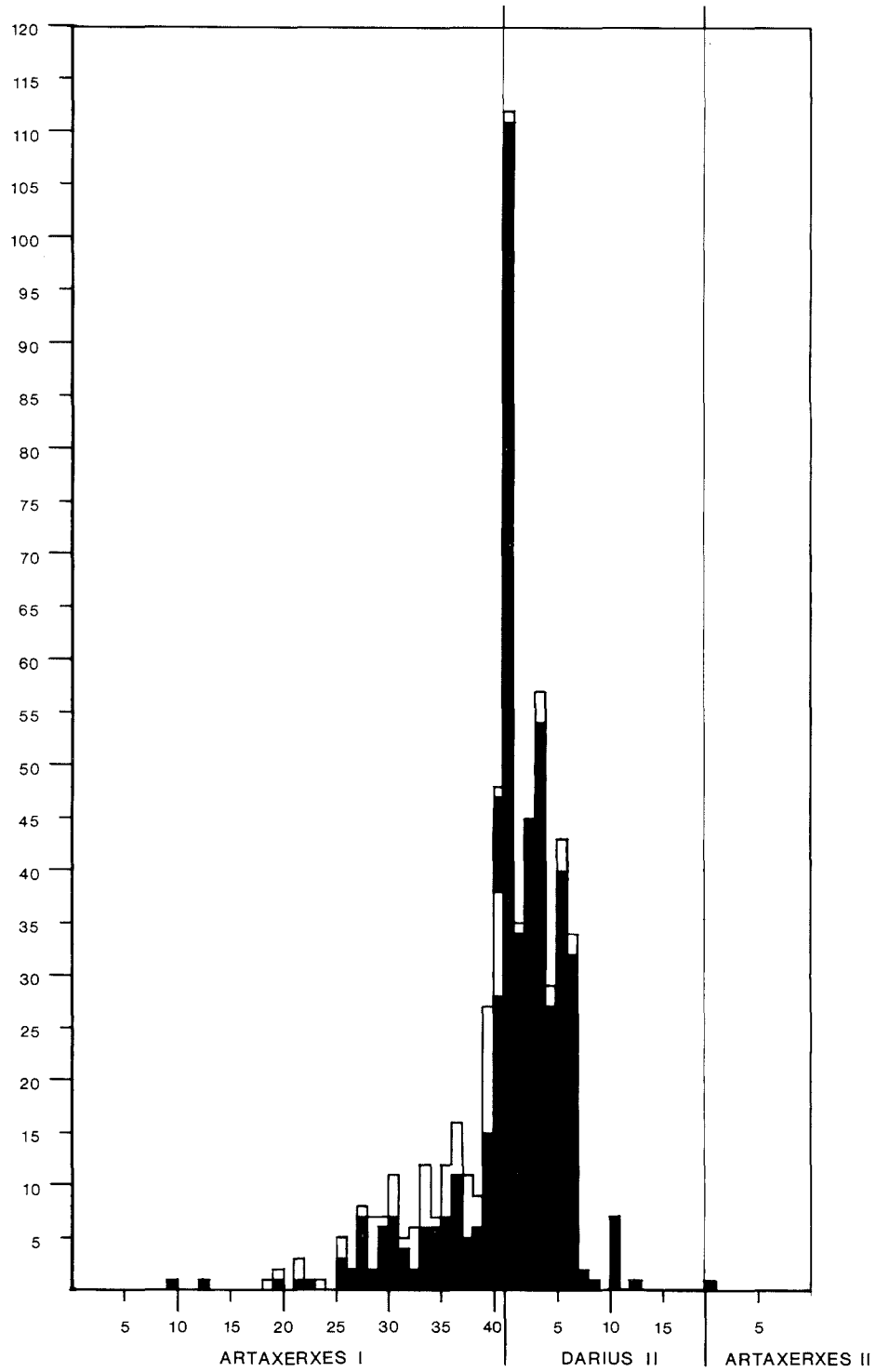


Fig. 3. All dated Murašû texts: number of texts by year.

to the left reflects the relatively greater loss of older artifacts, progressive discarding of stale records, and probably a steady overall growth of the firm's business. The more gradual decrease on the right may indicate a stabilization of the business, which would require the issuing of fewer contracts, or the replacement of clay records by perishable documents, or both. The scattering on the extreme right represents the texts dealing with herds of Aršam (above, pp. 23, 64 f.). If they are not intrusive in the Archive, they form an appendix to its main body, separable by content and date.

No prior assumptions, however, account for the dramatic peak in the middle of the chart, falling in the first year of Darius II. The rise is far too steep to be considered merely a result of accidents of preservation. It plainly shows a year of intense business activity. The immediate question is: what kind of business? A look, in similar format, at the major categories of texts within the Archive provides an answer.

Figure 4 shows the distribution of dated rentals of land and water to the Murašû firm. Figure 5 shows dated leases of land, canals, livestock, and/or equipment issued by the Murašûs to their tenants. Figure 6 shows the distribution of receipts for the firm's payment of taxes; figure 7, receipts for the firm's payment of rents to its landlords, including payments of fixed rent (*sūtu*), assessed rent (*imittu*), shares (*zittu*), and other rents (*ebūru*, etc.). Figure 8 is the sum of figures 4 through 7. Figure 4 shows only a low peak in the first year of Darius. Individually and in sum, the other illustrations show small versions of the overall chart, figure 3, but without the major peak in the first year. Their clear peak falls in the third and fourth regnal years of Darius, corresponding to the secondary peak of figure 3.

The absence from these charts of any clear trace of a spurt of business activity in the first year of Darius II makes the shape of the next figure all the more striking. Figure 9 shows the distribution of mortgages. This is the source of the primary peak in the overall chart. In fact, the mortgages of Darius's first year account almost exactly for the excess of that year above the general trend of figure 3.

The distribution of mortgages within the first year of Darius II is also restricted. Figure 10 plots the spread of the mortgages from that year in which the month name is preserved in the date formula. The graph peaks in the third and fourth months, and it ends in the seventh month [16]. Conceivably, this distribution reflects the tie between the contractual form and the agricultural calendar: the debt falls due at the following date harvest, in the seventh month; landholders were more likely to need loans in the months immediately preceding the harvest than

[16] The damaged month name in PBS 2/1 161 cannot be ⌜GAN⌝, as Clay has it (PBS 2/1, p. 48), since the debt falls due two months earlier, in the seventh month of the first year. Although collation supports Clay's copy, the sign must be read ⌜SIG_4!⌝, third month.

Fig. 4. Rentals to the Murašûs.

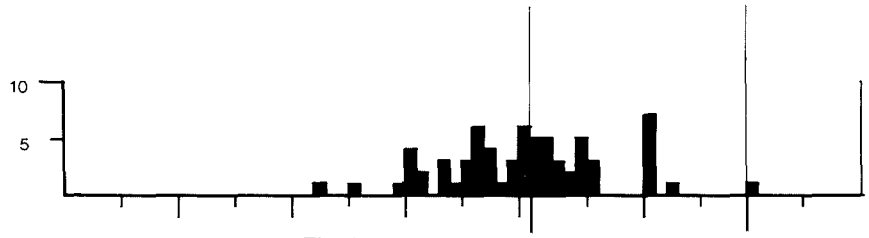


Fig. 5. Rentals from the Murašûs.

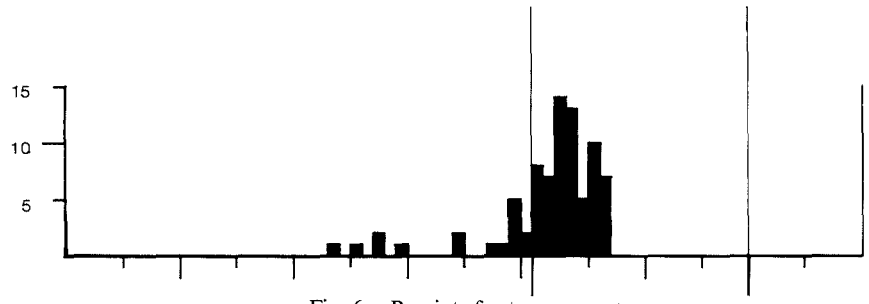


Fig. 6. Receipts for tax payments.

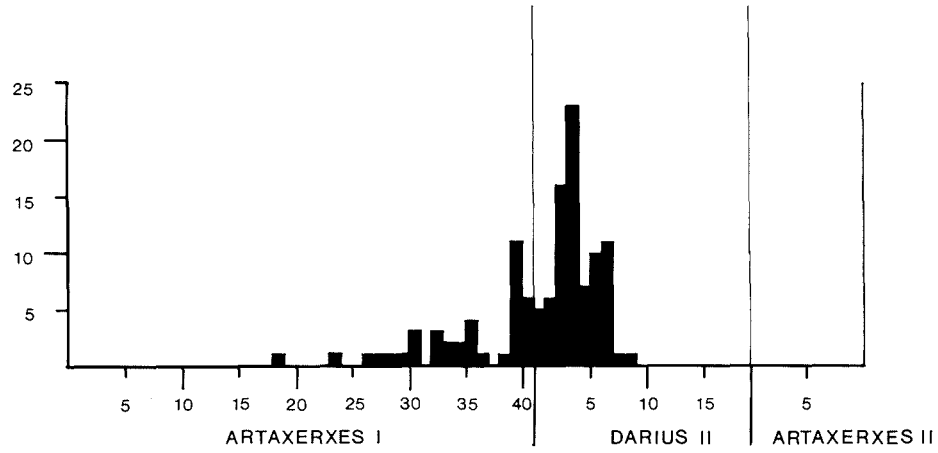


Fig. 7. Receipts for rent payments.

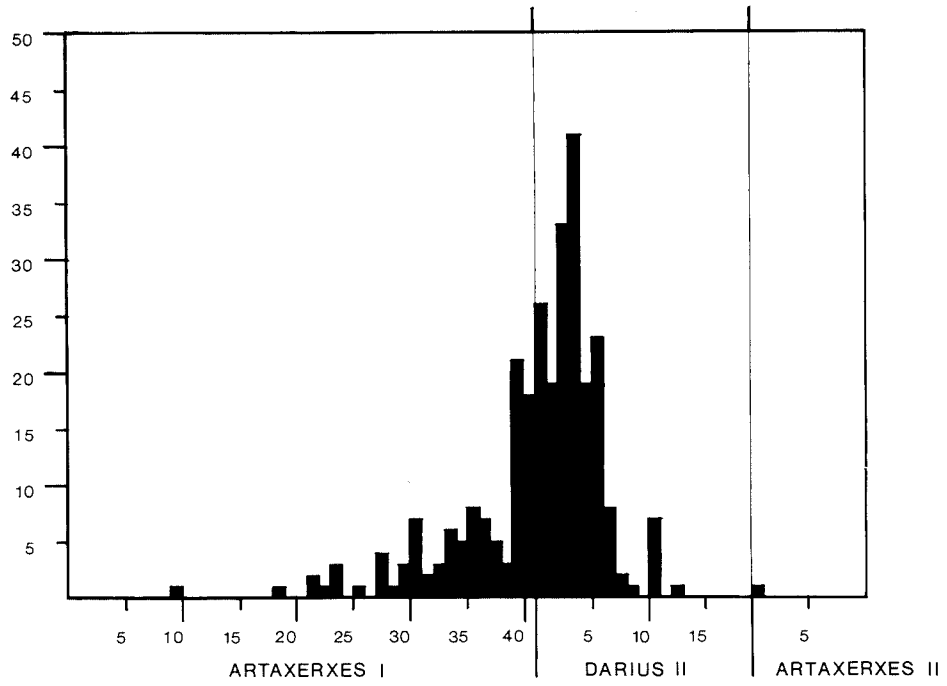


Fig. 8. Leases and receipts.

immediately afterward. Such an interpretation, however, cannot be directly confirmed from the texts of the Archive, since there is no available sample of comparable size from another single year to show whether the distribution of Darius's first year is typical. But if one plots mortgages with intact month names from all other years combined, they prove to be more widely distributed than those of Darius's first year, as figure 11 shows: the peak falls in the month preceding the harvest, as the agricultural schedule would suggest, not in the earlier months of the year, as in the first year of Darius II.

Whether or not their restriction to the earlier months of the year is significant, the sheer number of mortgages dated in Darius's first year is extraordinary. This much is no more than a graphic presentation of circumstances obvious to any reader of the Murašû texts, circumstances often noted in general form before [17]. The problem of interpretation remains.

The mortgage documents themselves offer no further clues. The number of distinct mortgages is conceivably to be reduced slightly by discounting one member of each of the sets of mortgages which Cardascia called "textes géminés" — that is, pairs of

[17] E.g. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 356.

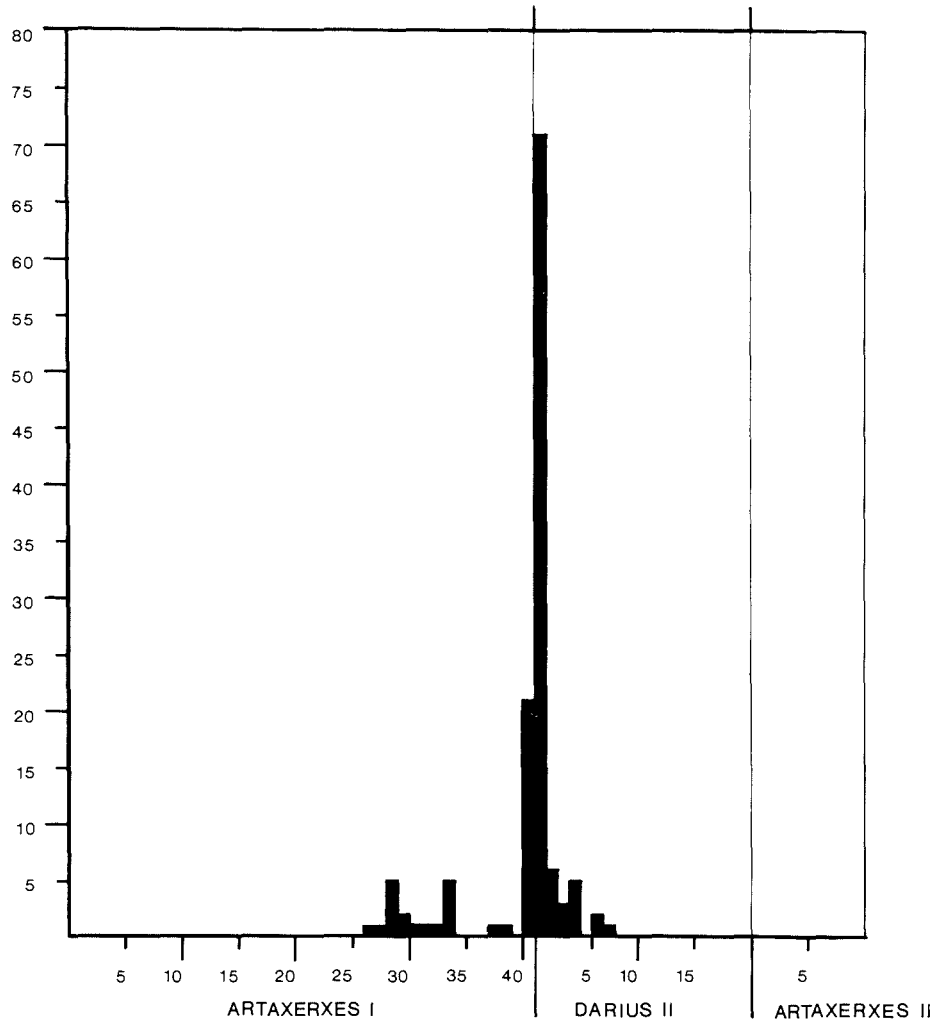


Fig. 9. Mortgages.

substantially identical texts, not necessarily of identical date, distinguished by the fact that one is said to be written in the presence of judges of Sin Canal [18]. Yet if these texts do not represent some legal peculiarity which required the production of two documents for single transactions, but instead simply represent the remortgaging of already pledged property (above, p. 106, n. 11), then even this reduction

[18] Cardascia *Murašû*, 21 f. and *BiOr* 15 (1958), 35. In addition to the three pairs cited by Cardascia (PBS 2/1 41 and BE 10 34, BE 10 46 and PBS 2/1 36, BE 9 100 and BE 10 22), note also: BE 10 8 (before the judges) and PBS 2/1 174 (without the judges), of identical date (15/I/1 Darius II); and BE 10 42 (before the judges) and PBS 2/1 183 (without the judges), also of identical date (11/VI/1 Darius II).

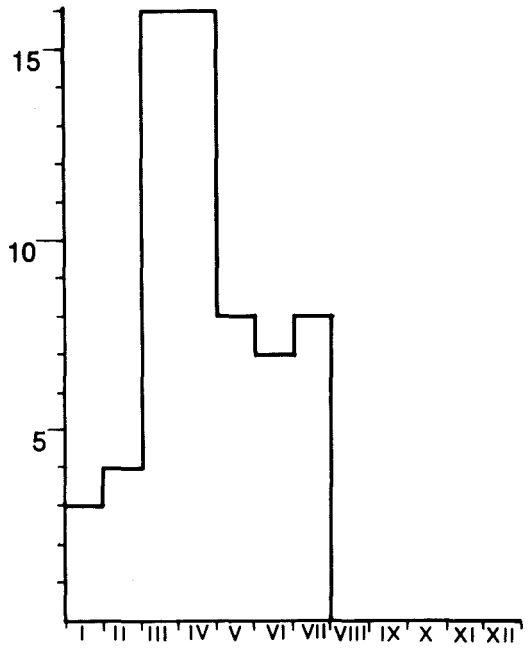


Fig. 10. Mortgages of Darius II's first year, by month.

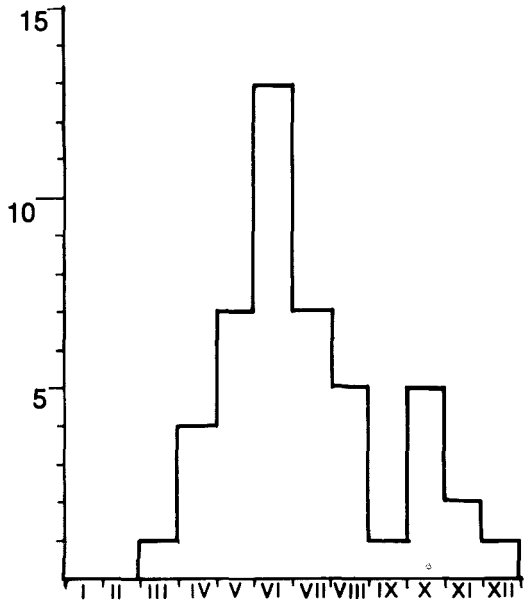


Fig. 11. Mortgages of all other years, by month.

should not be made. Furthermore, even if it is made, it does not materially affect the ratios among categories of texts.

Of the remaining mortgages, one was incurred by an unpaid assessment of rent (*imittu*). Four originated with the firm's payment of silver for taxes (*ilku*) on the feudatories' mandate. The remainder are without any such specification, leaving a disproportionately large residue.

Cardascia, unable to evaluate the unpublished portions of the Archive, was cautious in his assessment of the ratios among categories of transactions. He took them to indicate a gradual change in the emphasis of the firm's business: direct exploitation of land by its occupants gradually gave way to exploitation by the firm of contractors; hence the relative abundance of mortgages in Darius II's first year, and their subsequent diminution in comparison with rent and tax payments in the following years[19].

But if the assumptions underlying the charts presented here are valid, and if the Archive presents a fair picture of the firm's business, it is plain that the change was not gradual and evolutionary; it was sudden and dramatic. It needs to be explained by a short-term cause. Abrupt change in the Murašûs' commercial policies is insufficient; exceptional circumstances must have occasioned such a change, and the cause of these circumstances must have been external to the business. One is led to seek an explanation in contemporary political events. And since the peak in business activity took place precisely at the beginning of the new reign, one must consider the only political events of which any account has survived, the struggles which brought Darius II to the throne.

Political Change

The Rise to Power of Darius II

Knowledge of the events of Darius's accession comes almost entirely from Ctesias, in Photios's epitome. Although Ctesias's historical reliability has earned very low esteem, there is no real competing account, and in fact most essential elements of Ctesias's version were accepted by other, more reputable Classical authors. The events were living memory when Ctesias wrote. It is difficult to imagine that he could successfully falsify the main facts of the succession. Furthermore, Ctesias's information came from the court of Darius's son Artaxerxes II; one would expect any serious distortion in his version of events to result in the suppression of the names of Darius's rivals, rather than in their mention. With these qualifications, the

[19] *Murašû*, 194. Dandamayev, *Historia* Einzelschrift 18, 52, tacitly adopts the same view; similarly, Oelsner, *WO* 8 (1976), 316.

main events as described by Ctesias are credible; he gives this account (apud Photios, §§ 43-51).

When Artaxerxes I died, his son by the queen Damaspia succeeded as Xerxes II. Forty-five days later, Xerxes II was assassinated by one of his seventeen half-brothers, Sogdianus (Sekyndianos)[20], with the assistance of the eunuch Pharnakyas, Bagorazos the commander of the guard, and Menostanes the son of Artarios (Artarios being the satrap of Babylonia and a brother of Artaxerxes I). Sogdianus took the throne, Bagorazos was assassinated, and Menostanes became commander of the guard.

Another half-brother was Ochos, married to his half-sister Parysatis. Sogdianus summoned Ochos to court. Ochos agreed to come, but first he raised an army. Three prominent allies came to his support: Arbarios, formerly Sogdianus's chief of horse; Arsames, the satrap of Egypt and an Achaemenid prince; and Artoxares, formerly an influential figure at the court of Artaxerxes I but since exiled to Armenia. These three men conferred the crown on Ochos "against his will". Ochos (Babylonian: *Umasu* or *Umakuš*) assumed the royal name Darius[21]. Now Darius Ochos went to meet Sogdianus, whom he assassinated. In a subsequent campaign, Menostanes was killed, as were other contenders for the throne: Arsites, another half-brother; and Artyphios, the son of Megabyzos. Ochos sat firmly on the throne as Darius II. Some writers of late antiquity and more modern historians give him the sobriquet νόθος, "the bastard"[22].

So much for Ctesias. Babylonian texts give no overt sign of these troubles. Their date formulas proceed directly from the last regnal year of Artaxerxes I to the accession year of Darius II. No extant Babylonian text mentions, much less dates by, Xerxes II or Sogdianus. It might be supposed that the bloodletting at court left no mark on Babylonian affairs.

[20] Ctesias apud Photios renders the name Sekyndianos. Other spellings in Classical sources include Sogdios, Ogdianus, and even Isogaios. See F. H. Weissbach, "Sogdianus", *PWRE*, 2. Reihe, 5 (1927), 791; König, *Persika*, 83; and Schmitt, *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, 123.

[21] Babylonian legal and administrative texts refer to Achaemenid kings only by their throne names, never by given names. Classical texts mention the given names of some; Babylonian astronomical texts and chronicle fragments supply given names of most rulers after Darius I. See A. Sachs, "Achaemenid Royal Names in Babylonian Astronomical Texts", *American Journal of Ancient History* 2 (1977), 129-147; R. Schmitt, "Thronnamen bei den Achaimeniden", *Beiträge für Namenforschung* NF 12 (1977), 422-425; "Achaemenid Throne Names", *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 42 (1982), 83-95; the latter (p. 88 n. 13) advocates the reading *Umakuš* rather than the common *Umasu*. Greek Ὦχος and Babylonian *Umakuš* would then render an Iranian **Vauka*, a hypocoristic of the name Darius. The reading *Umasu* is still preferable by standards of Late Babylonian orthography, and this form would render **Va(h)uš*, the name from which **Vauka* is derived (with hypocoristic *-ka*).

[22] On the uses of the epithet, see Heinrich Swoboda, "Dareios (II.)", *PWRE* IV (1901), 22000; Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 77 n. 181. Pausanias 6.5.7, characterizing Darius as "illegitimate" (νόθος) adds the interesting note that Darius had the support of "the Persian people" in his coup.

Yet there are clear grounds for identifying many of the principal figures in the contest for the throne with persons named in the Murašû texts: on one side, Manuštanu and Artareme; on the other, Aršam, Artaḫšar, Purušatiš, and Arbareme. The strength of evidence and argument for the several equations varies, but the co-occurrence of the names both in Ctesias and in the Murašû Archive argues in favor of the identifications as a set. Since these persons had interests in Babylonia and did business with the Murašû firm, it should come as no surprise if the events of the succession did indeed leave a mark in the firm's records. And since the interests of these contesting figures included control of offices and estates with dependent bow lands and jurisdiction over *ḫaṭru*s composed of bow lands and their occupants, it is entirely plausible that the mark which their activities left took the form of mortgages contracted by dependent feudatories with the Murašû firm.

Chronology

There is still an impediment to forming a hypothesis along these lines. Does the timing of the succession crisis really allow one to see its local impact in the run of mortgages? Does the peak in the Murašûs' business not occur in Darius's first year, *after* he was king, rather than in his accession year, while he was becoming king[23]?

The succession crisis ended and Darius Ochos was secure on his throne after the assassination of his chief rival, Sogdianus. The campaign which resulted in the deaths of Menostanes, Arsites, and Artyphios was a substantial military action, but it was an epilogue to the main contest, probably taking place soon afterward[24]. The crisis began with the death of Artaxerxes I. But Classical and Babylonian sources disagree on the length of Artaxerxes' reign and the date of his death. To establish the dates of the succession crisis one must choose among these sources or else reconcile them[25].

Ctesias says (apud Photios §43) that Artaxerxes died after having been king for forty-two years, that Xerxes II reigned for a month and a half (§45), and that Sogdianus was on the throne for six and a half months (§48). Darius Ochos's uncontested rule therefore began eight months after his father's death. Ctesias's reputation as a fabulist and gossipmonger of course gives little weight to these numbers where they disagree with those of other historians.

[23] In the conventions of Neo- and Late Babylonian chronography, regnal years were coterminous with Babylonian calendar years, Nisannu through Addaru. The balance of a king's last regnal year, between the date of his death and the following New Year's day, was the succeeding king's accession year. The new king's first regnal year began on the first New Year's day of his reign, in March or April.

[24] Similarly Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 75 and 79 f.

[25] For a more extensive review of the debate on this chronological problem see Stolper, "The Death of Artaxerxes I", *AMI* NF 16 (1983), 223-236; the following pages are an abridgment of that treatment.

The Ptolemaic Canon, however, proves reliable wherever it can be tested against other secure information. It omits Xerxes and Sogdianus entirely, treating them in retrospect as pretenders. It allows Artaxerxes I forty-one years of rule. Since the Canon enters only whole calendar years as regnal years and uses the Egyptian 365-day year beginning in December or January (1 Thoth), it ends Artaxerxes' reign and begins Darius's on December 8, 424[26].

Diodorus Siculus gives three slightly different versions of the succession chronology. In 11.69.6 he says that Artaxerxes was king for forty years. In 12.7.1 he says that Xerxes II ruled for one year; others, he adds, say that Xerxes ruled for only two months, and Sogdianus for seven. In 12.64.1 he gives Xerxes a full year, omits Sogdianus, and assigns Artaxerxes' death to 425/4 B.C. (88th Olympiad, 4th year), allowing him a reign of forty years.

Thucydides only treats the topic indirectly, but because of his peerless historiographic credentials his evidence has been given special weight. In 4.50 ff. he relates the anecdote of a Persian named Artaphernes who was arrested in Thrace and conveyed to Athens. "Later" (ὕστερον) Artaphernes was sent under escort back to the Great King but the mission was broken off when the escort learned in Ephesus of Artaxerxes' recent death. Thucydides continues with other events of the winter and then mentions that at the beginning of the next summer a solar eclipse occurred. The eclipse is dated to March 21, 424 B.C. The most straightforward and most prevalent interpretation of this passage is that Artaxerxes died in the winter preceding the eclipse, 425/4 B.C., and hence that he reigned for forty years. Eduard Meyer asserted that this dating was absolutely certain; other historians have agreed[27].

Babylonian texts, however, are not consistent with this Thucydidean date. No fewer than fifty of the Murašû texts are dated in the forty-first regnal year of Artaxerxes I[28]. The earliest of them (BE 9 84 = TuM 2-3 202) comes from 4/I/41 = April 25, 424 B.C. The latest unequivocal date (BE 9 108) is 12/IX/41 = December 24, 424 B.C.[29] — nine months after the eclipse and a full year after the

[26] See the brief description of the Canon in Otto Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* (Berlin, 1975), II, 1025 f. A convenient presentation of the Canon is in Curt Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1895), 304 ff.

[27] For the date of the eclipse see F. K. Ginzel, *Spezieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse für das Ländergebiet der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften und den Zeitraum von 900 v. Chr. bis 600 nach Chr.* (Berlin, 1899), 59 and 178. For chronological interpretations: Eduard Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II: *zur Geschichte des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Halle a. S., 1899), 483-487; A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford, 1950), III, 505; A. Andrewes, *Historia* 10 (1961), 2; Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 70; P. Rahe, *American Journal of Philology* 101 (1980), 92 f. n. 31.

[28] BE 9 84-109 (including 86a and 94a); Nos. 6, 37, 60, 64-67, 69, 78, 112, 118.

[29] Cf. Parker and Dubberstein, *Chronology*, 18. On BE 9 109 (written by the same scribe as BE 9 108) see Stolper, *AMI* NF 16 (1983), p. 232 n. 41.

Thucydidean date for Artaxerxes' death. Eleven more Murašû texts are dated in the accession year of Darius II[30]. The earliest of these (BE 10 1 = TuM 2-3 29, written at Babylon) comes from 4/XI/Acc. = February 13, 423 B.C. The latest fully preserved date (PBS 2/1 1) is 22/XII/Acc. = April 2, 423 B.C. The date formulas of two of those texts, as well as that of another text written at Babylon and not part of the Archive, specify that the forty-first year of Artaxerxes and the accession year of Darius were the same calendar year[31]. Moreover, clauses in the main bodies of the texts of three receipts from the Archive specify the same continuity[32].

Later Babylonian astronomical compilers also recognized Darius II's accession year[33]. Legal and economic texts dated in the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II mention intercalary months in various regnal years of those kings, and astronomical compilations mention the same intercalary months in the same years. There is therefore no systematic discrepancy between these corpora nor between them and the Ptolemaic Canon[34].

It is quite unlikely that Babylonian notaries wrote their dates in ignorance, that is, that news of the Great King's death reached Nippur only ten to thirteen months after it reached Ephesus. It is inconceivable that Babylonian astronomers and Ptolemy later enshrined such ignorance in their scientific works.

It is also most improbable that Babylonian scribes coped with political uncertainty by adopting a chronological fiction, choosing to date by a fictional forty-first year of the dead Artaxerxes as long as the succession was in doubt. The Babylonians certainly had no such hesitation during the troubles at the end of Cambyses' reign. As a rule, they dated by the nearest living claimant to the throne, not by kings known to be dead. Furthermore, two Murašû texts, dated in the sixth and seventh months of Artaxerxes' forty-first year, refer to the coming year as the anticipated forty-second of Artaxerxes[35]. If Artaxerxes had been known to be dead these clauses would have carried the fiction of his continued reign to imbecilic lengths. Scribes at Nippur plainly understood Artaxerxes to be alive as of October, 424 B.C. In the Babylonian view, his reign ended in his forty-first regnal year, Darius II was his immediate successor in the same calendar year, and the succession occurred between late December, 424 and mid-February, 423 B.C. If there was any local uncertainty about the succession, it was confined to this short interval.

[30] BE 8/1 127; BE 10 1-6; PBS 2/1 1-2; No. 109; and one unpublished text in Istanbul.
[31] BE 8/1 127; BE 10 4 = TuM 2-3 216; BM 33342 in *AMI* NF 16 (1983), 233 ff.
[32] BE 10 6:2 f., dated in the accession year; BE 10 7:6 (= TuM 2-3 181) and PBS 2/1 3:2 f., both dated in the first month of Darius's first regnal year.
[33] *LBAT* 1426 ii′ 6′; see A. Sachs, *American Journal of Ancient History* 2 (1977), 130 f.
[34] Despite Meyer's ingenious solution, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, 483-485; cf. Stolper, *AMI* NF 16 (1983), 228 n. 27.
[35] No. 112:8 and No. 67:4, drafted by two different scribes.

The chronological evidence of contemporary Babylonian texts, of later scholarly compilations which reflected official Persian chronology, and of the usually trustworthy Ptolemaic Canon is consistent. But it is at variance by one year with the Thucydidean chronology[36]. This disagreement, however, is not symmetrical. If one adopts the chronology extracted from Thucydides as certain, then the position of Babylonian texts cannot be accounted for plausibly. But if one assumes the Babylonian position to be correct, then Thucydides' indirect comments can be reconciled with it.

I suggest, as Lewis has done, that Thucydides introduced a chronological parenthesis into his narrative[37]. He entered the arrest of Artaphernes in his sequential narrative of 425/4 B.C. But the episode of Artaphernes and the Athenian mission to the Persian court turned out to be without significant consequences. Thucydides therefore related the whole episode at once, from its promising beginning in Thrace to its abortive conclusion in Ephesus. Artaphernes was taken prisoner in the winter before the eclipse; "later" he was sent as far as Ephesus. The parenthesis beginning "later" is fixed in time by the reference to the Great King's death, which in fact took place a full year later. Once the Artaphernes anecdote was finished, Thucydides returned to his sequential narrative of the winter in which Artaphernes was arrested and the subsequent eclipse of March, 424. His expository style has been misconstrued in the search for an absolute chronology. The date of Artaxerxes' death is not the aim of his narrative, but an assumed datum which closes the parenthesis begun with the word "later".

With this interpretation the apparent certainty of the Thucydidean dating disappears. The Babylonian dating, however, is not subject to such impeachment. Babylonian notaries were immediately contemporary with the events and near them in space. They were not scholars or historians and their work was not colored by narrative schemes, stylistic concerns, or vagaries of manuscript transmission. They followed a consistent chronology with which the various notices of Classical authors can be reconciled without great interpretive violence[38]. Consequently,

[36] On the supposedly anomalous date of BM 33342, sometimes cited in support of the Thucydidean chronology (cf. Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 72; Drews, *JNES* 40 [1981], 152; Rahe, *American Journal of Philology* 101 [1980], 92 f. n. 31), see Stolper, *AMI* NF 16 (1983), 231 ff.

[37] *Sparta and Persia*, 71 n. 140. Lewis, however, makes this suggestion with considerable reservation, apparently preferring the hypothesis that dates by Artaxerxes' forty-first year were the result of a conscious scribal fiction.

[38] Ctesias's assertion that Artaxerxes died after a forty-two year reign is either an error in the manuscript transmission, or a mistaken summation of forty-one regnal years plus a fractional accession year, or simply one of Ctesias's many original errors. In Diodorus, the forty-year reign is the consequence of a retrospective chronology which included the reigns of Xerxes II and Sogdianus in a running sequence but erroneously subtracted the year allowed to these ephemeral rulers from the official reign of Artaxerxes rather than from the official reign of Darius.

Babylonian texts show convincingly that Artaxerxes died in his forty-first regnal year; that Darius's official reign (and in Babylonia his actual reign) began immediately thereafter; and that the brief reigns of Xerxes II and Sogdianus overlapped not Artaxerxes' official reign, but the reign of their brother and rival Darius Ochos, as the political situation of the succession would lead one to suppose.

The crisis started by Artaxerxes' death, then, began between the ninth and eleventh months of his last regnal year, between December, 424 and February, 423 B.C. Counting forward the eight to nine months allowed to Xerxes II and Sogdianus by Ctesias and Diodorus (and later Chronographers) places the death of Sogdianus between the fourth and seventh months of Darius's first regnal year, and the fall of the other contenders in the succeeding months. On this chronology, the mortgages which feudatories contracted with the Murašûs in Darius's first regnal year, peaking in number during the third and fourth months, coincide almost exactly with the period of the struggle for the throne.

This very close synchronism gives great weight to observations made and conclusions drawn in earlier chapters: that major actors in the succession struggle are named in the Murašû texts; that the dates at which their names occur agree with Ctesias's account of their fortunes; and, most importantly, that the resources at their disposal included the taxes as well as the personal and military services of Babylonian petty feudatories, the class of people who were the debtors in the Murašûs' mortgages. In fact, individual identifications are not crucial to forming a hypothesis. Other figures of comparable rank and power were surely caught up in the struggle for the throne, even though their names do not figure in the epitome of Ctesias's narrative. The simple fact that princes and prominent royal officials commanded feudatories is enough to suggest that the petty feudatories paid some price for their superiors' rivalries.

Opportunity, the first requirement of a prima facie case, is thus established. But what accounts for motive and means? How was the cost transmitted? How did the quarrels of princes leave so prosaic a mark as a run of mortgages?

First Hypothesis: Hedging

At first glance, it might be argued that the petty feudatories, more or less closely identified with the interest of major combatants, were hedging their bets. They divested themselves of now insecure landed property, converting it as much as possible into more fluid assets, and readying themselves for the eventuality of loss, dispossession, and flight or exile. As Ibn Khaldûn, among others, observed,

> when one dynasty ends and another begins ... real estate does not make a

> person happy because it is of little use in the general upheaval. Values fall, and real estate can be acquired for low prices[39].

Yet this interpretation encounters several obstacles.

First, insofar as rental costs allow an appraisal, land itself was indeed low in value by comparison to other productive factors in the Murašû texts. But this condition was a general feature of the firm's economic climate, not a short-term response to political developments[40]. Small-scale landholders stood to gain little by liquidation.

Second, there was no direct relation between the amount of the debt incurred and the size of the property given as security[41]. This variability is consistent with the understanding of the mortgages as genuine short-term loans in diverse amounts, each loan secured by the pledge of a unit of land. It is difficult, however, to imagine massive liquidation conducted on a basis of random equivalence. One would expect use of more suitable contractual instruments, such as long-term loans cast in the form of rentals[42].

Third, the Murašûs must have been at least as circumspect about the outcome of the contest as the feudatories were. There is no apparent reason for them to have been more confident of their antichretic titles to land than the feudatories were of their beneficiary title.

Fourth, followers of the losing factions would presumably have been able to redeem their holdings less often than followers of the winners. If the preserved mortgages do indeed represent conversions, the absence of any indications that they were concentrated among adherents of the losing side is notable. In almost half of the texts, the *ḫaṭru* of the debtors is named or can be deduced from the reappearances of personal names and geographical names in other texts. The contracts are distributed fairly evenly among twenty-one *ḫaṭru*s. The occasion for incurring those debts apparently affected the various feudatories uniformly, regardless of their administrative affiliations.

This first hypothesis fails to provide a convincing link between the events of the succession and the rising frequency of mortgages. A second, much simpler explanation is far more attractive.

[39] Ibn Khaldûn, *The Muqaddimah, an Introduction to History*, trans. by Franz J. Rosenthal, abridged and ed. by N. J. Dawood (Princeton, New Jersey, 1967), 280.

[40] See Cardascia *Murašû*, 136 and Chapter VI, below.

[41] Cardascia *Murašû*, 38. Delete the reference to BE 9 95 in Cardascia's n. 6; the comparison is between BE 10 62 and BE 10 125. Like this pair, other paired mortgages of single properties (see p. 106 n. 11) show debts of different amounts: BE 9 36 (30 *kur*) and BE 10 35 (457 *kur*); No. 64 (24 *kur*) and BE 10 38 (28 *kur*); PBS 2/1 40 (1, 310 *kur*) and PBS 2/1 178 (365 *kur*).

[42] See Cardascia's analysis of BE 9 48 (= TuM 2-3 144), *Murašû*, 142.

Second Hypothesis: The System at Work

According to Ctesias, Ochos put off his half-brother's summons to court while he raised an army and gathered his allies. If Arsames and Artoxares came in any great force to support him, they needed time to travel. The levy of Ochos's troops and supplies also took time. The process of mobilization must have taken the best part of the interval between the death of Artaxerxes I and the elimination of Sogdianus. Delay worked in favor of Ochos. Sogdianus lost such allies as Arbarios, while his army grew disaffected with him over the murders of Xerxes and Bagorazos (Ctesias apud Photios § 46).

Ctesias does not give explicit notice of the rivals' whereabouts during the succession crisis, but reasonable confidence on the matter is still possible. Ctesias implies that Artaxerxes I, Xerxes II, and Sogdianus all died at the same royal residence. The residence was not at Babylon, where Artaxerxes' evanescent successors were not recognized. It was not at Persepolis, to which the royal corpses were later transported[43]. The residence was probably at Ecbatana or Susa, depending on the season. Since all chronological proposals hold that Artaxerxes died in the winter, and since Ctesias's whole narrative of the Persian court centers on Susa, only Susa is likely. Ochos, on the other hand, though he was satrap of Hyrcania, was not in his province, but certainly in Babylon by February, 423 B.C. at least: BE 10 1 (= TuM 2-3 29) records the rental of a house in Babylon for a period lasting "until the king's departure" (*adi* ˹*muḫḫi*˺ *aṣê šarri*); since the text is dated 4/XI/Acc. Darius II, only Ochos can be meant[44]. Ochos was certainly in political control of Babylon, if not actually present there, immediately after Artaxerxes' death[45].

The long mobilization of Ochos's forces centered on Babylonia. The demands for money and manpower which Ochos's party made on Babylonian feudatories were exceptionally heavy. Still worse, the demands came in the early months of the Babylonian year, toward the end of the agricultural cycle. Landholders' reserves were at their lowest, and requirements of labor and supplies for the harvest were at their peak. Feudatories were unable to appeal for support to their overlords, since the latter—even if they were equipped or inclined to make loans to their dependents—were already fully committed to the contest. Unable to meet both the demands of their farms and the added, urgent demands of Ochos's fiscal and military levies, many small landholders were forced into debt and obliged to mortgage their holdings. On this hypothesis, the mortgages are not evidence of the feudatories' political strategies, but of their response to the political and economic compulsion brought about by the strategies of their superiors.

[43] Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, 484; cf. Cameron, *JNES* 32 (1973), 56.

[44] See Clay, BE 10, pp. 22 f.; Kohler and Ungnad, *HAU*, no. 45; Koschaker *Bürgschaftsrecht*, 171 f.; Cardascia *Murašû*, 142; Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 356.

[45] Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, 484.

Likely and attractive as this hypothesis may be, it affords little opportunity for direct confirmation. There is no outright mention of Ochos's levies in the texts of his first regnal year. The Murašû texts which mention a call-up for military service all date from the *second* year of Darius II. The object and scale of the levy in that year—perhaps only a modest security operation after the succession—are unknown[46]. Nevertheless, the texts in which these allusions appear contain clauses which specify debts as originating with loans of money for military supplies, and so these texts demonstrate the existence of the process assumed for Darius's first year: the added cost of extraordinary service caused feudatories to mortgage their property[47]. The many mortgages of the first year which lack a clause specifying the occasion of the debt may easily have had a similar origin.

In fact, this interpretation suggests only that the system of tenure and administration of state property in the Nippur region, and the commercial manipulation of the system by the Murašû firm, worked along the general lines intended for them. The land supported the personnel and costs of military enterprise; the firm provided a means of realizing the needed resources. Under conditions of political division, however, the benefits of the system went not to the Empire's center, but to contenders for control of the center. The costs were transmitted to the lowest echelon of state dependents. Middle administrative ranks were not much disturbed. And the Murašû firm's intervention assured and even improved the exploitation of state land and the production of state revenue.

Despite the absence of explicit confirmation, the circumstantial evidence for the hypothesis is strong: the peak in mortgages is extraordinary; its synchronism with the succession crisis is close; the princes who figured in the crisis, as well as other members of the circles most directly interested in the outcome, had landed and administrative interests which did business with the Murašûs; they were able to extract taxes and services from feudatories; the Murašû firm financed such payments; and, finally, Darius mobilized an army in Babylonia which certainly required such extractions in extraordinary amounts. The proposal is consequently the most likely explanation by far of a striking internal feature of the Archive.

The conclusion is not trivial. If it is true that the drastic rise of mortgages evident in the Murašû texts is the result of a contest for the throne, and that the mortgaged farms went unredeemed, then this phenomenon provides a dramatic example of the local effects which intrigues at the Persian court were capable of producing. The sanguinary incidents which some Classical writers delighted in narrating were not

[46] BE 10 61, 62; PBS 2/1 54, 162, 194; Lutz, UCP 9/3, 269 ff.; and perhaps No. 117. See Cardascia *Murašû*, 40, 99, 174 f., 182 and Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 79.

[47] In fact, such practices were already long established. For example, in 511 B.C. a debtor offered his land as security for a loan issued to outfit him for military service in Elam, seemingly in connection with a royal draft (KÙ.BABBAR *rikis qabli ša ana Elamti nadnu*, Dar. 308:12).

the mere squabbles of a few degenerate aristocrats, insulated from their subject nations by a resilient structure of management and coercion. The tremors which such events sent along the lines of control cost little from the state's point of view: crops and taxes still came in, whether the bow lands were held by feudatories or by creditors. But the tremors nevertheless produced dislocation in the local system of tenure, reduction of some small landholders to indebtedness, and increasing concentration of titles, wealth, and power in the hands of a few capitalists. This was not an isolated episode. The revolts and intrigues of the following decades, sometimes bloodier and more prolonged, will have extracted a similar price in the Empire's provinces, if not in precisely the same way. Certainly the best known of these conflicts is another war of brothers, the attempt of Cyrus the Younger to seize the throne of Artaxerxes II; at that time, the mobilization of the Great King's army again took place in Babylonia, as did the final battle[48].

[48] Likewise, Darius III's mobilization of troops and allies to face the Macedonian invasion took place at Babylon (Quintus Curtius 3.2.2, 4.6.2, and 4.9.2.)

CHAPTER VI

RENTAL COSTS AND THE ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

The hypothesis developed in the preceding chapter cannot be explicitly confirmed from available texts, but it can still be inspected further. It entails assumptions and implications which can be examined for their fit both with the detailed information of the Murašû Archive and with general interpretations of the Archive's setting. If the fit is good, the hypothesis gains in complexity and strength; at the same time, the very process of examining the fit leads to an improved perception of Achaemenid Babylonian social and economic history.

In particular, if the brief disturbances at Darius's accession caused small-scale landholders to mortgage their properties and left many of them unable to redeem their holdings, then even before the crisis began, Babylonian feudatories were on an insecure economic footing which rendered them incapable of sustaining short-term costs. The Murašû firm, however, was sufficiently well situated to profit by the feudatories' weakness. How well do these views mesh with what the texts reveal of the economic conditions under which the Murašû firm did business? And how do they affect the assessment of economic tendencies under Achaemenid rule in Babylonia?

The following pages take three interrelated approaches to these questions. The first is an examination of the relative values of the various rented factors of agricultural production, which provided income both to the Murašûs and to the feudatories. The second is an estimate of the Murašû firm's situation in the general conditions of its time, combined with an assessment of uncertainties in the Archive's economic information. The third is a critique of prevalent views on the effects of imperial fiscal policy on the Babylonian economy.

Rental Costs

The source of the Murašûs' income which is apparent in surviving texts is the rent which the firm drew from the lease and sublease of property at its disposal. The visible income of feudatories and other property owners is the rent which they drew from the firm. Hence, the key to judging the strengths and weaknesses both of the firm and of its customers, and to gauging incident economic conditions, lies in the values of the various rented factors: land, animals and equipment, and canals.

Despite the apparently rich detail with which the Murašû texts describe rentals, the number of variables present in the contracts makes establishing a common framework difficult. Comparisons require some manipulation of the information, and even then only a portion of the data can be used. The results are approximate. The comparisons are limited in significant ways, and they require further critique, but they are nevertheless fruitful.

Land

There are special obstacles to estimating the rental value of land. The texts do not clearly mark the varying quality of rented land. Very few texts indicate both area and price. Moreover, all those which do so are rentals *to* the Murašû firm. On the other hand, the relative values of other factors can only be determined from prices charged *by* the firm to its own tenants. Nevertheless, since costs to the firm must form the basis of the prices charged by the firm, the few occurrences of explicit land prices require scrutiny.

Cardascia pointed to PBS 2/1 182, in which the Murašû house is required to pay thirty *kur* of barley annually for thirty *kur* of grain-producing land. He cited this apparently low rate to confirm the restoration of BE 9 102:11-13:

> *mimma mala ina zēri* [*šunūti*] *illaʾ ana* [1 G]UR *zēri* 1 GUR *uṭṭ*[*atu*] ... *inandin*
>
> whatsoever grows on [those] fields, he (Enlil-šum-iddin) will pay one *kur* of barley for each [one *k*]*ur* of field to PN (the lessor) [1].

A somewhat earlier text, No. 1 (—/—/[34] Artaxerxes I), confirms the formal basis of this restoration. In addition, it shows a still lower land price (lines 9-10):

> [*ina š*]*atti mimma mala ina libbi illa*[ʾ] *ana* 1 GUR *zēri* 2 (PI) 3 BÁN *uṭṭatu* ^{md}*Enlil-šum-iddin ana* PN *inandin*
>
> [Every y]ear, whatsoever grows thereon, Enlil-šum-iddin will pay one-half *kur* of barley for each one *kur* of field to PN (the lessor).

PBS 2/1 20 shows a similarly low rate. There, the object of the lease is eight *kur* of land, including date orchards as well as grain fields (*zēru zaqpu u pī šulpu*). The annual rental is only five *kur* of barley, i.e., an average of five-eighths *kur* per *kur* [2].

The juridical statuses of the land rented and the recipients of the rents in these four texts are diverse. The land of PBS 2/1 182 is called only the "rental property" (*bīt sūti*) of the otherwise unknown lessor; the contract is evidently a sublease to the

[1] Cardascia *Murašû*, 135. BE 9 102 (16/VII/41 Artaxerxes I): Augapfel, 76; according to line 7, the total area of the rented land is 107.33 *kur* = c. 142 ha = c. 350 acres. PBS 2/1 182 (11/V/1 Darius II): Augapfel, 61; 30 *kur* = c. 40 ha = c. 98 acres.

[2] PBS 2/1 20 (8/VIII/1 Darius II): Augapfel, 60.

Murašûs. In BE 9 102, the land is called a "royal grant" (NÍG.SUM.MU LUGAL) to an *ustarbar* official who is foreman of the *banaikānu*; Cardascia reasonably considered the land to belong to feudatories of the *ḫaṭru* of *banaikānu*[3]. The land rented in PBS 2/1 20 belonged to a "prince" (*mār bīti*), Niba'mardu, and the rent was to be collected by his bailiff. And in No. 1, the property is "crown land" (*uzbarra*), while the lessor appears to be an agent of a canal manager. In short, all the major categories of property holders rented land to the Murašû firm at approximately equivalent low rates, one *kur* of barley per *kur* of land, or less[4].

Only one text gives a unit price of land in terms of silver. In No. 6, written in the forty-first year of Artaxerxes I, one *kur* of date orchard, part of a bow fief, costs the Murašû firm fifteen shekels of silver annually. The silver price of barley being subject to short-term variation[5], there are no firm grounds for comparison between this rental, expressed in silver, and those already cited, expressed in barley. Scattered data, though, provide an avenue for approximate comparison.

First, in BE 10 77, a debt of two and a half *kur* of barley is secured by a pledge of ten shekels of silver. If the value of the pledge was equal to or greater than the value of the debt, then 1 shekel of silver $\geq$ 0.25 *kur* of barley (cf. table 1)[6].

Second, astronomical diaries provide occasional silver prices for barley during some Achaemenid regnal years: in the eleventh year of Artaxerxes I, a range of 1 shekel of silver = 0.083-0.10 *kur* of barley; from the fifth year of Darius II, a range of 1 shekel of silver = 0.116-0.20 *kur* of barley[7].

Applying the range of these exchange rates to the terms of No. 6 yields an equivalent rental cost of 1.25-3.75 *kur* of barley per *kur* of orchard. As expected, the rental value of date-orchards appears to have been higher than the rental value of grain fields. But even the rental value of orchards was distinctly low by comparison with the costs of other factors[8].

[3] *Murašû*, 128 and n. 1.

[4] An isolated example from a century earlier at Nippur offers contrasting conditions. In BE 8/1 85, from the third year of Cambyses, an agent of a canal manager rents out 15 *kur* of land for an annual rental of 60 *kur* of barley, plus payment of a "king's share", plus one sheep per ten *kur* per annum.

[5] See Dubberstein, "Comparative Prices in Later Babylonia (625-400 B.C.)", *AJSL* 56 (1939), 26f.

[6] Cardascia *Murašû*, 4; Oelsner, *Hellenische Poleis*, II, 1052.

[7] Oelsner, *Hellenische Poleis*, II, 1052; on the diaries in general, see Sachs, *JCS* 2 (1948), 285f.

[8] Moreover, *if* the silver-to-barley conversion entertained here, for all its uncertainties, is at least approximately correct, then it is worth observing that the differential in rental costs between orchards and grain fields in the Murašû texts falls in the lower end of the range of differential in *sale* prices indicated by earlier Neo-Babylonian texts. Compare, among others, the following sale-price ratios:
(a) VAS 5 4 (Babylon; Kandalanu, year 18)—orchard:prime grain land (*mērešu*) = 20:1.
(b) VAS 5 12 (Babylon; Nebuchadnezzar II, year 38)—orchard and orchard with immature palms (*talāmu*):fallow land (*kišubbû*) and newly opened land (*taptû*) = 2.75:1.
(c) 5R 67 1 (Babylon; Neriglissar, acc.; cf. Sack, *ZA* 68 [1978], 146ff.)—orchard:orchard with immature palms:prime grain land and newly opened land = 9:3:1.

TABLE 1

Neo-Babylonian Units of Measure and Metric Equivalents

AREA					
1 *qû* (SÌLA)				=	0.007 ha
1 *sūtu* (BÁN)			=	6 SÌLA =	0.044 ha
1 *pānu* (PI)		= 6 BÁN =	36 SÌLA =		0.265 ha
1 *kur* (GUR)	= 5 PI =	30 BÁN =	180 SÌLA =		1.323 ha
VOLUME					
1 *qû* (SÌLA)				=	0.84 liters
1 *sūtu* (BÁN)			=	6 SÌLA =	5.05 liters
1 *pānu* (PI)		= 6 BÁN =	36 SÌLA =		30.31 liters
1 *kur* (GUR)	= 5 PI =	30 BÁN =	180 SÌLA =		151.56 liters
WEIGHT					
1 shekel (GÍN = *šiqlu*)				=	8.416 g
1 mina (MA.NA = *manû*)			=	60 GÍN =	505 g
1 talent (GÚ+UN = *biltu*)	= 60 MA.NA =		360 GÍN =		30.3 kg

NOTE: Quantitative descriptions and comparisons here use Babylonian units rather than metric equivalents. For ease of arithmetic manipulation, however, Babylonian units are converted to decimal expressions. E.g., not "1 *kur* 2 *pānu* 3 *sātu*", or "1; 2; 3 *kur*", or "1.985 hectares" or "227.340 liters", but "1.5 kur".

Animals and Equipment

The values of other factors can only be determined from prices charged by the firm to its tenants. A small group of leases issued by the Murašû house cites animals and equipment[9] as the main objects rented. Table 2 summarizes these.

Clearly, these are expensive items. The annual rental cost of a single unequipped animal ranges between ten and twenty-five *kur* of barley; the cost of a single fully equipped animal runs between thirty-seven and a half and fifty *kur*[10]. These costs are not appreciably affected by the provision of seed grain, at least in small amounts.

(d) Nbn. 116 (Babylon; Nabonidus, year 3; cf. Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 28 n. 192)—orchard:prime grain land and fallow land = 10:1.

(e) Cyr. 188 (Babylon; Cyrus, year 5)—orchard:fallow land = 7.5:1.

(f) Dar. 152 (Babylon; Darius I, year 4)—orchard:prime grain land and newly opened land = 8.42:1. That is, in the Murašû texts the two principal types of rented land are cheap by comparison to other factors; the cost differentials between the two types may also be low by comparison to land elsewhere; and this comparison may indicate that land manipulated by the firm included underused property.

[9] "Equipment" (*unūtu*) of draft-animals includes plows (GIŠ.APIN), whether or not they are explicitly mentioned in the text. See Cardascia *Murašû*, 135 n. 5; cf. PBS 2/1 106:5 f., 12.

[10] Assuming that No. 22, as the rental suggests, includes not only plowing oxen (*alpū ummânu ša*

TABLE 2
Rental Costs of Animals and Equipment

Text	Objects Rented			Annual Rental (in *kur* of barley)	
	Animals	Harness	Barley		
BE 9 108	1 ox	—	4.75		[x+]1.8
BE 9 20	1 cow	—	—		10
BE 9 52a	1 ox	—	—		10
No. 24	2 oxen	—	—		50
No. 16	2 oxen	—	5		50
No. 22	2 oxen	–?–	—		100
BE 9 49	2 oxen	*unūtu*	7		75
BE 9 89	4 oxen	*unūtu*	—		150
No. 12	4 oxen	*unūtu*	—		150
PBS 2/1 15	2 oxen	—	5	(barley)	30
			2	(emmer)	8
			0.33	(wheat)	1
			0.73	(chickpeas)	1
			8.06		40

Information on the number of draft animals with equipment required to work a given area of land is scarce. From large-scale leases of temple property at sixth-century Uruk, Cocquerillat infers that lands of average productivity required one plow and a team of four oxen for each thirty *kur* of land; lands producing higher yields were cultivated with heavier equipment, each plow and team of four oxen working twenty-five *kur* of land [11]. The text Cyr. 26, dated at Sippar in 537 B.C., shows slightly more intensive use of animals and equipment: tenants of the temple there receive a lease which includes sixty *kur* of land, twelve oxen, and three plowshares (AN.BAR *sikkāt* MEŠ); assuming that the plowshares indicate the number of plows and teams, the text shows use of one plow and four-ox team for each twenty *kur* of land.

A single Murašû text includes enough detail to show that roughly similar conditions were applicable in fifth-century Nippur. In BE 9 88, two men lease from the Murašû firm twenty *kur* of grain-producing land with four oxen and one plow, as well as various amounts of seed [12]. The total annual rental is 150 *kur* of produce—that is,

epenni), but also equipment, although the latter is not specified in the text in the usual form (*adi unūtišunu gamrūti*, etc.).

[11] *Palmeraies*, 28; supporting documents: YOS 6 11+, YOS 6 150, TCL 13 182, discussed in *Palmeraies*, 38-45.

[12] BE 9 88 (10/III/41 Artaxerxes I): Augapfel, 64f.; S. von Bolla-Kotek, *Untersuchungen zur Tiermiete und Viehpacht im Altertum*, 2nd ed., Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte 30 (1940; 2nd ed., 1969), 145f.

the amount required for the same number of oxen and equipment in BE 9 89 and No. 12, and comparable to the price of oxen, equipment, and seed in BE 9 49.

It appears, then, that the low cost of land to the Murašû firm was passed on to the tenants of the firm; as a determinant of rental costs, land costs were so low as to be negligible. The major determinant of the tenants' costs was the livestock and equipment needed to work the land. In short, as a general condition, land was cheap but stock and harness were costly.

Another small group of documents favors a similar conclusion. Four Murašû texts record agreements to cultivate land in partnership [13], a member of the firm being one of the partners in each case. Three stipulate that the partners are to supply oxen and seed in equal amounts; two of these also specify contribution of farmhands in equal numbers [14]. In one (BE 10 44) the land to be worked was already at the Murašû firm's disposal; in two others (BE 10 55, TuM 2-3 146) it was held by the second party; and in the fourth (BE 9 60) it included land already under the joint control of the partners as well as land under the sole control of the second party. In all four cases, however, the parties are to have equal shares of the produce. That is, partners' returns were to be divided in proportion to their investment of seed, labor, and livestock; title to land as such brought no added revenue to either partner. These contracts show land and stock in relation to returns, rather than in relation to costs; here again, stock appears to be valuable, while land itself does not.

Canals

Absolute rental costs of water cannot be determined. Leases give no indication of the length of canals or the volumes of water involved. The relative value of canals, however, can be estimated by comparison between leases which include canals among the items rented and those which omit them. The comparison requires two assumptions.

First, considering the high cost of livestock and equipment, it is unlikely that these factors were leased in larger amounts than needed; it is likely that they were used in the most extensive manner allowed by current practices. Consequently, it is assumed that in leases which issue land together with stock and harness, the factors are in direct proportion to each other.

[13] BE 9 60; BE 10 44, 55; TuM 2-3 146. See Cardascia *Murašû*, 177-179; Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 85 ff.

[14] GU_4(.ḪI.A) (*lū*) *mala* GU_4(.ḪI.A) ŠE.NUMUN (*lū*) *mala* ŠE.NUMUN LÚ.ENGAR (*lū*) *mala* LÚ.ENGAR: BE 9 60:9, 17; TuM 2-3 146:6. BE 10 44: 6 f. omits LÚ.ENGAR *mala* LÚ.ENGAR, "farmhand for farmhand". That the draft animals are the determining component of the package is evident in BE 10 44:2-4, which poses the terms of the agreement as 2 *alpī attū'a itti* 2 *alpī attūka* ... *luškun* "I will use two oxen of my own and two oxen of yours".

Second, there is an impediment to the comparison of rental costs in the fact that in many texts, portions of the list of crops which regularly comprise the rental are not preserved. The largest component of such lists, however, is invariably barley. Consequently, it is assumed here that the barley portion of the rental is a rough index of the total cost of the lease.

That is, number of oxen-with-equipment is used as an index of scale; amount of barley rental is used as an index of cost; and the ratio of the latter to the former is used as an index of unit price.

Making these assumptions, it emerges that in *most* leases including land, animals, and equipment but *not* including canals, the unit price index falls within a narrow range. Table 3 summarizes this information [15].

TABLE 3

Unit Prices of Leases Without Canals

Text	Plows	Oxen	Barley-Rent (in *kur*)	Barley : Ox
BE 9 26	2	(4)	120	30.0 : 1
BE 9 34	(1)	2	73.3	36.6 : 1
No. 19	5	20	600	30.0 : 1
No. 11	10	40	1300	32.5 : 1
BE 9 86a	18	72	2260	31.4 : 1
BE 9 88	1	4	120	30.0 : 1
PBS 2/1 44	(1)	4	120	30.0 : 1
PBS 2/1 154	(1)	4	120	30.0 : 1
PBS 2/1 157	1	4	120	30.0 : 1
PBS 2/1 106	6	24	800	33.3 : 1
Total	46	178	5633.3	31.6 : 1

On the other hand, in *most* leases which explicitly include canals among the objects rented, the unit-price index falls in a wider but distinctly higher range. Table 4 shows the effect of canals as an added variable. The average unit price more than doubles [16].

[15] The plows in BE 9 26, 29, 30 and No. 17 are qualified with the term *šuḫḫānu*. The meaning of the word is obscure. Plows so qualified required two oxen apiece instead of the usual four (Salonen *Agricultura*, 69). Because of overall similarities between BE 9 26, 29, 30, and No. 17 on the one hand, and BE 9 34 on the other, the plows named in the latter text must also be considered two-ox plows.

[16] The numbers in PBS 2/1 150 and No. 13 are clearly exceptional. Collation shows the former to be accurately copied. The latter, like BE 9 65, combines the leases of two groups of property in a single document. The Larak canal is part of the first group, the six oxen part of the second. The tenants offer annual rents described separately for each group, including 1,200 *kur* of barley for the first and 400 *kur*

TABLE 4
Unit Prices of Leases With Canals

Text	Canal	Plows	Oxen	Barley-Rent (in *kur*)	Barley : Ox
BE 9 29	ÍD *Badiātu ša* ^{m}*Jadiḫ-Jāma*	10	(20)	630	31.5 : 1
BE 9 30	ÍD LÚ.SAG	12	(24)	1200	50.0 : 1
No. 17	ÍD LÚ.SAG	12	(24)	1200	50.0 : 1
BE 9 35	ÍD ^{d}*Enlil*	2	4	190	47.5 : 1
No. 14	ÍD *Ugāri-dūr-Enlil*	15	60	3350	55.8 : 1
PBS 2/1 158	ÍD LUGAL	(2)	8	325	40.6 : 1
BE 9 65 (i)	*mūṣânē ša šarri*;	(5)	20	1600	80.0 : 1
(ii)	ÍD *ša* ^{m}*Natūnu*	(10)	40	2600	65.0 : 1
No. 13	ÍD *Larak*	(3?)	6	1600	266.6 : 1
PBS 2/1 150	ÍD [...]	(2)	8	1220	152.5 : 1

What causes this appreciation? What was it that the tenants acquired which was so valuable? In the first place, obviously, they received the water which they needed for use with the lands which they rented. To judge by BE 9 7 and 16, discussed earlier (pp. 50 f.), it was a valuable factor, worth a substantial share of the land's production.

This is, however, insufficient to account for the added cost. In fact, in at least one case, tenants received water to irrigate their properties without having to rent canals as well. In No. 19, a group of men rents from Enlil-šum-iddin lands belonging to three others named Unat, Parsarutu, and Pitra — Iranians, to judge by their names — along with animals, equipment, and seed, but no canals. At the end of the contract, a postscript adds (lines 34-36):

> *mê ša ṣī* [or: *a*(!)-*ṣi*] *ša ana* ^{m}*Unat ina* ÍD NN *u* ÍD NN_2 *ikkaššidū išaddadu*
>
> they will draw off for irrigation the outgoing (?) waters which come from the canals NN and NN_2 and which belong to Unat.

Apparently part of the leased land carried with it specified water rights. As comparison of No. 19 with the other entries in table 3 shows, these rights caused no

for the second. Since the beginning of the text is damaged, a larger number of oxen may have been rented with the first group of properties.

If PBS 2/1 150 and No. 13 are disregarded, the overall average barley: ox is 55.5:1 and the increase over the average index without canals is seventy-six percent.

appreciation of the rental cost. Similar circumstances *may* be tacit in other leases which mention no canals [17].

The tenants who leased canals from the Murašû firm, in fact, received not only the use of *some* of the canals' water for their own farming enterprises, but full disposition of all the water in the rented stretches of canals—the same rights which the Murašû firm received from the canal managers. The Murašûs' tenants were entitled not only to use the water themselves, but also to lease water to independent cultivators, issuing contracts of the same sort as BE 9 7 and 16. In short, these leases set the tenants up as rentiers themselves, and conferred on the tenants an added income from sub-sub-leases of water, over and above the income drawn from the land which they rented. The added income is reflected in the high rental value of the canals.

Environment

These analyses confirm in detail Cardascia's general observation: that land appears to have had little value in comparison to movable factors, while canals had high relative value [18]. The price structure of rental agriculture in the area of the Murašû firm's operations is clear.

The general environment of the price structure is also clear. Archaeological reconnaissances in most areas of Babylonia agree in viewing the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods as the beginnings of a long phase of general growth. They were marked by slow but distinct expansion of population, and by the resettlement and cultivation of long-abandoned territory. In most surveyed areas, the number of settlements and the absolute area of settlement grew. In the Nippur and the Uruk-

[17] In BE 10 43, the tenant appears to receive water rights without additional cost. He leases from Rimut-Ninurta two oxen and several parcels of land, along with "reservoirs belonging to them" (*ṣibittu mēšina ša ikkaššidu*, line 9, cf. 14). The annual rent is 50 *kur* of barley, the typical cost of two oxen alone. The contract, however, contains other exceptional provisions which impede comparison between it and the balance of the leases: on lines 10-13 see Oppenheim, *JQR* 36 (1945), 173 and Cardascia *Murašû*, 166; cf. also No. 112.

Two leases *to* the Murašûs also seem to imply transfer of attached water rights. In No. 2, Enlil-šum-iddin rents from the canal management the Bel Canal and a tract of crown land. The text adds (lines 14-16): "Enlil-šum-iddin will draw off water from that reservoir", apparently specifically to irrigate the rented crown land. Again, in No. 1, Enlil-šum-iddin obtains a lease of crown land and a royal reservoir at the end of the "Badiatu Canal of the lady [Amisiri']"; according to the probable restoration, he asks further (lines 5-6) "let me draw off to it (the land) water [which belongs to the k]ing and the lady Amisiri' [... from] the Ḫarri-Piqud Canal". If this reading is correct, the tenant requests and receives limited rights to the use of water for irrigation of the rented lands, without actually renting the canal from which the water is drawn. The rental required of Enlil-šum-iddin is the low rate of one-half *kur* of barley per *kur* of land.

[18] *Murašû*, 136; above, p. 44.

Larsa regions, close-knit canal grids show the redevelopment of large areas under integrated administrative control [19].

The relative prices displayed in the Murašû texts are in agreement with this picture of general growth. The cheapness of land can be understood to reflect its availability in increasing supply at a time when population was still at a relatively low level. The high cost of canals, livestock, and equipment may be held to reflect competition for scarcer factors needed to exploit and develop new lands as well as to maintain established farming.

But the archaeological surveys show only a long-run, large-scale image. They are insensitive to short-run fluctuation, counter-cyclical behavior, variations in local organization, or special constraints on particular segments of agrarian society. The gross, long-run trends of supply and demand were certainly fundamental to the Murašûs' price structure; but supply and demand did not interplay freely in the Murašûs' environment. Some important constraints are visible in the texts: administrative and commercial intervention in supplies of water, and intervention in the supply of land through state assignment of it accompanied by legal limitations on its commercial manipulation. Other special conditions are far less clear, but they merit some attention [20].

Land Costs, Yields, and Profitability

The low rental costs of land invite further inspection. It is conceivable that at a time of generally expanding cultivation, low land prices reflected not only the general quantity of supply, but also the particular quality of land made available to the Murašû firm. The question posed by this supposition is: did the Murašûs commonly manage land which was recently developed, at the limits of profitable cultivation, and therefore exceptionally cheap [21]?

The Murašû texts by themselves do not provide a clear answer. Indirect comparison between the Murašûs' leases and older documents dealing with exploitation of large temple properties yields points of interest; but that comparison is impaired by unverified assumptions. If the assumptions used are just, then the productivity of land under the Murašûs' control was slightly low by the standards of a century earlier.

[19] Robert McC. Adams, *Land Behind Baghdad: A History of Settlement on the Diyala Plains* (Chicago, 1965), 59-61; McGuire Gibson, *The City and Area of Kish* (Coconut Grove, Fla., 1972), 51; Robert McC. Adams and H. J. Nissen, *The Uruk Countryside: The Natural Setting of Urban Societies* (Chicago, 1972), 55-57; Robert McC. Adams, *Heartland of Cities*, 177-179. A notable exception to the general circumstances of the time is the Ur-Eridu region, where survey shows stasis and decline in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid times; see Henry T. Wright apud Adams, *Heartland of Cities*, 334-336.

[20] See in general the remarks of Adams, *Heartland of Cities*, 187 f.

[21] Ibid., 188.

The Murašû firm's leases on terms of fixed rental (*ana sūti*) typically issue amounts of seed and stipulate rental in terms of produce. Cardascia observed marked variations in the ratios between rents stipulated and seed issued; he accordingly considered these amounts to have no utility for estimating anticipated crop yields[22]. Nonetheless, in the case of the primary cereal crop, barley, ratios between rent and seed show a clear norm between 10:1 and 11:1. The ratios are summarized in table 5[23]. Variations from the norm conform to patterns discerned above. All texts which show ratios higher than 10:1-11:1 include canals among the objects rented; texts with subnormal rates include neither land nor water.

This norm fixes a minimum expectation of a ten-fold return on seed from barley farming. This expectation represents only the lessor's share; tenants' expected returns are not indicated. Partnership agreements (above, p. 130) imply that the contracting parties' shares of returns were proportionate to their shares of investments other than land[24]. If similar presumptions governed fixed-rent leases, the Murašûs claimed the larger share. A plausible conservative estimate for the division of returns implicit in the lessor's expectation allows two-thirds to three-quarters to the lessor. In that case, the normal expectation of return on seed in the Murašûs' leases is c. 13:1-15:1[25].

Cocquerillat's study of temple leases from sixth-century Uruk provides terms of comparison. In those texts, ratios of rent to seed vary between 4.3:1 and 10:1 for barley[26]. Cocquerillat assumes that rents amount to *at least* half of total output and so infers yields of *no more* than 8.6:1-20:1. Elsewhere she posits 8.3:1 as the normal anticipated yield from land of medium quality at Uruk[27].

[22] Cardascia *Murašû*, 136 n. 4.

[23] Cf. Augapfel, table after p. 74; Landsberger, MSL 1, 155 n. 4; Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 33; Thorkild Jacobsen, *Salinity and Irrigation Agriculture in Antiquity, Diyala Basin Archeological Projects, Report on Essential Results, 1957-58*, BiMes 14 (1982), 47; Joannès, *TEBR*, 77.

[24] In his discussion of sharecropping leases, Ries (*Bodenpachtformulare*, 85 ff.) proposes that variations in the division of shares are a function of the tenants' investment of labor; similarly Petschow, *BiOr* 13 (1956), 102 n. 3. Since sharecropping leases transmit only land and not other factors, they are a limiting case of division in proportion to investment. For the same reason, my argument (*BiOr* 35 [1978], 231) that rents from sharecropping and fixed-rent leases were roughly equivalent rates, and that yields of barley from seed ranged as high as 30:1-40:1, is fallacious.

[25] Similarly Jacobsen, BiMes 14, 44; Dandamayev, *Historia* Einzelschrift 18 (1972), 28. Landsberger, MSL 1, 155 f. n. 4, assumed an implicit 3:2 division and consequently inferred yields of c. 20:1.

The "division" is of course implicit in fixed-rent leases. The arrangement guarantees the lessor's return as a specified amount, but encourages the tenant to intensify production to gain a higher absolute and proportional return. Considerable variation in actual yields is probable.

[26] Cocquerillat *Palmeraies*, 37-43, 108-110. YOS 6 103—10:1 (deducting 5 *kur* from seed, for sowing land reserved for support of administrative personnel); YOS 6 11+ and duplicates —8.3:1; YOS 6 40—4.3:1 (assuming a seeding rate of one *kur* per *kur*; the land is specified as low in quality); YOS 6 150—8:1; TCL 13 182—10:1.

[27] Cocquerillat *Palmeraies*, 39 and 65.

TABLE 5

Ratios of Barley-Rent to Barley-Seed

6:1	8.3:1	10:1-11:1	12.4:1	14:1-15:1	15.7:1	16.1:1	17.8:1	20:1	38:1
PBS 2/1 15	PBS 2/1 56	BE 9 26 BE 9 49 BE 9 86a BE 9 88 PBS 2/1 44 PBS 2/1 79 PBS 2/1 106 PBS 2/1 154 PBS 2/1 158 PBS 2/1 157 TuM 2-3 145+ No. 11 No. 16 No. 19	BE 9 65 (ii)	PBS 2/1 150	No. 14	No. 28	BE 9 65 (i)	BE 9 30	BE 9 35

That is, the Murašûs' anticipated returns from seed are equivalent to the highest expectations of lessors at sixth-century Uruk. Even with slightly divergent assumptions about the implicit division of returns, inferred yields from seed on lands managed by the Murašûs compare well with yields from the highest-quality lands of the Uruk latifundia.

Treating yield not as a function of seed but as a function of area permits the introduction of another comparison. Sixth-century texts from Sippar record estimated yields of grain fields belonging to the temple of Šamaš in that city. The estimates result from surveying the properties and inspecting the standing crop shortly before the harvest[28]. The texts tabulate linear dimensions and/or area of each parcel inspected, along with a coefficient of yield per *kur* of area[29]. The range of coefficients is summarized in table 6.

TABLE 6

Coefficients of Yields in Texts from Sippar

Date (B.C.)	Text	Minimum Coefficient	Maximum Coefficient	Average Coefficient[30]
541	Nbn. 835	12	24	c. 13.2
540	Nbn. 1021	10	25	—
537	Cyr. 90	2.5	16	—
536	Cyr. 99	3	12	c. 8.2
533	Cyr. 225	3	20	c. 8.4
530	Cyr. 336	12	21	—
—	Cyr. 348	10	20	14.2[31]
516	Dar. 198	7	30	12.9[32]

Comparison between yields from Sippar, expressed in volume of produce per unit of area, and yields from contemporary Uruk, estimated in volume of produce per volume of seed, requires the additional information of rates of seeding. For cultivation at Sippar, rates are not available. The Uruk leases show a normal rate of

[28] Nbn. 835, 1021; Cyr. 90, 99, 225, 226, 336, 348; Dar. 198. See Cocquerillat *Palmeraies*, 65 and n. 145.

[29] The column containing the coefficients is headed (GIŠ).BÁN.ŠÈ = *ana sūti*, "at the rate of" (Cyr. 225, Dar. 198), or 1.EN = *adi*, "times" (Nbn. 835). Checking the arithmetic of the texts turns up numerous discrepancies; collations are needed to determine which of these result from irregularities in the shape of the tracts surveyed and which from errors of the ancient scribes or the modern copyists. This discussion assumes only that the coefficients themselves, the simplest numerals in the texts, were accurately recorded and copied.

[30] Where totals are not preserved, the average is calculated from preserved items. If a large number of items is broken, no average is taken.

[31] Average on productive land. If parcels described as *ḫalqu*, "ruined", and *la epšu*, "uncultivated", are included, the average falls to 11.6.

[32] Cf. Cocquerillat *Palmeraies*, 29 and 65.

one *kur* of seed per *kur* of land, regardless of land quality; yields per *kur* of seed are therefore identical with yields per *kur* of land[33]. Hence, Cocquerillat's estimates of barley yields at Uruk, in the range of 8.6-1:20:1, compare well with the range of estimated yields at Sippar[34]. *If* the same rate of seeding is assumed for fifth-century Nippur, then the expectations of barley yields from land under the Murašûs' management, c. 13:1-15:1, also fall neatly within the middle of the range common to sixth-century Uruk and Sippar.

There is, however, reason to suspect that the Murašûs' leases assumed a lower seeding rate and somewhat lower yields per unit of area[35]. BE 9 88 is the only lease in the Archive which indicates not only number of oxen, amounts of seed issued, and amounts of crops stipulated as annual rental, but also absolute area of land rented (above, p. 129). Along with 20 *kur* of land and a four-ox team, the contract issues 12 *kur* of seed barley and 2.9 *kur* of seed for other crops; it therefore suggests a seeding rate of c. 0.75 *kur* per *kur*. The text calls for an annual rental of 120 *kur* of barley and 30 *kur* of other crops, i.e., a return for the lessor of 7.5 *kur* per *kur* of area. If the lessor's share is assumed to be somewhere between one-half and three-quarters of the expected crop, the anticipated yield is 10-15 *kur* per *kur*—still not sharply below the middle range of yields at Uruk and Sippar.

It is difficult to rely on a unique text as exemplifying general conditions. But it is useful to check BE 9 88 for consistency with other Murašû texts and with earlier propositions. Earlier discussion (above, p. 130) made the assumption that the costliest of movable factors, oxen and equipment, may serve as an index of area. If a constant average seeding rate is assumed, the amount of seed issued with the lease provides a second index of area. Seed and oxen should then be in approximately constant relationship[36].

Table 7 summarizes volumes of seed and numbers of oxen in the leases already discussed. In those leases which do not include canals among the items rented, the

[33] Ibid., 28, cf. 37-45.

[34] But maximum yields at Sippar are higher than maximum yields at Uruk. The difference may reflect the lower ground water level of northern Babylonia with consequently lower incidence of waterlogging and salinization, and/or more intensive use of draft animals and equipment.

[35] Jacobsen, BiMes 14, 47 and 65, posits an apparently higher seeding rate at Nippur, $133\frac{1}{3}$ liters per hectare, seemingly equivalent to $1\frac{1}{6}$ *kur* per *kur*. Jacobsen documents the rate only as derived from the "standard landmeasure" of c. 600 B.C. The rate therefore seems to be a conversion of the same basic 1 *kur* per *kur* using metric equivalents different from those used here. The metric rate of Cocquerillat *Palmeraies*, 28, namely 112.5 liters per hectare, is the result of rounding off one *kur* of volume to 150 liters and one *kur* of area to $1\frac{1}{3}$ hectares. The equivalents of the table, ibid., 10, produce a rate of 114.5. Like Cocquerillat, Jacobsen presumes a constant and uniform rate throughout Babylonia for the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods.

[36] A range of variation in the actual arithmetic relationship is expected. Plowing teams can occur only in whole numbers; they cannot be adjusted to variations in area as finely as can volumes of seed. Furthermore, varying proportions of seed for crops other than barley imply some differences in land use from one lease to another.

ratio between seed and oxen (columns labeled "Volume per 4 oxen") is stable in a small range. In leases which include canals, the range of variation is greater, and the average distinctly higher, once more suggesting that a wider range of resources and strategies was available to the holders of such leases. The results show the assumptions of oxen as an index of area and of a constant seeding rate to be consistent with each other. To all appearances, then, the conditions assumed by the parties to BE 9 88 were normal in the Murašûs' operations.

TABLE 7

Oxen, Seed, and Area

Text	Oxen	Seed: Barley				Seed: All Crops			
		Volume	$\times\frac{4}{3}$	Volume per 4 oxen	$\times\frac{4}{3}$	Volume	$\times\frac{4}{3}$	Volume per 4 oxen	$\times\frac{4}{3}$
(a) Without Canals									
BE 9 26	4	11	14.7	11	14.7	15	20	15	20
BE 9 34	2	5	6.7	10	13.3	6.7+	8.9+	13.3+	17.7+
BE 9 86a	72	226	301.3	12.5	16.7	279.1	372.1	15.5	20.7
BE 9 88	4	12	16	12	16	14.9	19.9	14.9	19.9
PBS 2/1 44	4	12	16	12	16	17.1	22.8	17.1	22.8
PBS 2/1 106	24	80	106.7	13.3	17.7	98.3	131.1	16.4	21.8
PBS 2/1 154	4	12	16	12	16	—	—	—	—
PBS 2/1 157	4	12	16	12	16	[17.1]	[22.8]	[17.1]	[22.8]
No. 11	40	130	173.3	13	17.3	148.7+	198.3+	14.9+	19.9+
No. 19	20	58	77.3	11.6	15.5	74.4	99.2	14.9	19.9
Total	178	558	744	12.5	16.7	671.3+	895.1+	15.1+	20.1
(b) With Canals									
BE 9 30	24	60	80	10	13.3	98	130.7	16.3	21.8
BE 9 35	4	5	6.7	5	6.7	9.5	12.7	9.5	12.7
BE 9 65	60	300	400	20	26.7	350	466.7	23.3	31.1
PBS 2/1 158	8	32.5	43.3	16.3	21.7	38.1+	50.8+	19.1+	25.4+
No. 14	60	214	285.3	14.3	19	272.3+	363.1+	18.1+	24.2
No. 17	24	60	80	10	13.3	98	130.7	16.3	21.8
Total	180	671.5	895.3	14.9	19.9	865.9	1154.5	19.2	25.65
(c) Other (Without Land or Canals)									
BE 9 49	2	7	9.3	14	18.7				
BE 9 108	1	4.4	5.9	17.6	23.5				
PBS 2/1 15	2	5	6.7	10	13.3	7.9	10.5	15.8	21.1
No. 16	2	5	6.7	10					
Total	7	21.4	28.5	12.2	16.3				

Table 7 also displays the consequences of two assumptions about rates of seeding. If the rate of 1 *kur* per *kur*, documented in sixth-century Uruk, is assumed, then volumes of seed in *kur* represent equivalent area in *kur*. In this case, the resulting figures for area cultivated per four-ox team are notably lower than the range of 20-30 *kur* per team drawn from texts cited earlier (above, p. 129). If the lower rate of $\frac{3}{4}$ *kur* per *kur*, implicit in BE 9 88, is assumed, then volumes of seed in *kur* multiplied by $\frac{4}{3}$ represent area in *kur*. In this case, figures for area per four-ox team cover the 20-30 *kur* range, clustering at the lower end of the range.

Plainly, the comparisons made in this excursus involve substantial uncertainties. With this qualification, they combine to suggest the following view. Farming on land under the Murašûs' supervision produced yields per unit of seed comparable with the upper middle range of yields from earlier temple agriculture in both northern and southern Babylonia. Sowing was more extensive, so yields per unit of area were in the lower middle range attested in Uruk and Sippar texts. In short, by roughly contemporary standards, output was fair, but costs were somewhat high. These conditions may at least have contributed to sustaining notably low rental values for land, even if they do not wholly explain those values.

Supply and Cost of Livestock

Specific determinants of the high relative cost of draft animals are more enigmatic. The general expansion of cultivation in Achaemenid Babylonia no doubt supported demand for draft animals. A local need for comparatively intensive use of plowing teams in the Nippur region may have added to demand. Furthermore, it is possible that oxen, like canals, provided additional income to their recipients through sublease of teams to occupants of adjoining properties. There is no explicit documentation of such transactions; if they occurred, however, this conjectured secondary income contributed to the teams' high initial rental price. Even so, the analogy with the high value of canals is incomplete: while administrative and physical limits on access to canals are reasonably plain, no comparable restraints on supply of draft animals are in evidence[37].

In fact, the Murašû texts offer little purchase on this problem. Texts dealing with husbandry occupy a very small place in the Archive. Of those few texts, most concern sheep and goat herding[38]. Evidence of cattle management is confined to terse and varied references in leases.

The most noteworthy of those references is the occasional stipulation that tenants pay an annual surcharge (*mandattu*) in addition to the annual rent (*sūtu*). The

[37] Cf. Adams, *Heartland of Cities*, 187.
[38] See, in general, Cardascia *Murašû*, 148, 184, and 187.

surcharge is a contractual feature peculiar to the Murašû texts[39]. It occurs in fourteen leases, both to and from the Murašû firm. While the rent proper is normally expressed in grain, vegetables, and other food crops, the surcharge in all cases consists of flax, sheep, and/or cattle. Its incidence and amount appear to vary without clear dependence on the objects or the scale of the lease; see table 8.

TABLE 8

Incidence of Surcharge (*mandattu*)

Text	Objects Rented				Rent (*sūtu*) (in *kur*)		Surcharge (*mandattu*)		
	Land	Canal	Oxen	Seed	Barley	Total	Sheep	Cattle	Flax[40]
BE 9 45	+	+			700	700	20	2	
BE 9 65 (i)[41]	+	+	+	+	1600	2005	20	2	500
BE 9 65 (ii)	+	+	+	+	2600	3005	[20]	[2]	500
BE 9 67	+	+			700	800	10	1	
BE 9 86a	+		+	+	2260	2700+	15	1	2500
PBS 2/1 62	+		+	+	240+	[ ]	2	[ ]	[ ]
PBS 2/1 150	+	+	+	+	1220	1500	10	1	500
PBS 2/1 158	+	+	+	+	325	400	5	1	
PBS 2/1 163	+	+	[ ]	[ ]	3462	3380	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
TuM 2-3 147[42]	+	+			220	250	10	1	
No. 2[42]	+	+			150	200	5	[1]	
No. 14	+	+	+	+	3350	4019+	20	2	500
No. 13[41]	+				400	416+	[ ]	1	
No. 11	+		+	+	1300	1500	[ ]	1	
No. 19	+		+	+	600	760			200

These references are enough to show that the Murašûs and some of their tenants took some part in cattle rearing along with farming. The sum of the Archive's evidence, however, is not sufficient to clarify the local organization of such enterprises or their consequences for supply and costs of the livestock used in the firm's business.

Another speculation also deserves attention. It is possible that the cost of oxen and plows conceals another variable, the cost of labor. Among the sixth-century temple leases, those which issue oxen and plows normally also issue workers. Leases from Uruk supply one farmhand for each ox, four men for each team[43]. Cyr. 26, from

[39] Cardascia *Murašû*, 75; Ries *Bodenpachtformulare*, 72 f.

[40] In "bundles" ($šu^{II}$ = *qātā*).

[41] BE 9 65 issues two leases in a single text; separate *mandattu* is stipulated in each lease. No. 13 also issues two leases, but stipulates *mandattu* only in the second.

[42] TuM 2-3 147 and No. 2 are rentals to the Murašû firm; the other texts tabulated are rentals from the firm.

[43] Cocquerillat *Palmeraies*, 37-45.

Sippar, shows eight workers with twelve oxen, and other Sippar texts indicate plowing teams of three or four workers with each four oxen[44]. In fact, occasional documents use the term "plow" (GIŠ.APIN) to indicate the personnel of the plowing team[45].

There are some grounds for suggesting that comparable practices were tacit in the Murašûs' leases. Partnership agreements, at least, specify that the parties are to contribute equal shares, "ox for ox, seed for seed, farmhand for farmhand"[46]. And TuM 2-3 145 + No. 27 supplies the converse situation: there, Enlil-šum-iddin issued land and seed only; the text specifies that the items are transmitted "without ox or farmhand" (*ša la alpi u ikkari*); this unique exclusion can be understood to suggest that a contrasting situation was normal but tacit in other leases, i.e., that labor was routinely supplied with plowing teams. If so, it is likely that rental costs of oxen and plows included costs of accompanying workers; and that limits on or intervention in the supply of farm labor also affected the supply of animals and equipment.

This line of speculation also hints at a source of intervention in labor supplies. BE 9 80 (above, p. 44) implies that members of the canal management conferred on the Murašûs the use not only of land and canals, but also of "plows" (GIŠ.APIN.MEŠ) and of "farmers" (*errēšu* MEŠ). If these terms indicate full plowing teams, then the same agency which controlled supplies and substantially determined the costs of water controlled at least some of the supply of other factors.

Costs and Environment: Appraisal

It is very likely that the major costs of agriculture on state-assigned lands subject to the Murašûs' commercial manipulation were determined not only by general conditions of supply and demand but also by the intervention of state agencies in the supplies of costly factors. Such intervention was favorable to the Murašû firm, and this situation has historical precedents.

Cocquerillat makes a strong case for viewing the temple latifundia of Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid Uruk as institutions fostered by the crown for the redevelopment and intensified use of lands around that city[47]. The Murašû firm

[44] Kümmel *Familie*, 100. Cf. also CT 55 87, a fragment of a lease mentioning twenty *kur* of land with four oxen, three farmhands, and [one(?)] plowshare.

[45] Kümmel *Familie*, 99 f.

[46] BE 9 60, TuM 2-3 146, cf. BE 10 44; above, p. 130 and n. 14. But contrast an unusual partnership contract from Ur, in which oxen and labor are separate inputs: *[a]ḫi alpi u zēri ša uṭṭatu ša* PN *u* PN_2 *qaqqar ša* PN_3 ... *ikkaru mala ikkaru itti aḫāmeš ana qaqqar šuāti ušēṣû*, "the oxen and seed for barley belong equally to PN and PN_2 (two of the partners), the land belongs to PN_3 (the third partner), (they divide the produce in equal shares, but) they have supplied worker for worker, equally" (UET 4 59:9 ff., 17/IX/25 Artaxerxes II).

[47] *Palmeraies*, 92 ff.

operated on a markedly different pattern of land tenure, but the firm may well, as Oppenheim suggested, have served similarly as an instrument of development, under similar sponsorship[48]. The two situations share many points of specific terminology. Their basic operating techniques were the same: large-scale contracting, and sublease. Certainly agents of the crown who managed Babylonian canals sponsored, or at least fostered, the Murašû firm's activity by putting in the firm's hands key developmental factors—water, equipment, and perhaps labor—which were of substantially greater value than the lands under the firm's control, and which added greatly to the firm's income.

The Murašû Archive leaves much uncertainty, to be sure, about the immediate conditions of agricultural production, for good reason. The primary business interest documented by the Archive is not the production of crops per se, but the production of crops as rents. The crucial facts for evaluation of this enterprise are rental values, and on the interrelations of rental values the evidence of the Archive is strong and clear: land was cheap; movable factors were costly; water was very costly.

This pattern of relative values is consonant with a view of the period as one of overall, long-term growth. More importantly, the Murašûs and their various customers had unequal shares in such growth. The firm itself drew rents from the whole repertoire of productive factors. The canal management, serving the crown, drew rents on land, water, and some movable items. But feudatories drew rents only on land, the least valuable of the visible factors. Owners of scarce or restricted capital factors were clearly better situated than owners of abundant or underused land. As small farmers, the feudatories were unlikely to have prospered. As small-scale rentiers, their situation was also delicate. In both capacities, their weak position made them vulnerable to short-term costs brought on by political disturbances.

A clearer view of this inequity requires prior mention of another sort of assessment of economic conditions in Achaemenid Babylonia, a view held by many observers and tending toward conclusions quite different from those proposed here.

Fiscal Policy and the Circulation of Silver

The prevailing historical view of Babylonia under Persian rule, in fact, is much less sanguine than the picture of aggregate growth drawn from archaeological survey. Until recently, the period has commonly been depicted as one of progressive depletion, dislocation, and impoverishment. Olmstead marked the way with a

[48] A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago, 1964), 85.

chapter entitled "Overtaxation and Its Results"[49]. In a similar vein, later students have attributed to Persian fiscal policy a disastrous drain of precious metals from the provinces of the Empire.

In the extreme form proposed by Olmstead, this interpretation holds that the Persian crown extracted vast amounts of precious metals in taxes but recirculated little of it. Hoarding of gold and silver in royal treasuries caused a shortage of specie and resulted in disruption of local markets. Taxes remained constant as assessed in silver, hence rose in commodity terms. Shortage of metal drove those encumbered by tax obligations to pawn their holdings. At the same time, rising demand for credit raised interest rates, which promoted an inflation of commodity prices already driven up by the demands of swelling classes of rentiers, garrison forces, palaces, and other administrative establishments. Scarcity of silver caused impoverishment of taxpayers. A symptom of general decay is seen in the high rate of mortgages, exemplified by the Murašû texts, and confirmed by the complaints of the Jews in Nehemiah 5:4f.:

> We have borrowed money for the king's tax upon our fields and our vineyards. ... Other men have our fields and our vineyards.

This specie-flow thesis has serious flaws. The effects it seeks to explain are not themselves demonstrable, and its logic is inconsistent. Its elements, however, are common in scholarly appraisals of the Persian Empire. Other historians, more cautious than Olmstead, have pointed with varying emphasis to secular rises in commodity prices or to growing shortages of specie as symptoms of economic stagnation in the Achaemenid period[50].

Yet these two phenomena are, at least in principle, not compatible. Drainage of specie is deflationary; it should have produced decline in the silver prices of commodities. Inflation of commodity prices, if it reflected money supply at all, should indicate a growing supply of silver or of credit equivalent to silver in money-use[51]. If a rise in commodity prices was instead the result of excess demand, then a simultaneous drain of specie should simply have offset this effect.

It is still possible, of course, to construe these two effects, inflation and deflation, as sequential instead of simultaneous. On this supposition, the wars of conquest put new supplies of precious metals into circulation during the early years of the Empire, accelerating an inflation of commodity prices already begun during the Neo-Babylonian period. After the Empire reached its greatest territorial limits,

[49] Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 289ff., Chapter XXI.

[50] E.g., Dandamayev, "Achaemenid Babylonia", 308f.; *Historia* Einzelschrift 18, 47f. and 55; Cardascia *Murašû*, 5; Oelsner, *Hellenische Poleis*, II, 1050f., 1053, and 1063.

[51] Jim Hicks, *The Persians* (New York, 1975), 84, commendably—and exceptionally—acknowledges this paradox in his restatement of Olmstead's position.

growth in supplies of silver slowed. The fiscal regime installed by Darius I began to withdraw metal from circulation, producing a gradual deflation, which became critical only in later reigns.

To be sure, most evidence of rising commodity prices, like most textual evidence of any kind from Achaemenid Babylonia, comes from the reign of Darius I or earlier. Scarce information from the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C. suggests modest declines from price levels common in the late sixth century. But, as Oelsner justly observes, the material now available is far too slight and far too discontinuous to support any general inferences from documented prices to the Empire's long-run economic trends [52]. Evidence from elsewhere in the Persian Empire is no more compelling. Recent historical studies of other Achaemenid provinces, and of the Empire's general structural characteristics, have produced strong arguments for rejecting the sweeping view of crushing taxation and general impoverishment [53].

Again, it is certain that Persian royal treasuries gathered staggering amounts of precious metal, which Alexander the Great eventually harvested [54]. Yet the significance of these hoards for the Empire's money supply in general and supply of specie in particular is far from plain. Materials for constructing a Persian crown budget are ludicrously insufficient. Even attempts to compare the very questionable figures in Herodotus's tribute list (iii. 90-94) with the more reliable Greek and Roman notices on the amounts of Persian treasure captured by Alexander produce the result that the Achaemenid crown hoarded no more than five percent of annual tribute income [55]. At least ninety-five percent was recirculated in or through state-controlled economic sectors. The conjectured five percent of tax income withdrawn from circulation, on the other hand, cannot be expressed as a fraction of overall money supply so long as the sources of precious metal, the rate of production, and the means of circulation in the Empire remain largely unknown.

In Babylonia, at any rate, precious metals were assuredly not native; any metals paid out as taxes came into the province from without. The means and velocity of the internal circulation of silver certainly had more importance for the local economy than the simple extraction of silver by the royal fisc. The Murašû firm was among the mechanisms of that circulation.

In fact, it is not demonstrable that there was any shortage of specie in Persian Babylonia. While excavation of Persian levels at major Babylonian city sites has not

[52] *Hellenische Poleis*, II, 1052 f.

[53] E.g., C. G. Starr, "Greeks and Persians in the Fourth Century B.C.", *Iranica Antiqua* 11 (1975), 76-99; cf. generally Briant, *La pensée* 217/218 (Jan.-Feb. 1981), 23 and Clarisse Herrenschmidt, "L'empire perse achéménide", in *La concept d'empire*, ed. by M. Duverger, (Paris, 1980), 77.

[54] See Cameron, *PTT*, 10-11; Altheim and Stiehl, *Die aramäische Sprache*, I, ii, 123 ff.; Erich Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, OIP 68 (1953), 156 f.

[55] Altheim and Stiehl, *Die aramäische Sprache*, I, ii, 135.

been very informative on such points, Woolley observed at Ur that graves of the Persian period were generally richer in gold and silver objects than graves of earlier centuries [56] even though Ur was then in its final decline. Garelli and Dubberstein interpreted price rises of Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid times as the result of (among other things) increased amounts of silver and gold in private hands [57]. Above all, the cost of money itself shows no clear indication of scarcity. Although Cardascia held that interest rates charged in loans of silver among the Murašû texts were higher than those of preceding centuries, San Nicolò adduced countervailing examples to show that no substantial change had taken place [58].

It *is* certain that silver and silver-equivalent credits were in general use in the environment of the Murašû firm, and that the firm itself played a key role in their circulation. Comparison of the firm's income, mostly in produce, and its outlays, mostly in silver, implies that the firm had some means of converting crops to specie (above, p. 28). The prevalent supposition holds that the Murašûs retailed their stores of crops, presumably to non-farming populations in the Nippur region. The scale and extent of the firm's operations put it in a favorable position for conducting such business: its storehouses were widespread; its reserves were large; its income was steady; it was able to undertake storage and transport costs. Other large-scale landlords, perhaps including the managers of large estates, were no doubt similarly well situated for storing and disbursing their produce. Smaller-scale proprietors, however, notably the feudatories, are likely to have been reliant on the services of such institutions as the Murašû firm.

Even though these marketing operations are hypothetical, it is sure that the Murašû firm supplied its customers not only with credit, but also with cash. The firm's outlays of silver must be considered in two categories: rents and taxes.

Rents

Silver rents paid out by the firm range from as little as three shekels to as much as eight minas at a time [59]. The recipients are occasionally the owners of estates or

[56] C. L. Woolley and M. E. L. Mallowan, *Ur Excavations*, IX, *The Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods*, Publications of the Joint Expedition ... to Mesopotamia (London, 1962), 2.

[57] Dubberstein, *AJSL* 56 (1939), 43; Garelli, "Asie occidentale ancienne", in *Histoire générale du travail*, ed. by L.-H. Parias (Paris, 1959), I, ii, 60.

[58] Cardascia *Murašû*, 5; San Nicolò, *Or.* NS 23 (1954), 280 f.

[59] Payments of fixed rent (*sūtu*) in silver and of silver "instead of an assessed amount of dates" (*kūm suluppē imitti* or *šīm suluppē imitti*) occur in the following amounts:

3 shekels: No. 47
4 shekels: BE 9 46
5 shekels: BE 9 42; TuM 2-3 186; No. 44
6 shekels: No. 38
8 shekels: BE 10 66

their agents[60]; in the great majority of cases, however, the recipients are feudatories or the officers of *ḫaṭru*s. The amount paid for individual bow fiefs ranges between three shekels and one mina[61]. Rental payments often include small quantities of produce, but the foremost component is always silver.

There is a suggestive comparison and contrast between the circumstances of these transactions and the conditions of Western European expansion during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. That period was marked by growing population, expanding settlement, the opening of new land, rising demand, rising real income, rising prices, expanding credit, and stable interest rates[62]—in short, conditions

10 shekels: BE 9 77; TuM 2-3 191
12 shekels: BE 9 47; BE 10 103; PBS 2/1 70, 102, 197
14 shekels: No. 45
20 shekels: PBS 2/1 13, 51, 138; Nos. 34, 36
30 shekels: BE 9 28a, 76, 106; BE 10 5, 50, 100, 111, 113, 124, 128; PBS 2/1 43, 67, 77, 192
50 shekels: BE 10 90, 122; No. 8
60 shekels: BE 10 63, 127; PBS 2/1 37, 103, 160, 201, 218
75 shekels: PBS 2/1 97
80 shekels: BE 10 117, 129
90 shekels: BE 9 33
120 shekels: BE 9 39, 74; PBS 2/1 116, 122; Nos. 40, 56
150 shekels: No. 46
240 shekels: BE 10 71
300 shekels: PBS 2/1 205
320 shekels: BE 10 107
480 shekels: PBS 2/1 88

(PBS 2/1 13 and 51, receipts for rents paid on the same four fiefs, indicate the amount as $\frac{1}{3}$ shekel; No. 36, another receipt for rent on the same properties, makes it clear that $\frac{1}{3}$ mina, i.e., 20 shekels, is intended. On similar writings in Neo-Babylonian texts, see Petschow's brief comments, ABAW NF 51 (1960), 7 note to 8:12).

In addition, three leases to the Murašû firm require rents to be paid in silver: No. 3 (50 shekels annually); No. 7 (60 shekels annually); and PBS 2/1 35 (600 shekels annually).

[60] BE 9 39; BE 10 103, 117, 129; PBS 2/1 37, 102, 201.

[61] Amounts of rent per bow fief:
3 shekels: No. 47
4 shekels: BE 9 46
5 shekels: PBS 2/1 13, 51; TuM 2-3 186; No. 36
6 shekels: No. 38
$7\frac{1}{2}$ shekels: PBS 2/1 192
8 shekels: BE 10 66
10 shekels: BE 9 77; PBS 2/1 77; TuM 2-3 191
12 shekels: PBS 2/1 197
$12\frac{1}{2}$ shekels: No. 3
15 shekels: BE 9 74, 106; PBS 2/1 118
20 shekels: PBS 2/1 122, 138
30 shekels: BE 10 5, 100, 113, 124, 128; PBS 2/1 67
48 shekels: BE 10 71
50 shekels: BE 10 90; No. 46
60 shekels: BE 10 63; PBS 2/1 88, 218; No. 40

[62] Jerome Blum, "The Rise of Serfdom in Eastern Europe", *American Historical Review* 62 (1957), 810; Carlo Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1976), 190 ff.

roughly similar to those which seem to have been incident to the Murašû Archive. In response to these conditions, some medieval landowners converted self-sufficient manorial economies to production for markets; more landlords, however, converted their tenants' obligations of produce and service into cash rents. In a similar vein, one might picture the Murašû firm as organizing production for markets[63], while the feudatories made the firm itself their tenant and drew cash rents from otherwise uncompetitive farms.

There is nevertheless a fundamental contrast between cash rents drawn by medieval seigneurs and those drawn by the dependent feudatories who dealt with the Murašûs. The basis of the latter, the object which the feudatories leased to the firm, was land. The water, livestock, and equipment used in its exploitation were supplied by the Murašûs. But land was the least valuable factor in the operations which the firm organized, producing the smallest component of the return. The feudatories' rental income was therefore not tied closely to production, and any expansionary tendency, expressed in rising demand or rising prices, did not raise their income[64].

The activity of the Murašû firm exacerbated this effect by multiplying the levels of rentiers drawing income from local farming. While some of the land at the disposal of the Murašûs was surely farmed in the direct interest of the family, the greatest part was put out on sublease to the various tenants of the firm[65]. The scale of subleases varied widely, but a number of contracts plainly involve large tracts of land; compare table 7, above. The recipients of such large tracts were not simple tenant farmers. Although they were termed "servants" of the Murašû family, they became large-scale land managers in their own right, empowered to sublet still further the properties at their disposal[66]. At least one pair of texts clearly documents this process of sub-sub-lease[67].

[63] Or functionally equivalent means of distributing goods. I assume that operations of supply and demand governed prices, but not that retail markets were necessarily the chief means of distributing goods. Large-scale redistributive institutions undoubtedly channeled supply and demand, especially in and through state-administered agrarian sectors. Similarly, if the Murašûs sold their stores of crops for silver, they are as likely to have sold to municipal storehouses or similar agencies as to have retailed their goods.

[64] Naturally, there are exceptions to this statement. In some texts, the Murašû firm pays the feudatories silver designated as the cash equivalent of a rent assessed on the date crop (e.g., BE 10 107; PBS 2/1 70, 97, 102, 201, 211; Nos. 34, 40); the payment was therefore based on actual production. In most cases, however, payments of simple fixed rent must be considered to be payments for the use of land only, and not directly connected with production.

[65] Cardascia, *AHDO+RIDA* 1 (1952), 14; *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 55 (1977), 643 f.; Dandamayev, *Historia* Einzelschrift 18, 51.

[66] Cardascia *Murašû*, 197; Renger, *RLA* 3, 650.

[67] PBS 2/1 106 (—/VI/5 Darius II) and PBS 2/1 123 (22/VIII/6 Darius II); see Cardascia *Murašû*, 127, 155, 197.

The land, then, had to support at least three tiers of rentiers: primary landholders, the Murašû firm, and tenants of the firm. These conditions contributed to sustaining high commodity price levels as well as relatively low returns to the farmers themselves. Furthermore, both the Murašû firm and its tenants drew rent from an entire complex of production, including land, water, livestock, and equipment; their rents were typically in the form of produce and their income thus related closely to production and its overall costs. Among lessors to the firm, only the canal management drew rents on a comparable complex of factors, regularly in the form of produce. The feudatories, however, skimmed off only cash rental based on the cheapest factor.

The Murašû Archive displays this only as an aggregate effect. The texts show the feudatories only in the capacity of small-scale landlords drawing rental income from their allotments. Other resources which might have cushioned the effects of a short-term crisis, such as rations paid for their professional services, are not visible. It is nevertheless unlikely that any hidden resources or options gave the feudatories much protection. Fiscal and service obligations, even if commutable to cash payments, bound them to their holdings. Legal restrictions curtailed their economic choices. Requirements of labor on estates or administrative establishments limited investment in their own properties. It seems likely that low land prices were less a reflection of low inherent land quality than a reflection of a socially induced surplus of underused bow land. Individual families of feudatories may have been more or less well off, but as a group of smallholders, the feudatories were caught between relatively inefficient farming and relatively unprofitable renting. Their response to short-term pressure is unmistakable: rising indebtedness.

Taxes

The feudatories made use of another service provided by the Murašû house, which further affected the circulation of silver in the vicinity: the firm paid fiefholders' taxes. While tax payments often include beer, sheep, flour, and grain, the main item, and usually the only one, is silver. Payments range from ten shekels to seventeen minas at a time[68]. The immediate recipients are the feudatories themselves or the foremen of their *ḫaṭrus*. The intended destination of the taxes is the royal treasury.

[68] Tabulated by Cardascia *Murašû*, 100 n. 1. Add: No. 51 (2 minas); CBS 13046 (8 minas); No. 55 (17 minas, duplicate of BE 9 88). Cardascia, "Armée et fiscalité", 8, proposes a normal rate of one mina per bow fief per annum; if this proposal is correct, taxes were equivalent to the highest rents obtained from bow fiefs.

Another text from Nippur, but not from the Murašû Archive, gives an incomplete list of payments of silver, apparently due as taxes, from fiefs of a single *ḫaṭru*. It includes fifteen bow lands at $1\frac{5}{6}$ minas each and various smaller payments to a total of 33 minas (Durand, *TBER*, pl. 50 AO 17637; see Joannès, *TEBR*, 31 no. 1). If this total represents a typical annual payment, then the sixty-odd *ḫaṭrus* attested in the Murašû Archive may have produced about thirty talents of silver per annum for taxes. Herodotus's figure of 1000 talents' annual tribute from the whole province of Babylonia (iii.94) may therefore be the correct order of magnitude.

But the route which revenues followed between the *ḫaṭrus* and royal coffers was indirect. If the *ḫaṭrus* were chiefly units of fiscal responsibility, they were still not elements of a smooth and uniform fiscal organization. The foremen were subordinates of various royal officials, princes, courtiers, and estate owners. Taxes drawn from the constituent bow lands passed through the hands of these men. The same figures were among the principal combatants in the internal political struggles which plagued the later years of the Achaemenid Empire. It is hardly likely that they failed to count the taxes which they collected among the resources available to them for the furtherance of their political ambitions. The Great King's fiscal extractions strengthened the hands of his potential enemies before they reached his own treasuries.

The struggles among these powerful figures placed drastic strains on the already marginal taxpayers, reducing many to indebtedness or tenancy. This dislocation of fiefholders still did not disturb the extraction of taxes. The Murašûs continued to work the mortgaged bow lands to which they held antichretic title, and to pay the taxes incumbent on them. From the point of view of the crown, the growing advantage of the Murašûs was no immediate threat. Indeed, the firm's cash reserves effectively guaranteed tax revenues.

On the other hand, the presumed military basis of the quasi-feudal system of tenure was damaged. Mortgaged land was no longer directly committed to the support of soldiers. Provincial levies must have been increasingly underwritten by such institutions as the Murašû firm. At the same time, changes in military organization were taking place. Although the speed and scope of the change cannot be readily calculated, Classical writers make it apparent that from Darius II on, the Great Kings and their allies and adversaries came to rely increasingly on mercenary armies [69]. To a corresponding degree, the tie between land and military service grew less important, and the tie between land and revenue more so. An effect of the Murašû firm's operations was to guarantee revenue at the expense of secure tenure.

Summary: Economic and Political Environment

The Murašû texts give no clear support to the notion that excessive taxation produced a scarcity of cash in Achaemenid Babylonia, which in turn fostered a general economic decay. On the contrary, the Murašû firm itself was supplier of money: both credit in the form of mortgages and cash in the form of rents and taxes.

The close concentration of mortgages in a short time weighs heavily against any effort to interpret them as marks of excessive reliance on credit caused by a

[69] See H. W. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus* (Oxford, 1933), 23 ff. and Gunter F. Seibt, *Griechische Söldner im Achaimenidenreich*, Habelts Dissertationsdruck, Reihe Alter Geschichte, 11 (Bonn, 1977).

prevalent and enduring shortage of cash. It is true that the number of mortgages preserved in the Archive represents not the frequency with which the firm issued credit, but rather the frequency with which the firm converted unredeemed credits. The issuing of credit was no doubt far more common than the texts attest, and far more evenly spread over the life of the firm; if so, credits were commonly redeemed under normal circumstances. Similarly, those texts which record transactions by which the firm put silver into circulation are fairly evenly distributed in time. The conversion of unredeemed credits, on the other hand, was clearly a short-term effect, produced by a short-term, external cause. It told only on one segment of the Murašûs' clientele, the small feudatories of the Nippur region.

The texts show no shortage of money, and they also show no general decay. The price structure of the rental business points to an environment of large-scale investment and general growth, the secular tendencies implied by archaeological evidence. But within the Murašû firm's immediate environment, it was not equitable growth. The Murašûs' commercial enterprises promoted or exaggerated changes in income distribution. The crown and members of the political elite profited; so did the Murašû firm; the small farmers—or at least small-scale rentiers—did not. Those feudatories who leased their property to the firm drew income only from cheap land. Their economic status was precarious and deteriorating.

In short, the Archive's evidence on the firm's economic environment is consistent with the political hypothesis offered in the previous chapter: the events that brought Darius II to the throne resulted in a sharp rise in indebtedness among smallholders around Nippur; they produced this result because the position of the smallholders as a class was already precarious. The effect was radical, but it was not immediately disadvantageous to the interests of the Great King.

The process to which the Murašû texts bear witness is not the depletion of Babylonian resources in an impoverished time, but their dislocation and concentration in a time of growth. At its lowest level, "feudal" tenure in Babylonia lost ground to commercial control. For whatever reasons, landholders chose to become rentiers drawing cash income. By whatever means, the Murašû firm was able to capitalize large-scale agriculture and to convert crops into cash, which it supplied both to its customers and to the major political figures who extracted royal revenues. The firm may well have served as an instrument of intensification and development. But if it did, it extracted a steep price. Although the firm was, according to contractual relations, a tenant of property owners, it controlled a greater share of means of production than did its landlords. Its activities accelerated the relative impoverishment of small-scale landholders. The costs of political instability left the firm in a stronger position still, with more land at its disposal and fewer rents to pay.

CHAPTER VII

THE EMPIRE AND THE ARCHIVE

In the last half of the sixth century B.C. the Persian Empire reached an unprecedented size. Decisive military successes marked the early stages of its growth. From the beginning, political initiatives were essential to sustaining it. In Media, Ionia, Babylonia, Palestine, and very likely elsewhere too, important parts of local societies collaborated in the Persian conquest or in the first establishment of Persian rule. Along with size, the Achaemenid Empire achieved unprecedented internal diversity. It enclosed earlier states with widely differing dimensions, histories, and entrenched institutions, and it encountered differing responses to Persian rule. A constant issue for the Great Kings was the maintenance of controls which made these disparate territories elements of a much larger political entity.

The process of political consolidation was successful overall. On the Greek frontier, the Persians encountered military reverses, but they gained diplomatic successes. In Egypt they suffered loss of a rich province for most of the late fifth and early fourth centuries. But the core provinces—Syria, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, western and central Iran—held together. Uprisings and political disturbances punctuated their history, but none was a successful secession and none can seriously be characterized as a popular reaction against imperial control. Most were conflicts for possession of the whole Empire, played out by members of its ruling elite. The "year of four emperors" which began with the death of Artaxerxes I is a hallmark example.

The means which brought about this comparative stability, though, are veiled. The Empire's apparent character varies greatly in documents from its diverse regions, texts dominated by special regional concerns. In Greece and Judea changes took place whose radical importance is clear in Classical accounts of the Persian wars and in post-exilic books of the Old Testament. But in Babylonia, local life as reflected in contemporary legal and administrative texts seems a continuation of familiar conditions. Persian rulers espoused or adapted existing institutions. As a result, formal conservatism obstructs the view of historical change.

Nevertheless, the situation of Babylonia in the heart of the Empire obliges one to believe what one cannot accurately perceive in Babylonian texts: that Achaemenid kings imposed some general policies and tactics on their Empire as a whole, even if such imperial behavior is not clearly labeled in records of local transactions; and

that even when transactions were recorded in terms familiar from times past, their real operations were much altered by the fact of subjection to a continental empire. A concern in the study of documents from the Achaemenid provinces, including the Murašû Archive, is the interpretation of local activity against an imperial background.

The foregoing chapters have endeavored to show, first, that the Persian crown itself owned various properties in Babylonia, including a resource crucial to the agrarian economy, canals; second, that persons of high political and social rank owned estates which characteristically included holdings of dependent personnel organized in *ḫaṭrus*; third, that figures comparable in rank to these estate-owners controlled the extraction of dues and services from feudatories who belonged to *ḫaṭrus*; fourth, that a sharp increase in mortgages of bow lands was synchronous with the upheavals attendant on Darius II's accession, and that the mortgages are likely to have been a consequence of political disturbance, a cost transmitted by local systems of control; and finally, that local economic conditions rendered feudatories vulnerable to such transmitted costs, while the Murašû firm was able to profit from their weakness. The texts present only a narrow view over a short term. Conclusions drawn from them are subject to question, or at least to qualification, in the matter of their susceptibility to generalization for Babylonia as a whole, for the Empire as a whole, or for the longer run of the Empire's history. Nevertheless, the Archive does display imperial adaptations of long-standing Babylonian patterns of organization, and some local consequences of imperial politics.

The Murašû texts show in some detail the elaboration of a distinctive system of military and manorial tenure tied to the means of political control. The system served a number of purposes desirable to the state: it supported a military reserve; it returned a large share of production in taxes; it provided a framework for controlling and enlarging a population immediately dependent on state organizations; it rewarded some of the king's supporters; and it distributed local authority among members of the political elite in a way complex enough to diminish potential danger to the king. The system bears some notable resemblances in structure and results to arrangements found elsewhere in the Achaemenid Empire, notably in Anatolia and Egypt. At the same time, the essential characteristics of this system were already venerable in the Achaemenid period. Similar regimes of supporting dependents with land grants were many centuries old in Babylonia. What is new to Achaemenid times is the specific constituency, some of the specific terminology, the scale and range of application, and the vastly enlarged political fabric to which the system was bound.

Such arrangements took on considerable political importance quite early in the Empire's history, to judge by Darius I's explicit claim that he restored the bow

lands, flocks, and workers which the false Bardiya had expropriated (DB Babylonian version, 26)—a claim which Herodotus mirrors in his statement (iii.67) that Smerdis (Bardiya) was mourned throughout Asia because he had rescinded taxes and military conscription for three years. Even if the Babylonian pattern of tenure was burdensome to some subjects, it was a matter of prime concern to the Achaemenid kings.

Alongside its information on tenure, the Archive displays another familiar group of historical patterns: the commercialization of agriculture, concurrent with growth and concentration of population, both developments fostered by government policies. Commercial adjustment of beneficiary land tenure was as ancient in Mesopotamia as forms of such tenure were. A proximate example is the florescence of temple latifundia in the sixth century B.C., organizations which managed large tracts through operations of lease and sublease. Neo-Babylonian kings assumed direct interest in the development of these enterprises and returns from them. The early Achaemenids assumed the earlier royal interests. Similar items of nomenclature recur in the Murašû Archive, and the Murašû firm used similar forms of contractual arrangement, despite a markedly different local environment. Furthermore, the Murašû firm stood in a comparable relationship to the Persian crown. Although the firm itself was not a formal agency of Achaemenid government, it was certainly dependent on state patronage for access to essential resources, and on state sanction for the maintenance of its position.

In both these matters, tenure and commercial practice, Achaemenid administration put new faces on old patterns. The Murašû texts point to some results of this policy: a tendency toward concentration of wealth, and a tendency toward relative impoverishment at the lowest ranks of the state-controlled agricultural sector, despite indications of overall prosperity in the province. Feudatories at Nippur were subject to a peculiar structure of rental prices combined with administrative constraints which limited access to some relatively costly resources, conditions which tended to make small allotments unprofitable either for farming or for leasing. It is possible that these conditions were special to the Nippur region at the time. It is more probable that they were widespread among segments of population throughout Babylonia which were subject to encumbrances on crown grants.

The crisis which followed the death of Artaxerxes I was short and nearly bloodless in comparison to other Achaemenid royal successions. No pitched battle took place in Babylonia. Yet the costs of the succession contest in Babylonia, or at least at Nippur, were so pronounced that they were undoubtedly plain to observers at the time. Some speculation is permissible on contemporary reactions, that is, on how the Murašû firm's position appeared to interested parties in the region after the crisis was past.

From the point of view of the Persian crown, the Murašû firm's activity was beneficial over the short term and under tranquil circumstances. The firm's commercial intervention in local tenure was advantageous to the state: the firm supplied credit to small farmers; it ensured the cultivation of land even where the local structure of costs was detrimental to small farming; and it guaranteed regular tax returns even where small farmers were prone to insolvency. The crown's approval of the firm is implicit in the patronage which crown agencies extended to it. Over a longer run and after a troubled succession, however, the Great King may have seen the Murašûs with less favor. He may have considered the firm to be partially responsible for eroding the local means of control and extraction, to have forced feudatories out of direct participation in the quasi-feudal system, or, what is tantamount to the same thing, to have made possible feudatories' withdrawal from the system.

The feudatories are unlikely to have looked with much favor on the Murašûs. At best, the firm was a convenient means for adjusting smallholders' options by transforming crop futures and land title into credits and by transforming real holdings into rental income. At worst, the firm became another master, a creditor, and even a landlord. The firm's services did nothing to alleviate endemic conditions unfavorable to small proprietors; the firm's rental activity exacerbated those conditions. After the succession, many feudatories were worse off, and the firm was better off than before. Some animosity can be supposed.

The point of view of the Nippur region's aristocracy is more difficult to estimate, but the aristocracy's response was very likely crucial to the Murašû firm's history. The firm supplied managerial services and capital equipment, but such items were probably of only incidental value to large proprietors with strong resources of their own. Major landholders perhaps contracted for the firm's services only as an ancillary to the manorial organization of their main holdings—for example, using the firm to run isolated or comparatively unproductive tracts. At the same time, the firm could also assure regular payments of taxes due from feudatories subject to the estates and administrative agencies. Assuming that aristocrats were responsible to the crown for these revenues, and that they drew some of the proceeds into their own coffers, this aspect of the firm's business was as beneficial to aristocratic as to royal interests. But when feudatories were unable to redeem their mortgaged properties, manor- and officeholders lost effective control over the production and services of their dependents. As the Murašû firm acquired debt title to bow lands, it came into competition with politically powerful figures. The results of the succession crisis surely aggravated this competition.

If small proprietors saw the Murašû firm as oppressive, their perception had little political consequence. There is no reason to imagine that *vox populi* (or rather *vox*

glebarum) was ever a significant political force. But if impoverishment of feudatories provoked the resentment of the loftier figures who controlled the feudatories, this hostility *was* likely to have an effect. Those figures occupied central administrative, political, and military posts in the satrapy. They were leading actors in court politics, and the politics of Darius II's court were very active. If members of the aristocracy had reason to see the Murašûs as a threat, their influence may account for the short documented life of the firm.

The Murašûs depended for their position on state patronage in many forms. Suspension of patronage would have been enough to end the firm's activity, or at least to freeze its position. It is plausible to imagine—though impossible to confirm—that some such withdrawal of sponsorship occurred. After the succession crisis, one may speculate, aristocrats with interests in the Nippur region began to see the firm as a threat. Some had the new king's ear, and early in his reign they brought pressure to bear at court for curtailment of the firm's influence. Political considerations outweighed the immediate advantages which the crown saw in the firm's services. Patronage was withdrawn and the firm's growth checked. The firm's remaining operations were expropriated when its last active member, Enlil-suppe-muḫur, became the subordinate of one of Darius's safest allies, his elderly cousin Aršam. This guess suggests that the Murašû house fell victim to contradictions among imperial policies of control and extraction. Persian kings had installed a quasi-feudal pattern of tenure as part of their regime of political control; royal agents had sponsored a commercial manipulation of the system to aid the extraction of revenues. When the results of commercial manipulation became deleterious to some agencies of local control and figures of political stature, the Murašûs went out of business.

If not for these reasons, then for others, the Murašû Archive records a short historical span. Its contents reflect special concerns in special circumstances. It is an imperfect representative, but nonetheless a remarkable indicator, of larger-scale and longer-running conditions. Achaemenid Babylonia was no more a stagnant province than the Achaemenid Empire was an immutable political monolith. The Archive yields a partial image, but a true one, of historical forces engendered by the Empire and contending in the province.

APPENDIX I

EXCAVATION AND IDENTIFICATION OF THE MURAŠÛ ARCHIVE

The Murašû texts, unlike many cuneiform archival records, were not bought by museums from antiquities dealers; they were recovered during licit excavations under academic sponsorship. Although the standards of technique and recording used at Nippur in 1893 were far from those of most modern excavations, the simple fact that the Archive was excavated rather than looted is fundamental to general interpretation of its form and size. The fact of excavation makes two assumptions possible: first, that the texts were assembled and deposited as a group in antiquity; and second, that the excavators' recovery of the group and the disposition of the texts can be monitored within reasonably close limits.

The reliability of these assumptions rests ultimately on Hermann Hilprecht's identification of the Murašû Archive as the same group of tablets which John Henry Haynes excavated at Nippur in late May, 1893. Yet in other matters touching the early Nippur excavations Hilprecht's assertions are notoriously unreliable; and no independent confirmation of his identification of the Archive's provenience can be found.

No formal report on the excavation of the Murašû texts was published. Hilprecht, and after him Clay, provided brief summaries of the discovery[1], but those descriptions are clearly based on the letters and journals in which Haynes reported his find of tablets in May and June of 1893. Hilprecht was not himself present at Nippur in 1893. He first examined the tablets from the Third Campaign in 1894, in Istanbul. At that time, apparently, he identified the Murašû texts as such. Haynes, on his part, could not read the excavated tablets to identify their contents. He did not photograph them. By early July, he had packed them for shipment to Istanbul. The descriptions in his letters and journals give no point of detail about size, script, or seal impressions which might corroborate their identification with the Murašû texts published later. In short: Haynes certainly found a group of tablets in the spring of 1893; the Archive certainly exists; but the identification of Haynes's find as the Archive cannot be traced with certainty beyond Hilprecht's say-so.

In spite of the doubts which this situation raises, Hilprecht's identification of the Murašû Archive stands. Several considerations favor it.

[1] Hilprecht, BE 9, p. 13; *The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia*, 408 f.; Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, 392.

First, no tendentious purpose is evident which might have been served by deliberately assigning an incorrect provenience to the texts. Conversely, none of the participants in the early Nippur excavations proposed a different provenience, despite their quarrels on many other points.

Second, the tablets which Haynes found grouped in a single room were presumably an ancient collection of documents with interrelated contents. Apart from the Murašû Archive, no group of this approximate size is known to have been found during the Third Campaign.

Third, Hilprecht gave the number of items in the Murašû Archive as 730 tablets and fragments. This number only echoes Haynes's rough count (letter to Peters, June 3, 1893, below). The discrepancy between this approximation and the count of 868 items determined above (p. 14) can easily be accounted for by breakage during shipment from Nippur to Istanbul and later from Istanbul to Philadelphia.

Fourth, Clarence Fisher studied closely the records of the early Nippur excavations. In his conclusions on most points he was severely critical of Hilprecht's views. Nevertheless, he appears to have accepted Hilprecht's position on the Archive's provenience, since a marginal note written in Fisher's hand on Haynes's June 3 letter to Peters indicates Fisher's uncertain surmise that the tablets of May-June 1893 were, as Hilprecht said, the Murašû Archive. In a later article, Fisher referred to the Archive's provenience in terms of positive knowledge; his attribution is consistent with Hilprecht's [2].

Consequently, it is assumed here that the texts excavated in May and June of 1893 were indeed the Murašû texts. If this assumption is correct, it promotes two further suggestions.

In the first place, it appears that the Archive was recovered largely intact—making allowances, of course, for the damaged state of many texts. Haynes's records show not only that the tablets were found within a single room, but also that the workmen searched for more tablets in adjoining areas, without result. The Archive is plainly not a complete record of every facet of the firm's business; but neither is it an indefinite selection from a larger ancient deposit, a selection determined not by ancient facts, but by accidents of partial excavation. The Archive is instead a complete group as it was defined in or after 403 B.C. Correspondingly, the texts available to this study are indeed an extensive if not materially complete sample from a set of known size.

A second suggestion is slightly more speculative. It may be possible to determine the Archive's original size more closely with an estimate of the number of Aramaic

[2] Clarence S. Fisher, "The Mycenean Palace at Nippur", *AJA* 8 (1904), 406f. Fisher describes the Murašû tablets as found *in situ*, about twenty feet below the surface, in a trench excavated by Haynes between 1893 and 1895, near the top of "Camp Hill" (in Fisher's nomenclature, Mound I).

documents, written on leather or other perishable materials, which were originally kept with the cuneiform tablets but destroyed by conditions in the ground.

Late Babylonian use of such perishable documents is certain. The Murašû texts in particular refer occasionally to authorizing documents with the term *šipirtu*, "document" (rather than *ṭuppu*, "tablet"), sometimes using the explicit spelling KUŠ *šipirtu*, "leather document"[3]. The term occurs repeatedly in the phrase *kunukku* (NA_4.KIŠIB) *u* (KUŠ.)*šipirtu*, or vice-versa[4]. Cardascia proposed and rejected interpretation of this phrase as "sealed tablet and leather document", that is, as referring to paired texts in different formats; he preferred to view the phrase as a hendiadys, "sealed document", but cautiously confined himself to literal rendering as "seal and document"[5].

Haynes's records point to the concrete reference of this phrase, and favor Cardascia's judgment. In his letter to Peters (below, p. 166), Haynes mentions that twenty uninscribed clay sealings were found among the tablets. The Catalogue of the Collections of the Babylonian Section at the University Museum, prepared by Hilprecht, Clay, and others, tentatively attributes twenty uninscribed sealings (CBS 4011-4023, CBS 4513-4519) to the Murašû house; Legrain published five of them, assigning them without query to the Murašû Archive[6]. These items are flat pieces of clay, roughly shaped like thick discs or ovals, c. 1.5—2 cm in diameter. Each bears the impression of a stamp seal or seal ring on one face. The edges of the clay disc curve slightly inward toward the impressed face. The opposite, unimpressed face of each has the impression of a string which had passed under or through the clay.

In every detail, these objects resemble the clay sealings used on contemporary Aramaic documents, both of leather and of papyrus. After such texts were drafted, they were folded and tied with string; a small ball of clay was placed over the string, flattened against the folded document, and impressed on the exposed face with a seal[7]. It appears practically certain that the sealings CBS 4011-4023 and CBS 4513-4519 were used similarly. If the Hilprecht Catalogue and Legrain are correct in assigning them to the Murašû house, they are certainly the relics of perishable texts kept among the Archive's clay tablets. Correspondingly, the phrase *kunukku u*

[3] BE 10 101:15; PBS 2/1 135:12, 13, 17; TuM 2-3 183:9, 204:5; cf. San Nicolò, *Or.* NS 17 (1948), 63 nn. 2-3.

[4] BE 9 66a:7, 75:6 f.; BE 10 101:15; PBS 2/1 135:12, 13, 17; TuM 2-3 183:9; 189:13.

[5] Cardascia *Murašû*, 79 n. 6. It is indeed likely that *šipirtu* and *kunukku u šipirtu* are synonymous; thus *akî šipirtu* [*ša*] ^{m}*Manuštānu*, No. 59:2 f., vs. *akî šipirtu u kunukku ša* ^{m}*Manuštānu*, BE 9 75:6 f.

[6] PBS 14 nos. 733-735, 743, 775. Legrain also attributed CBS 13230 (PBS 14 no. 1001) to the Murašû house.

[7] Elephantine papyri with unbroken strings and sealings are illustrated in Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, pl. 21. On such sealings with the Aršam letters, see Driver, *Aramaic Documents*, 3 f. and Whitehead, "Early Aramaic Epistolography", 13 f. Porten, "A New Look at Aramaic Papyri and Parchments", *Biblical Archeologist* 42/2 (Spring, 1979), 74-104, discusses and illustrates exhaustively the processes of drafting, folding, tying, and sealing such Aramaic documents.

šipirtu (or vice-versa) surely refers to an Aramaic document prepared in the normal manner of the time: a folded leather sheet (*šipirtu*) tied and secured with a clay sealing (NA_4.KIŠIB = *kunukku*) [8].

Furthermore, if Hilprecht's identification of the Archive's provenience is correct, then Haynes's letter indicates the number of such sealed perishable documents deposited in the Archive. That number, about twenty, appears small enough to have little serious consequence for general considerations of the Archive's ancient size and composition.

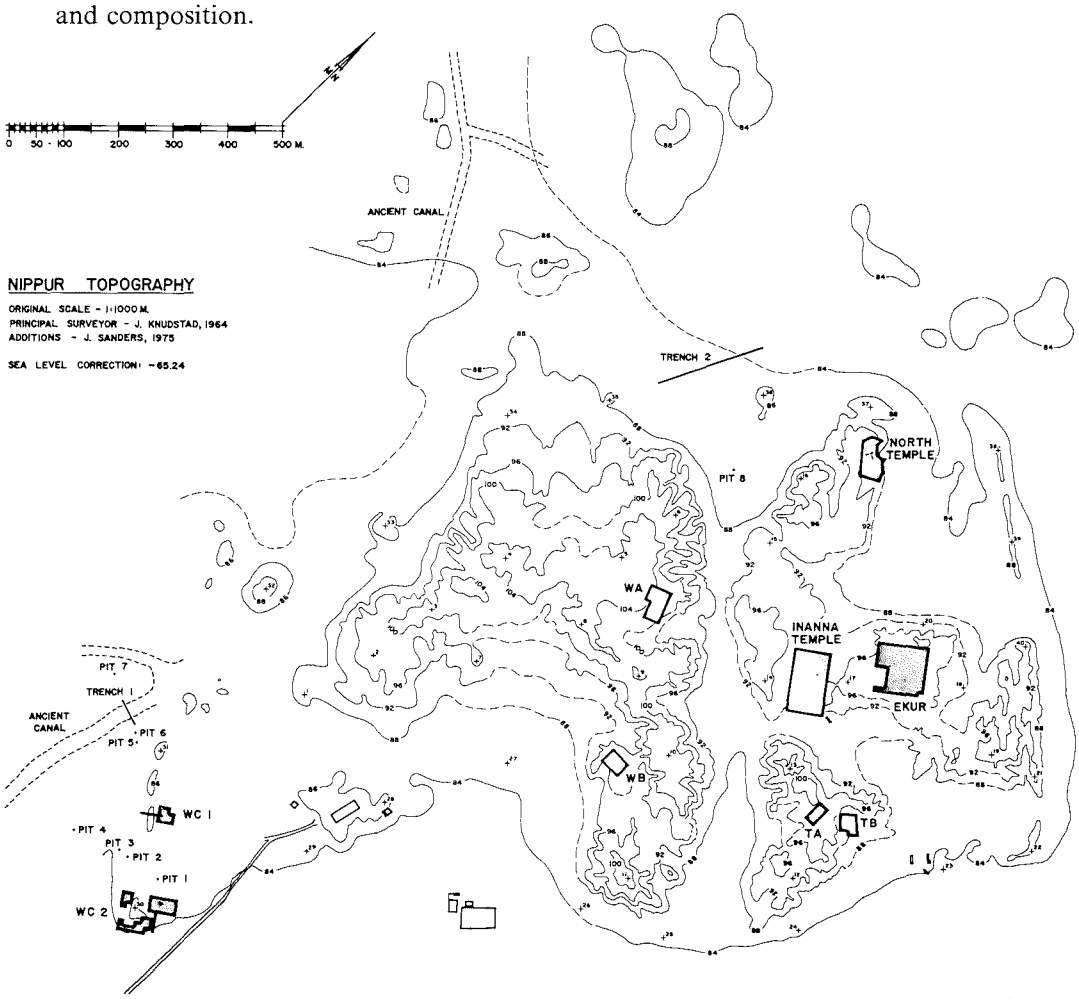


Fig. 12. The topography of Nippur and the location of modern excavations. The area of Haynes's excavations on Camp Hill, May, 1893, is in the place occupied by the label "WA". Courtesy McGuire Gibson.

[8] If so, Cardascia's judgment is doubly correct: the phrase is indeed a hendiadys in that it refers to a single, sealed document; but the elements of the phrase refer to distinct components of the document.

Reports of John Henry Haynes on the Excavation of Tablets in May-June, 1893[9]

Extracts from Haynes's Diary

May 22, Monday:

...
Ismail's trench 23 ft. deep; 17 ft. wide at surface.
Abud's " 20½ " " 12 " " " "
Abas's " 25 "

May 23, Tuesday:

A hot parching wind accompanied with a yellow dust—this weather makes labor difficult.
Photographed the coffins opened yesterday and two of the trenches. In the other trench Abud el Gumbar begins a tunnel to meet Ismail.
Nothing of importance found today.
...

May 24, Wednesday:

97°. Hot parching wind from N.
... Abud found twenty feet deep a terra cotta of two figures and two bowls ....

May 25, Thursday:

95°. Hot but comfortable breeze ... Abud found a jar and an urn ....

May 26, Friday:

90°. Comfortable N. wind.
...
Abud found nothing but abundant traces of a conflagration and a pit filled with fragments of pottery as if a manufactory for pottery were at hand.

May 27, Saturday:

95°.
Toward evening Abud el Gumbar came upon a lot of tablets of unknown extent of which he extracted only 16 covering the rest with earth ....

May 28, Sunday:

95°. Pleasant but getting rather warm.
Fearing robbery Abud extracted a few tablets that had been recovered last night leaving those that had not been disturbed yesterday to be uncovered on week days.

[9] I am indebted to Ms. Dianne Taylor for making these records available to me. For permission to publish excerpts from them, thanks are due to Barbara Wilson, Archivist of the University Museum, and to A. W. Sjöberg, E. V. Leichty, and B. Eichler, curators of the University Museum's tablet collections.

May 29, Monday:

102°.
5 gangs on Camp Hill. Each gang from six to fourteen men.
Abud breaks down the roof of the tunnel preparatory to clearing the room in which the tablets occur. 60 sound unbaked tablets from Abud's trench ....

May 30, Tuesday:

100°.
Abud's trench produced 75 sound tablets, unbaked, and several fragments and the extent of them is still a matter of conjecture.
Nothing of value has been found in any other trench ....

May 31, Wednesday:

98°.
Abud's trench produced 65 sound tablets today and promises many more.
Nothing of value was found in any other trench ....

June 1, Thursday:

Abud's trench produced 48 sound tablets and a number of broken ones ....

June 2, Friday:

100°.
Abud's trench 48 tablets.
Nothing else of interest was found except two very rude fragments of terra cotta by Ismail at a lower level than Abud is finding tablets.

June 3, Saturday:

90°. Good fresh breeze from N.
Abud's trench produced 20 sound tablets which finished the room in which he was working. We hope the adjoining room will also give us tablets: but as yet all is uncertain.

June 4, Sunday:

80°. Comfortable breeze.

June 5, Monday:

...
Abud's trench yielded no antiquities but is interesting as showing the construction of a house of well-to-do people.
...

June 7, Wednesday:

100°.

Abud enters the adjoining room to the library he rediscovered [*sic*]. He finds nothing of value ....

June 8, Thursday:

99°. Hot parching wind.

...

Abud: a few whorls and a small open mouthed round bottomed vase ... 20 feet deep.

June 9, Friday:

95°.

...

Nothing of value was found in any trench.

Extracts from Haynes's Journal

Saturday, 13th May, 1893:

Hill I:
Monday morning the workmen were put on Hill I and have been kept there all week.
Nothing of real interest has been found, but we still hope to reap good results from the work at this point.

Saturday, 20th May, 1893:

Hill I:
All the week on Hill I with no important results and no finds worthy to report, but hope for good results soon.

Monday, 22 May, 1893:

Hill I:

...

Ismail's trench	23	ft.	deep	17	ft.	wide	
Abud's	"	$20\frac{1}{2}$	"	"	12	"	"
Abbas's	"	25	"	"	$18\frac{1}{2}$	"	"

Tues. 23rd May, 1893:

Hill I:
Hot parching wind makes labor difficult.
Abud begins tunnel to meet Ismail.
Nothing found.

Wed. 24th May, 1893:

Hill I:

Scorching wind from N.W. ....

...

Saturday 27th May, 1893:

Temperature at noon 95°.
Hill I:
A lot of tablets found today by Abud el Gumbar. 18 sound and beautiful looking tablets taken out and the opening then covered with earth as it was late in the day when the find was made.

Sunday 28th May, 1893:

Fearing theft the trench in which the tablets were found yesterday was placed under guard to be fully examined by ourselves.

Monday 29th May, 1893:

Abud el-Gumbar breaks down the roof of his tunnel before clearing the room in which the tablets were found. After clearing away the roof of the tunnel 60 sound tablets were taken out.

...

Tuesday 30 May, 1893:

75 sound unbaked tablets from Abud's trench today. Also several fragments.

Wednesday 31st May, 1893:

Abud's trench produced 65 sound unbaked tablets today and still promises to yield more.

...

Thursday 1st June, 1893:

Hill I:
48 sound unbaked tablets and many fragments from Abud's trench today.

Friday 2nd June, 1893:

Hill I:
48 sound tablets again today from Abud's trench.

Saturday 3rd June, 1893:

Abud's trench cleared of tablets today, finding 20 sound and some broken tablets.

Monday 5th June, 1893:

Hill I:
Abud el Gumbar breaks through the wall into the room S.E. of the tablet room hoping to find tablets in that room but failed to find them.

...

Tuesday 6th June, 1893:

All the gangs are at work as yesterday with the results that 7 perfect tablets and a number of imperfect tablets [*sic*].

...

Wed. June 7, 1893:

Temperature in shade 100°.
Abud el Gumbar today enters a room Southeast of the room containing the library of handsome tablets and finds nothing.

Thurs. June 8th, 1893:

99° in shade with burning wind.
No finds of interest.
... Abud finds a vase and a few whorls.

...

...

Tues. June 13, 1893:

Suffocating dust storm. Yellow blinding storm of impalpable dust which causes choking and feeling of suffocation. The workmen wrap the entire face in their kefias leaving only the eyes uncovered. They choke less than I do but I could not endure a half woolen blanket wrapped about the face.

...

Abud still entering different rooms in hope of finding tablets but all in vain.

...

Wed. June 14, 1893:

101°. Pleasant weather.
Nothing of special value was brought to light today.

Thurs. June 15th, 1893:

102°. Clear and hot.
Abud is making a vigorous effort to find other rooms belonging to the library discovered some days ago, but so far fails.

...

Other trenches non-productive!

Friday June 16, 1893:

101°.
The trenches have failed to yield anything again today.

Extract from Haynes's Letter to John Punnet Peters

June 3, 1893

Not yet ready to begin work so far from camp as the Temple Hill, I decided to make a few trial trenches on the socalled Camp Hill. Besides coffins and several fragments of terra cottas we found nothing of great interest until May 27th on which date Abud-el-Gumba [*sic*] entered a room 18 by $9\frac{1}{4}$ feet of which room the floor was covered with tablets which bear one or more seal impressions. These tablets are generally unbaked, of good texture, and firm enough to be handled and transported without danger of breakage.

> [A note in the right-hand margin of the above paragraph, in Clarence Fisher's handwriting, adds: "Murashû tablets room?"]

This is true of the whole tablets, of which I roughly counted 330 before attempting to clean them.

I find that some I thought sound are cracked. Some of them were evidently injured by water at the time of the destruction of the building or soon afterward.

In spite of all care these will probably crumble, but fortunately only a few are in this state. There are at least 300, probably 400, cracked and broken ones, whose parts are complete and can be kept together and, I think, safely transported. I venture the opinion that many of them are historical tablets. Among these tablets were found 20 socalled clay seals or impressions on clay of seals not tablets.

These will doubtless be ready to pack away in boxes next week when they can be more accurately counted and better described.

I plan to pack all tablets in lots as we find them as soon as thoroughly dry.

Extracts from Haynes's Letter to John Punnet Peters

July 2, 1893

Oweing [*sic*] to the press of work and the comparative meagerness of our weekly discoveries I have omitted the proposed weekly report for the month of June believing that you and your committee will justify my course when you know that I have decided to make a complete map of the excavations on our old Camp Hill No. I and that the surveys are essentially complete.

I herewith enclose a hasty sketch map of a part of our excavations on Camp Hill to show you what we have done in the vicinity of the tablet finds reported June 3rd.

This map is essentially a copy of my field notes with omission of measurements and bearings.

...

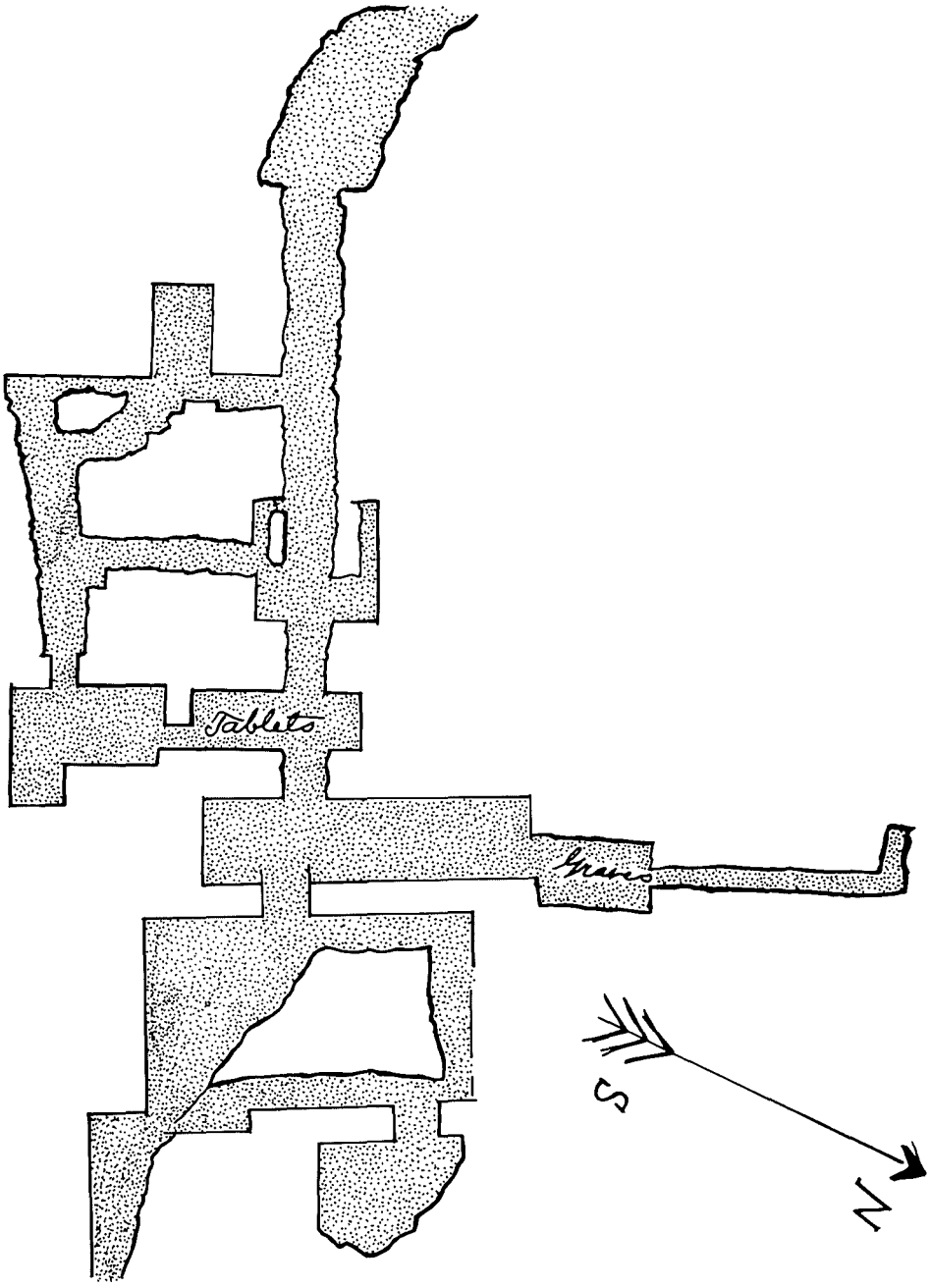


Fig. 13. Drawing accompanying Haynes's letter to Peters, July 2, 1893, captioned in Haynes's handwriting: "Rough sketch plan of excavations contiguous to the room in which the tablets reported June 3rd were found".

We have also packed for shipment the tablets reported June 3rd and I enclose herewith a tablet to show how they are packed.

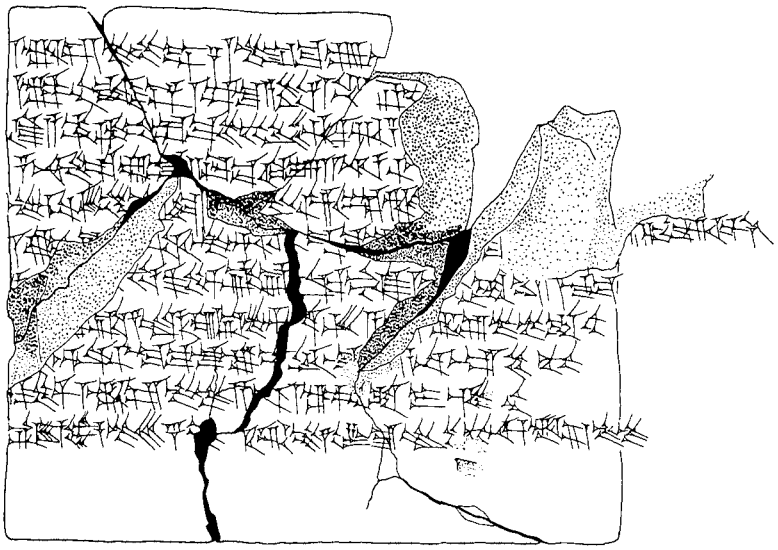
All cracked and broken tablets are carefully bound together before being wrapped in paper. They are then wrapped in newspaper and afterward in a heavy brown paper, so that when the coverings are removed the tablet will not fall to pieces.

APPENDIX II

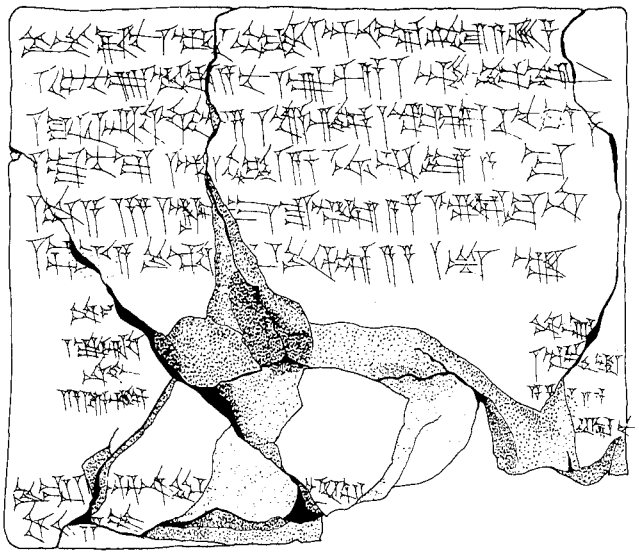
TEXTS FROM THE MURAŠÛ ARCHIVE IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM AND THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Selected Texts

Obv.



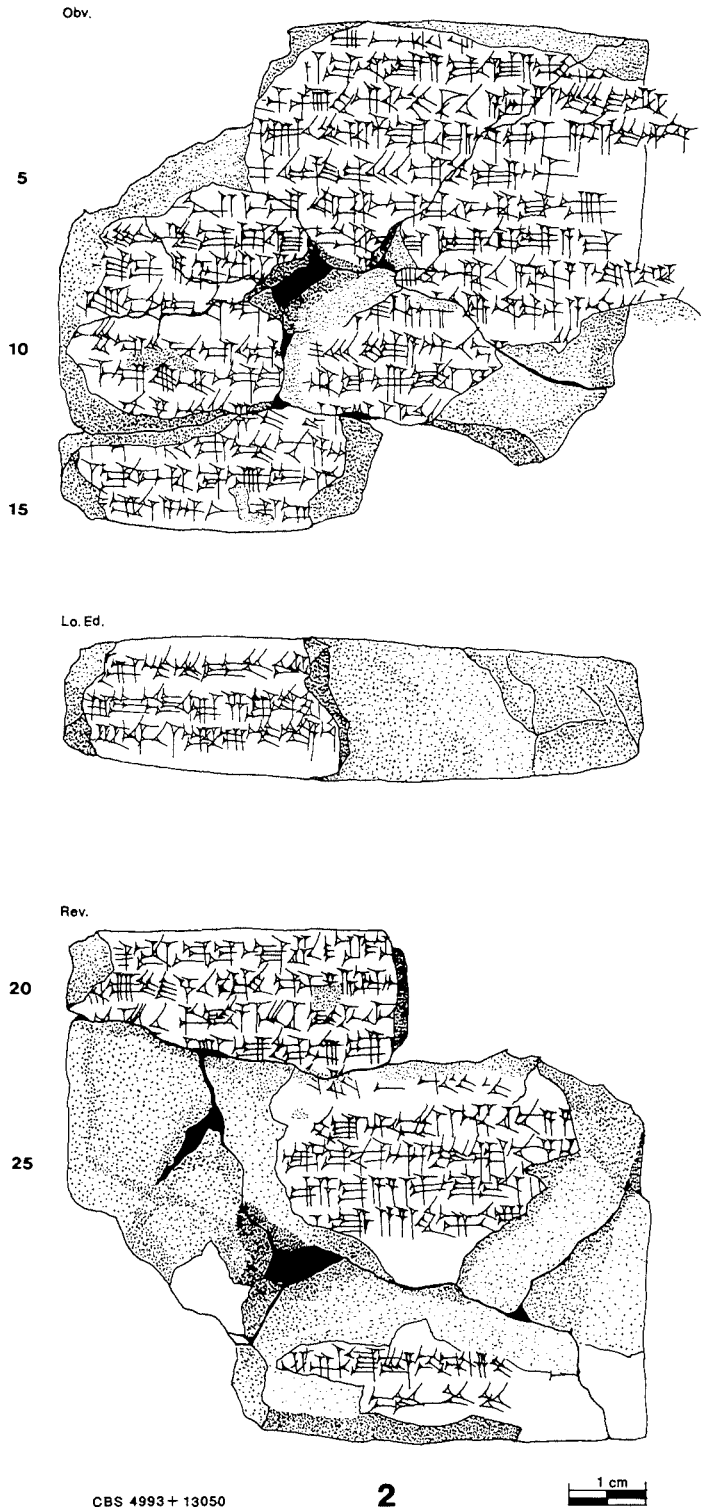
Rev

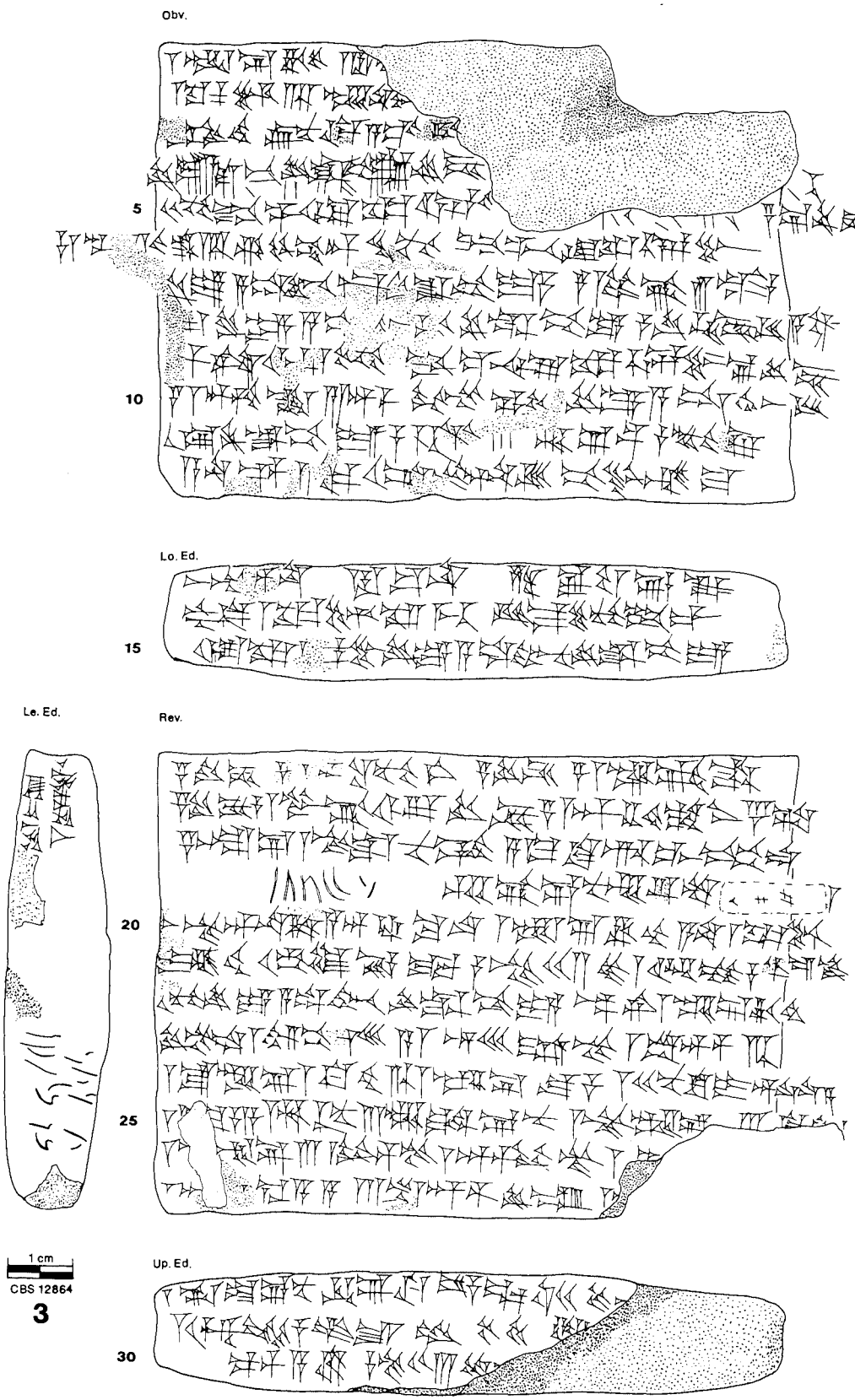


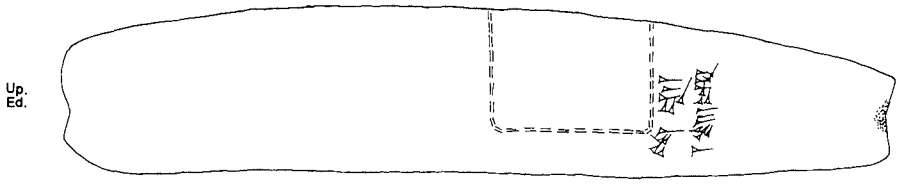
CBS 5199

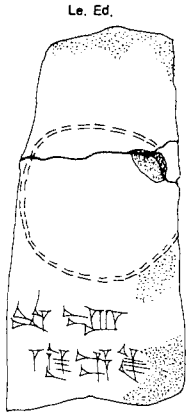
1

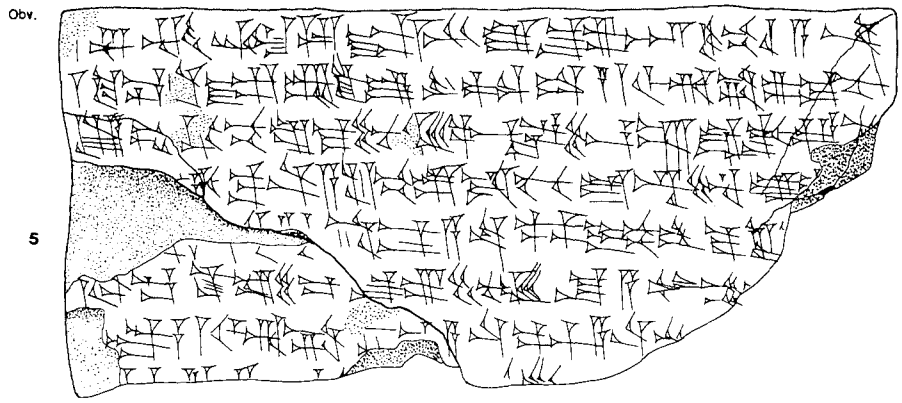
1 cm


Obv.
5
10
15
Lo. Ed.
Rev.
20
25
CBS 4993 + 13050
2
1 cm

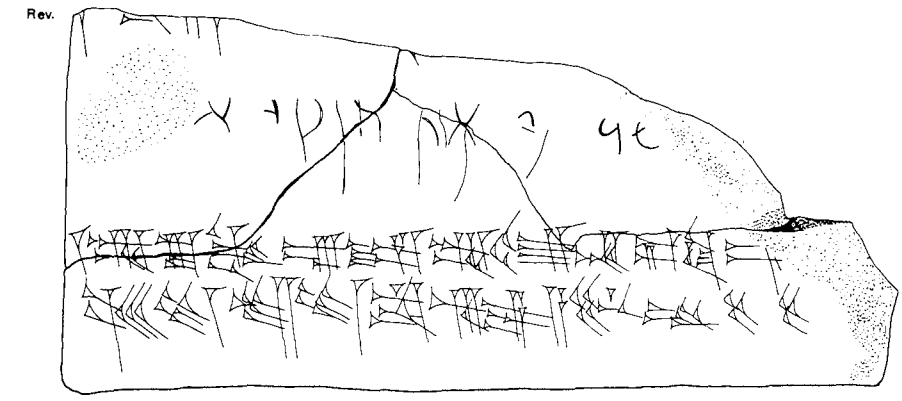

Obv.
5
10
Lo. Ed.
15
Le. Ed.
Rev.
20
25
1 cm
CBS 12864
3
Up. Ed.
30

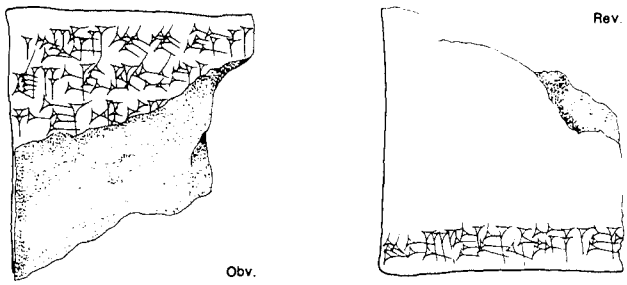




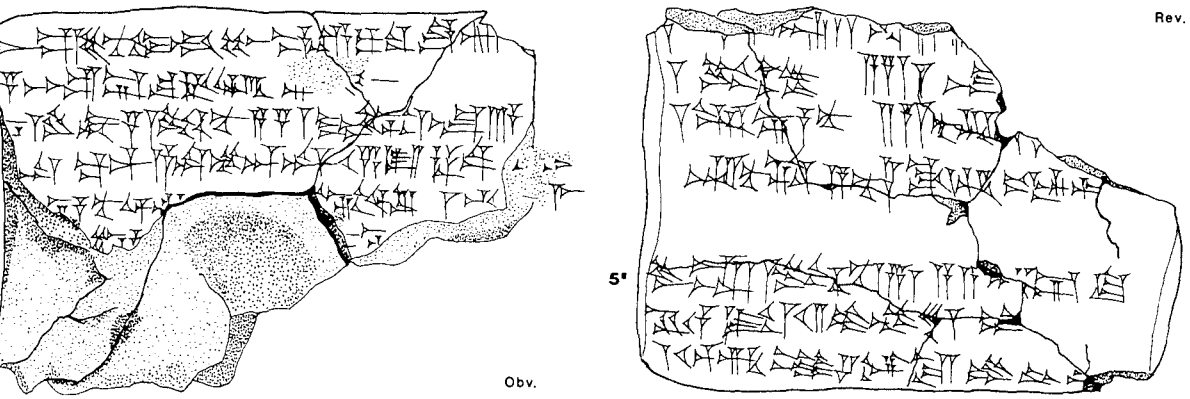


1 cm
CBS 4998
4

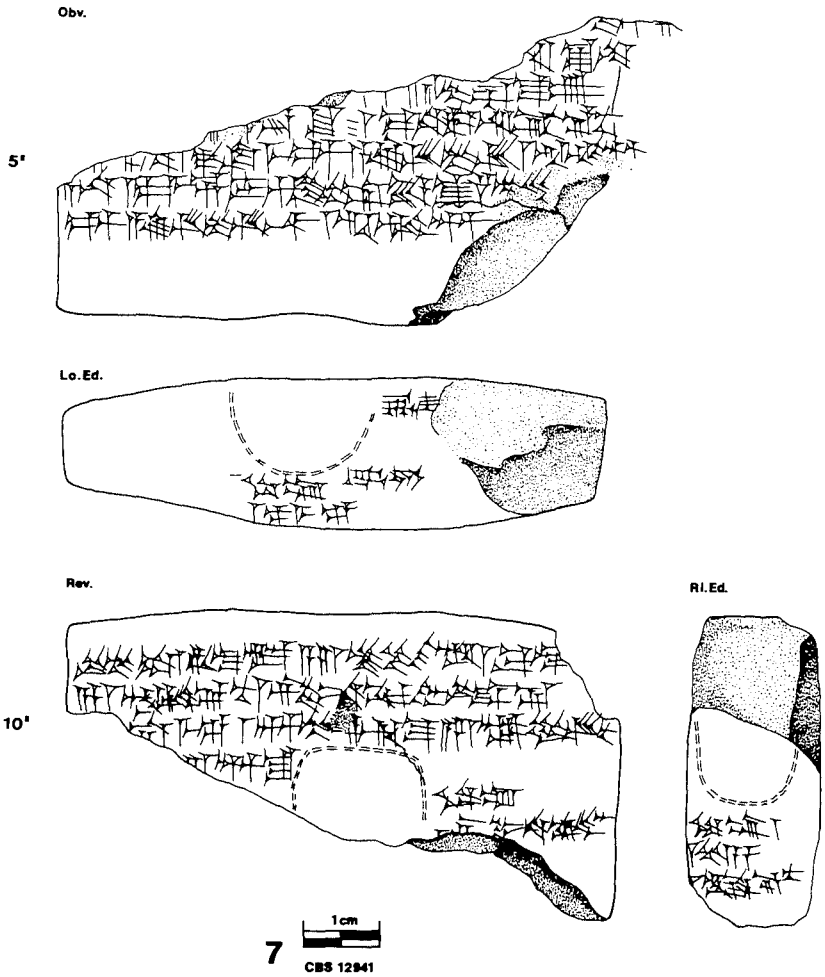




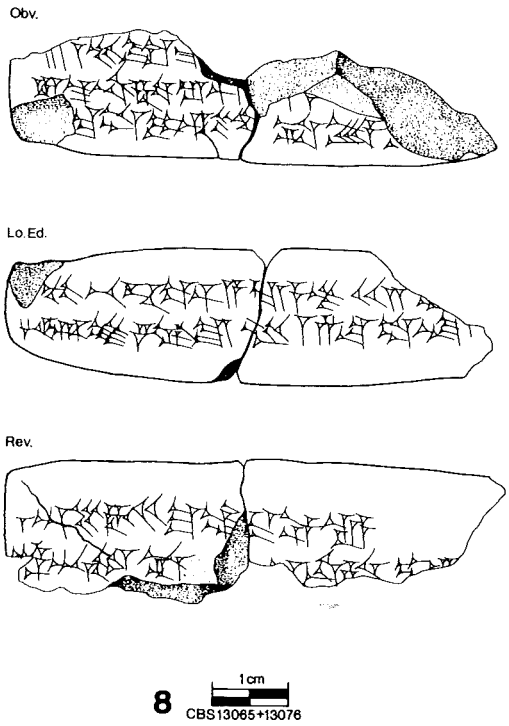
5
1 cm
CBS 13055

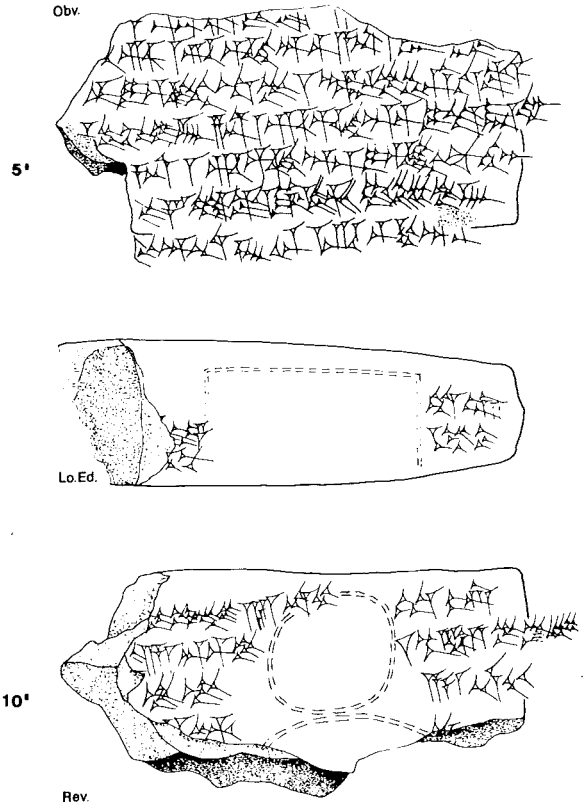


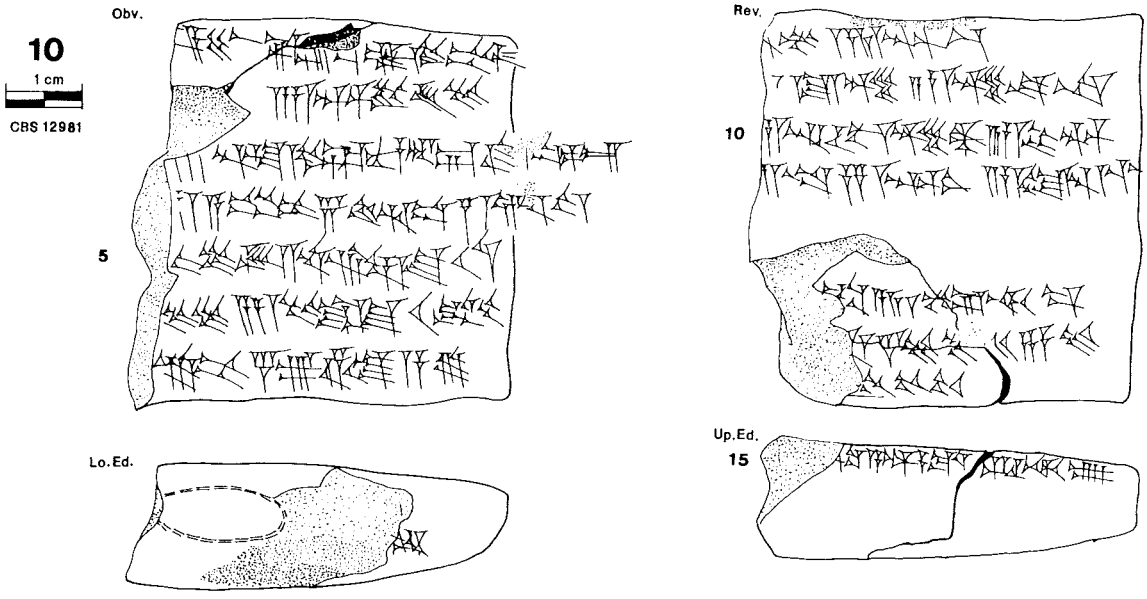
CBS 12977 **6** 1 cm



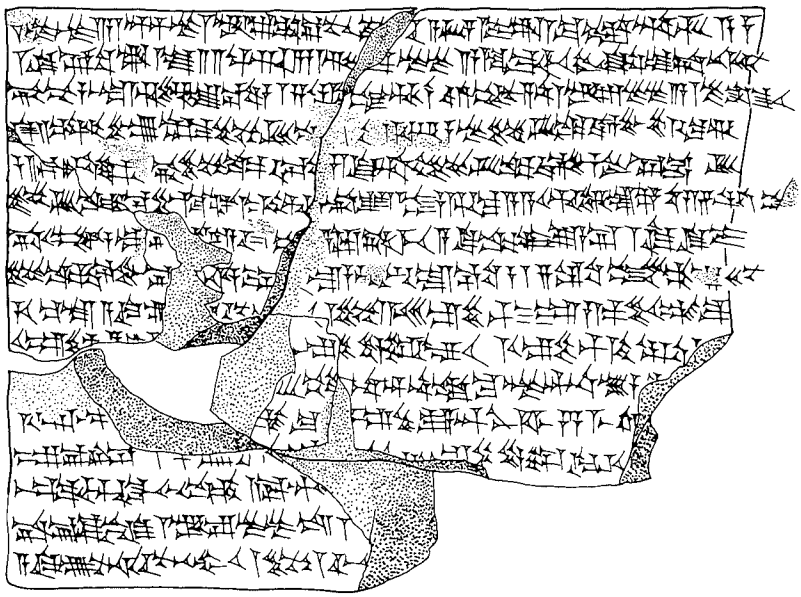
7 CBS 12941


Obv.
Lo.Ed.
5'
Rev.
1 cm
8
CBS 13065+13076

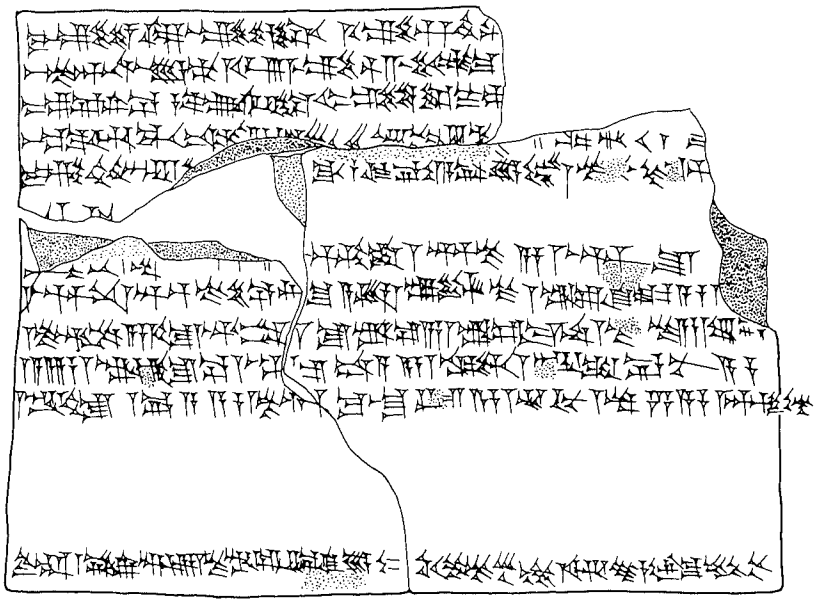

Obv.
5'
Lo.Ed.
10'
Rev.
1 cm
9
CBS 13031


10
1 cm
CBS 12981
Obv.
5
Lo.Ed.
Rev.
10
Up.Ed.
15

Obv.

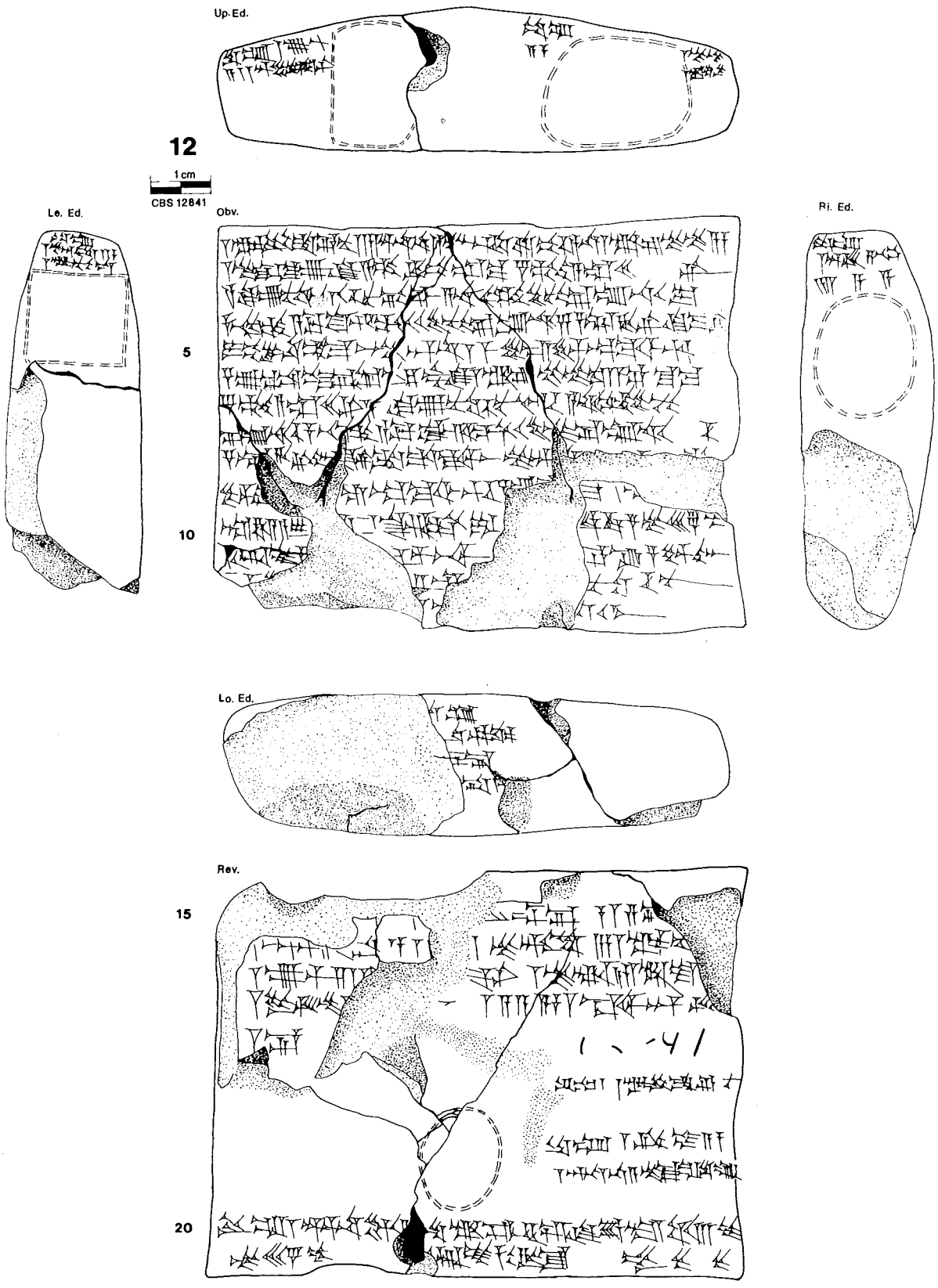


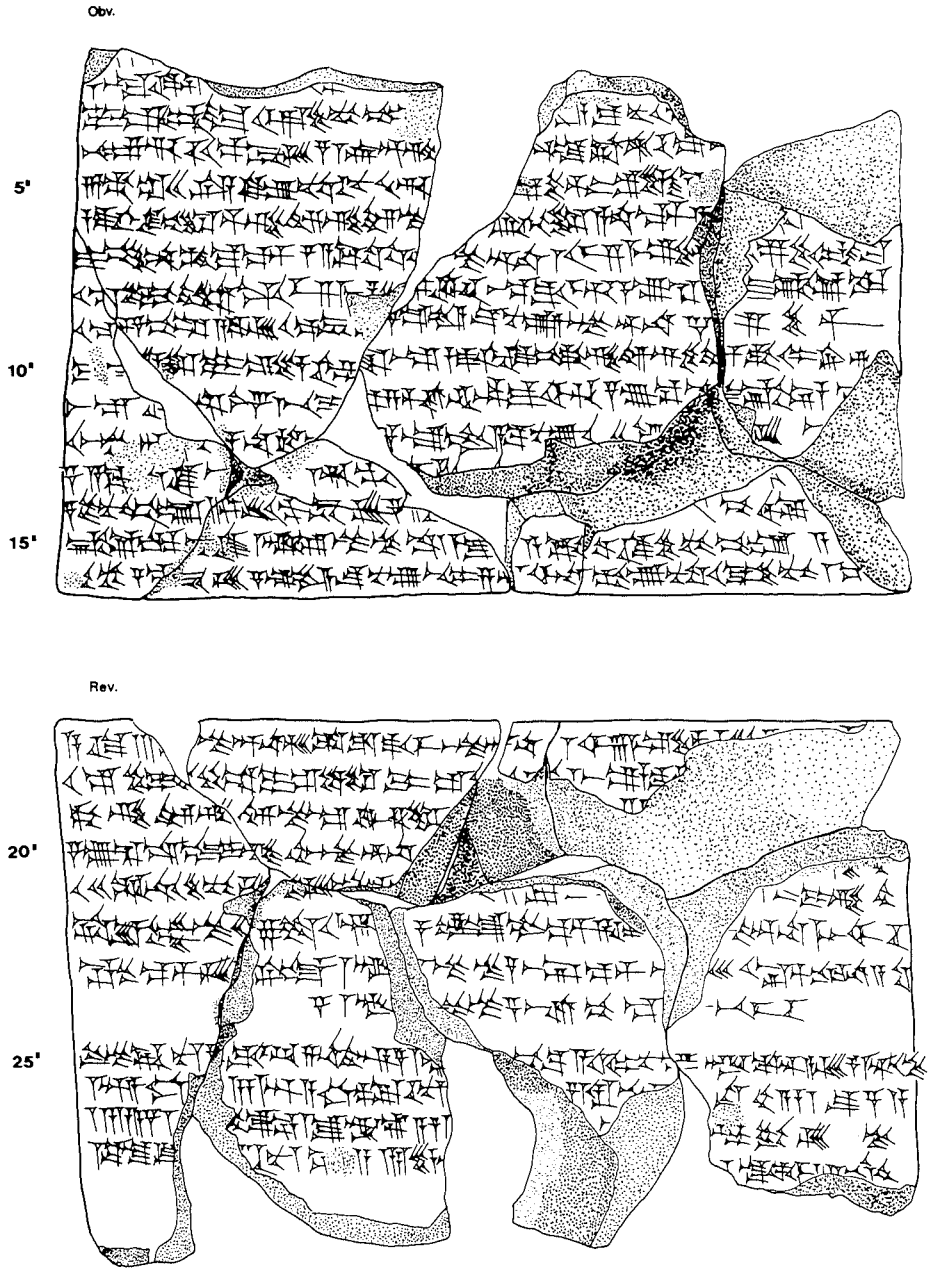
Rev.



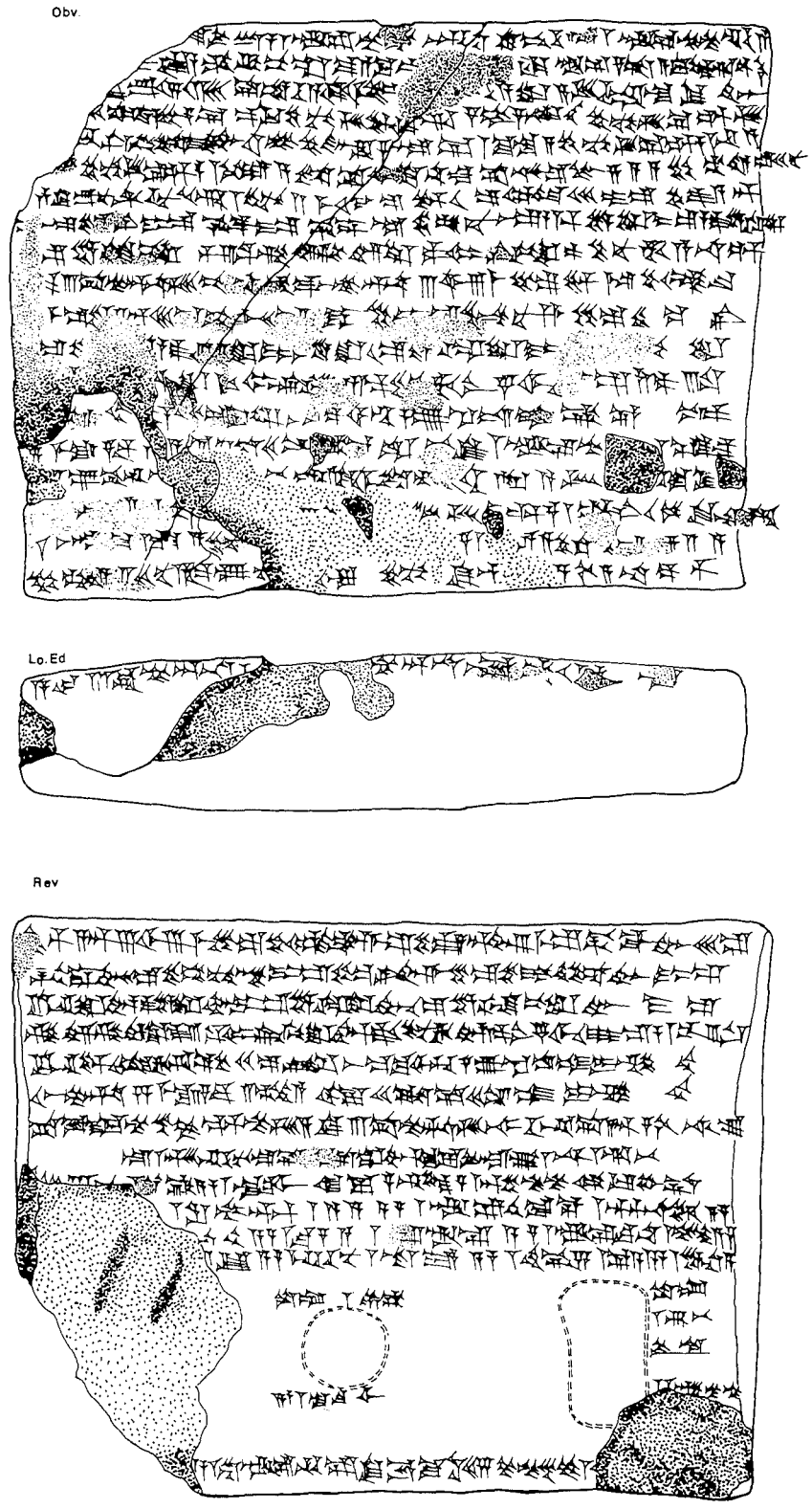
11 1cm

CBS 5205


Up. Ed.
12
1 cm
CBS 12841
Le. Ed.
Obv.
Ri. Ed.
5
10
Lo. Ed.
Rev.
15
20

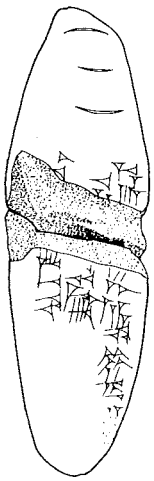


13 1 cm
CBS 5174 + 12893



14 1cm CBS 4999

Le. Ed.

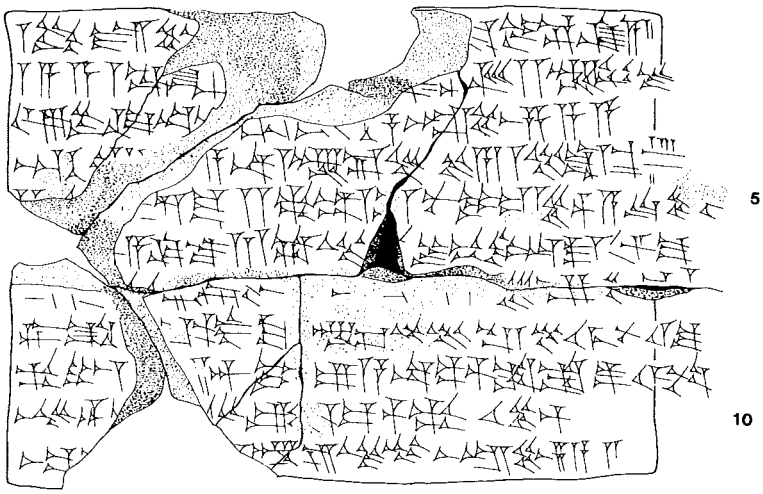


1 cm

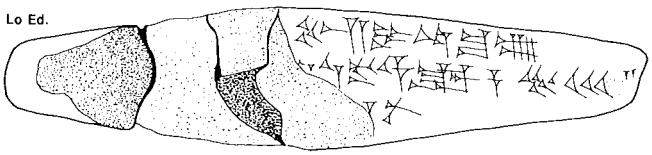
CBS 5186

16

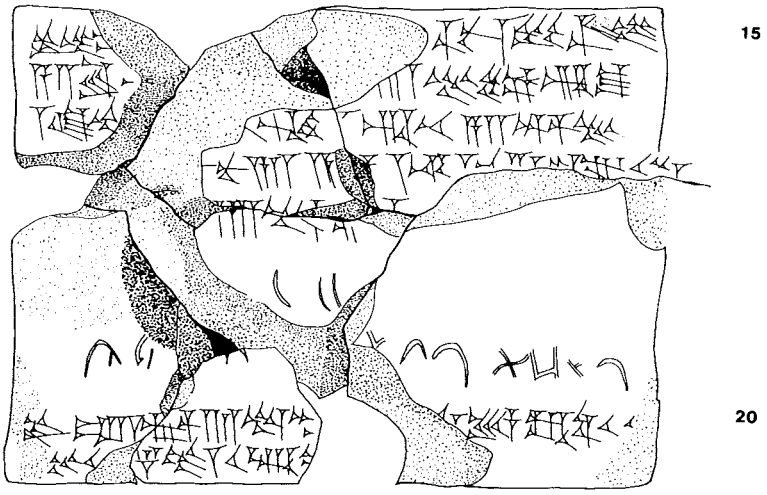
Obv.



Lo Ed.



Rev.



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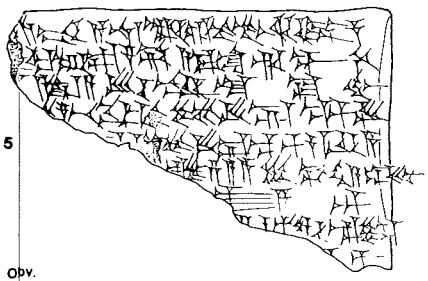


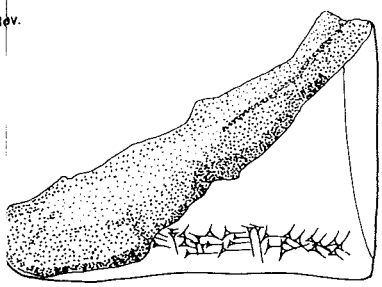
Obv.

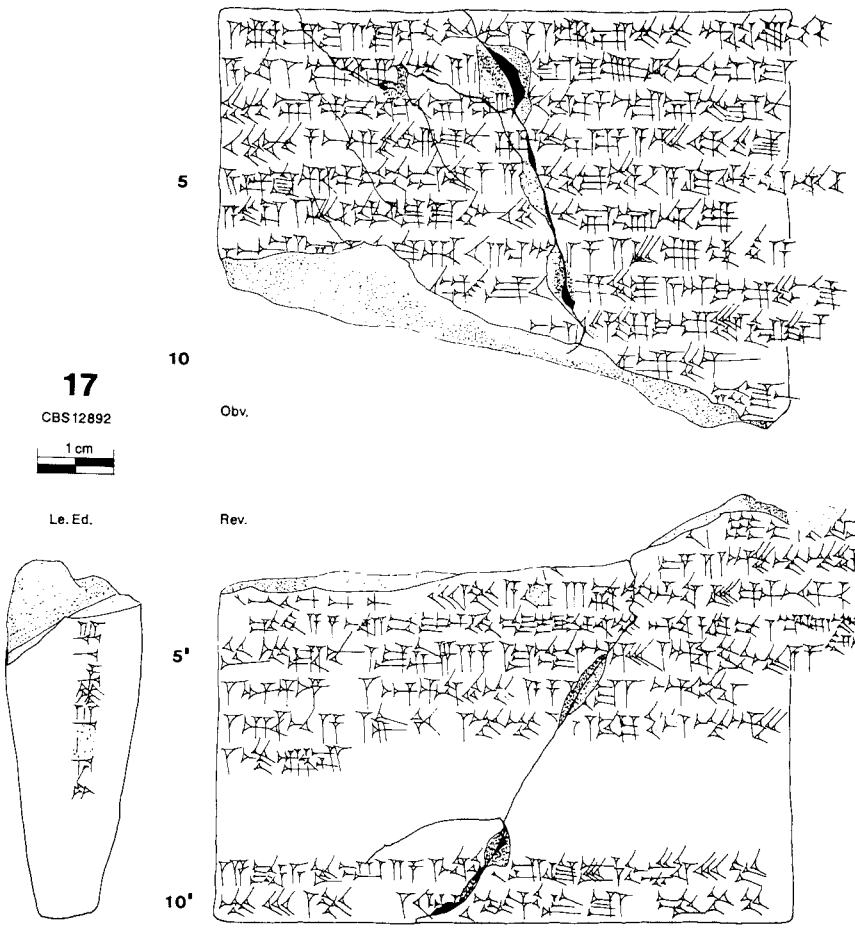
CBS 12998

15

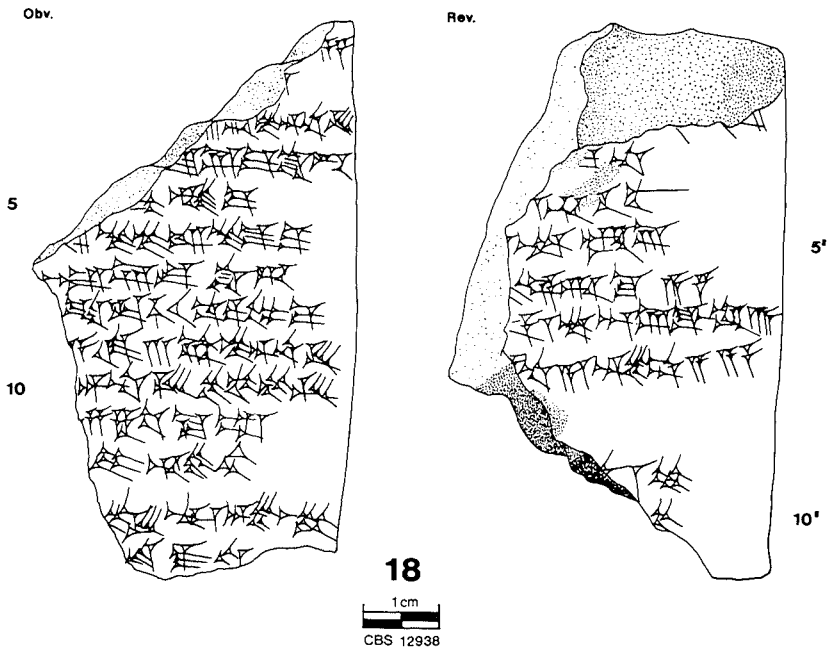
1 cm

Rev.

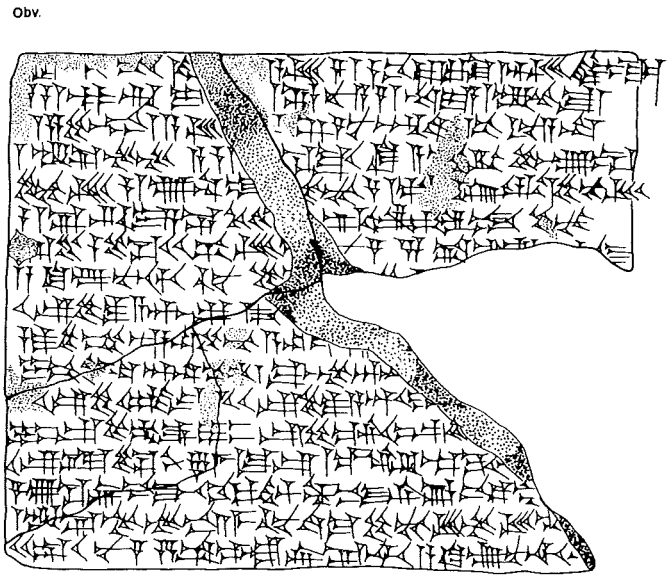


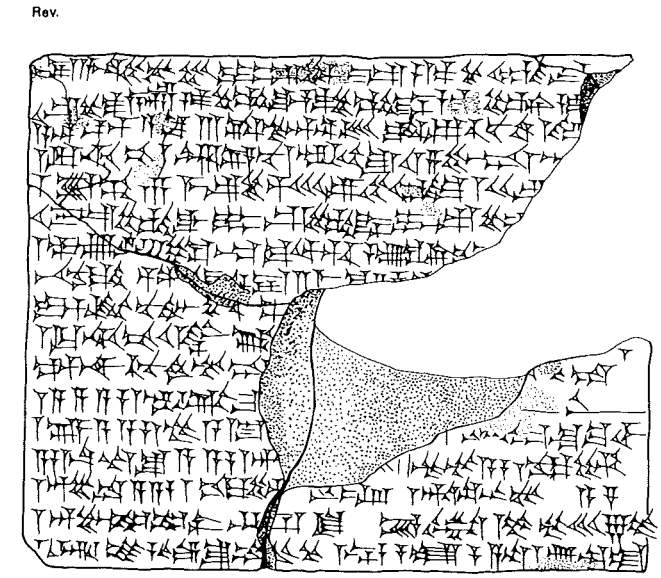


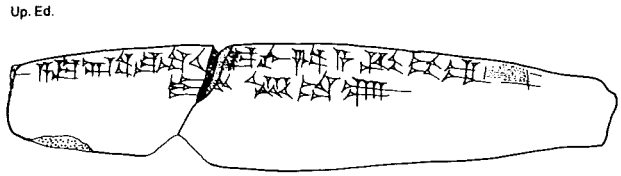
17
CBS 12892
1 cm



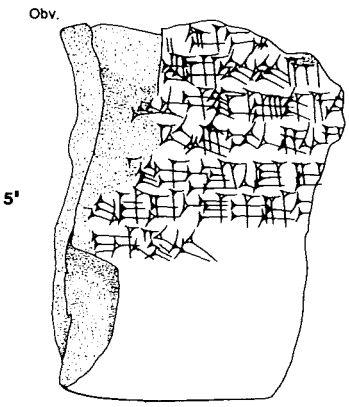
18
1 cm
CBS 12938



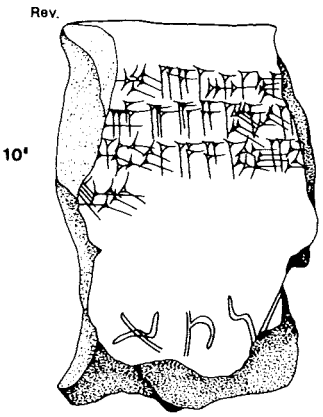


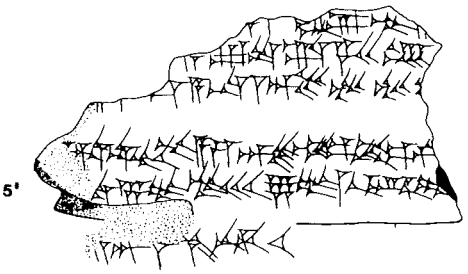


19 1cm CBS 12861

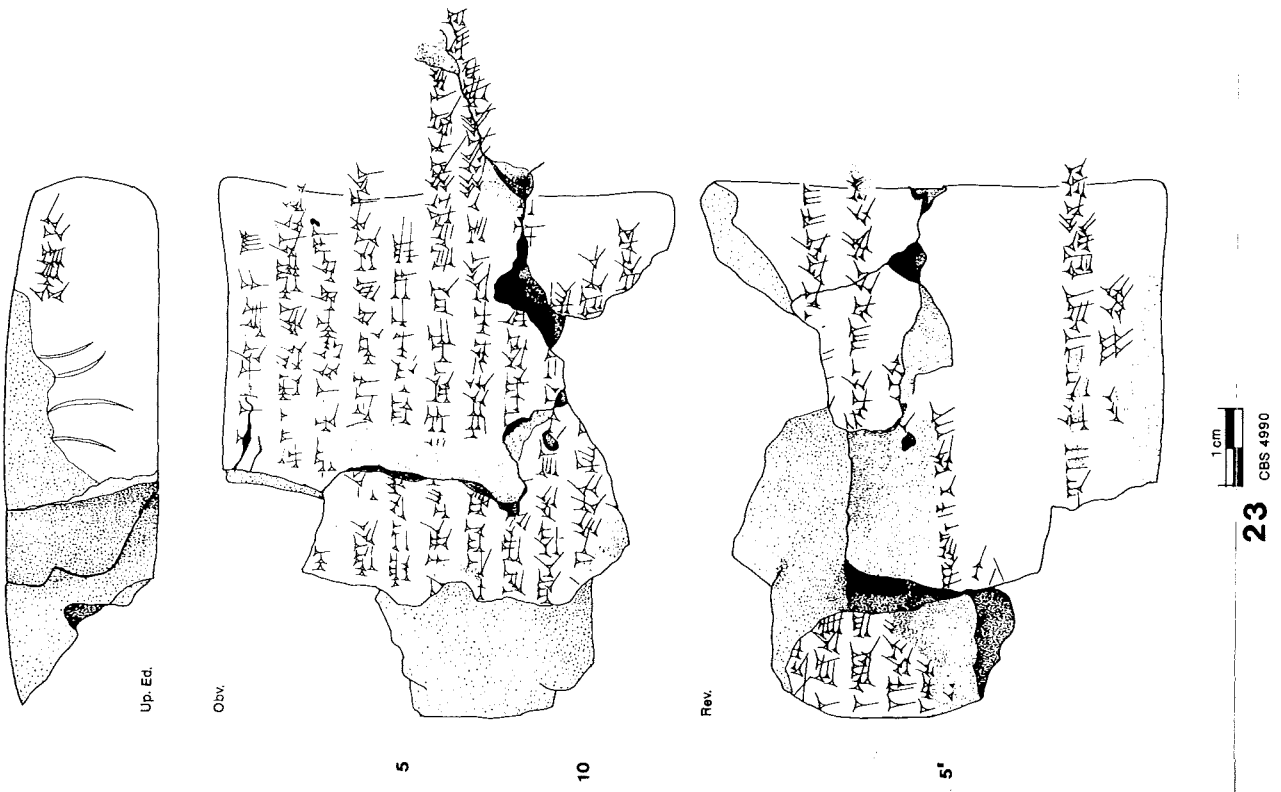


20 1 cm CBS 13023

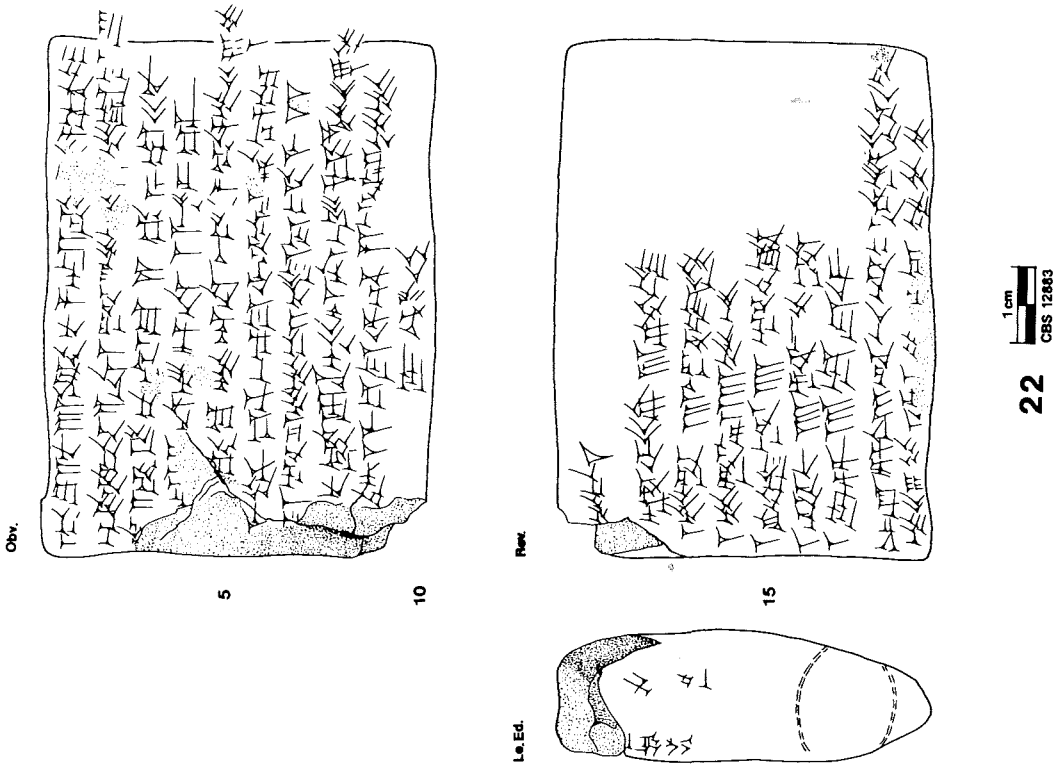




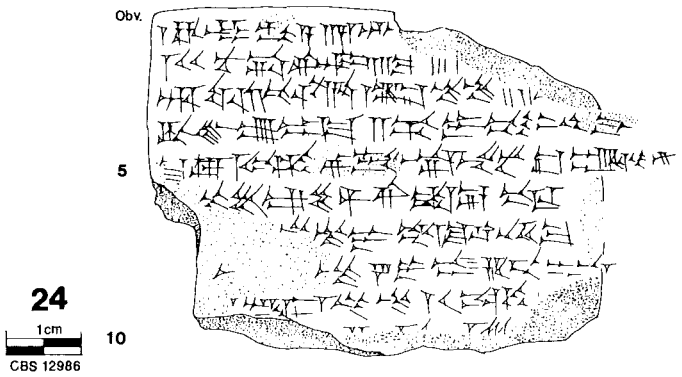
21 1 cm CBS 13042


Up. Ed.
Obv.
Rev.
5
10
5'
1cm
CBS 4990

23


Obv.
Rev.
Lo. Ed.
5
10
15
1cm
CBS 12883

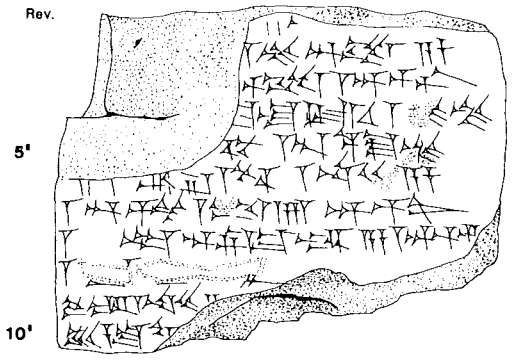
22

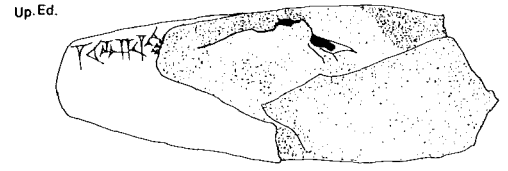


24

1cm

CBS 12986

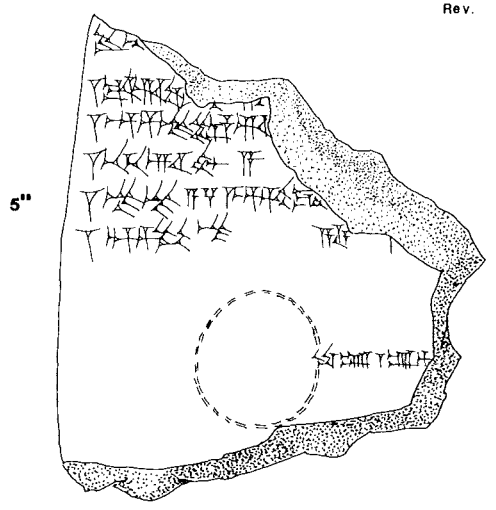


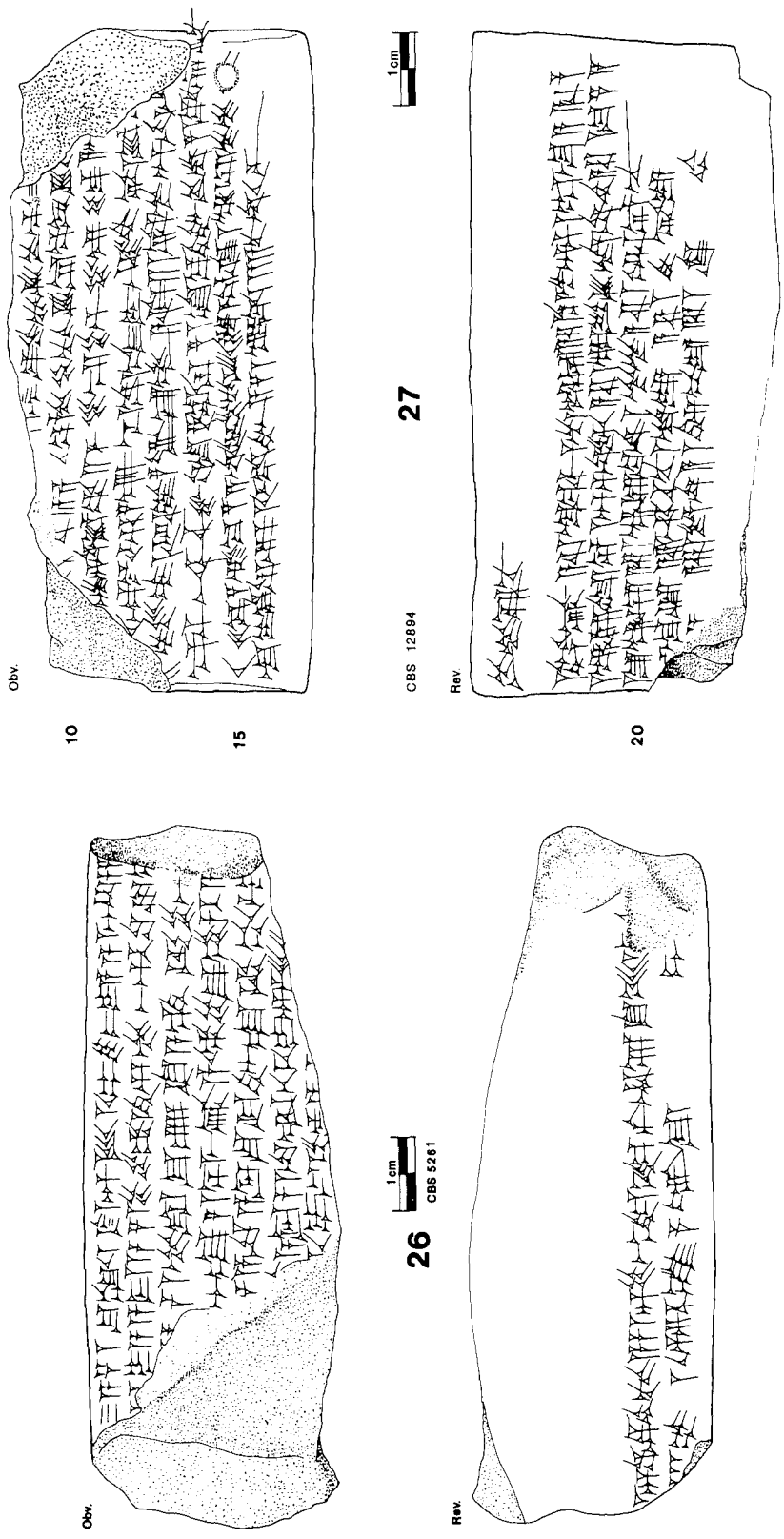


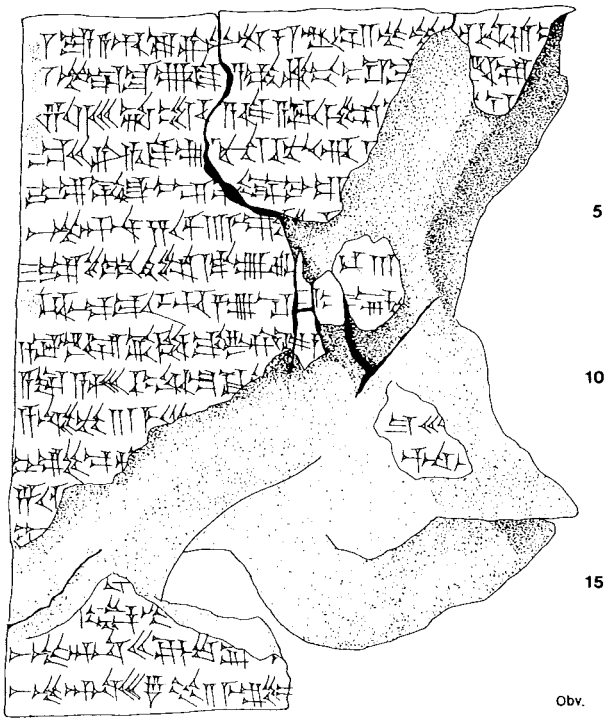
CBS 12939

25

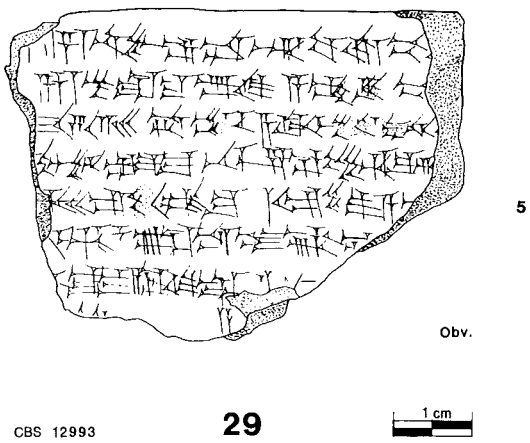
1 cm



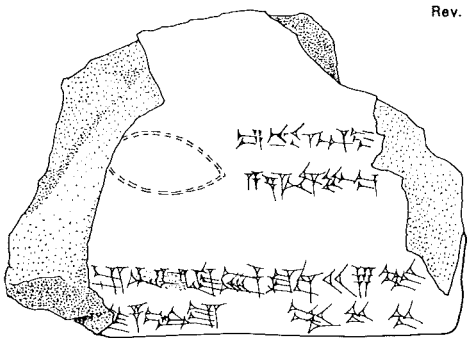

Obv.
10
15
1cm
CBS 12894
27
Rev.
20
Obv.
5
1cm
CBS 5261
26
Rev.

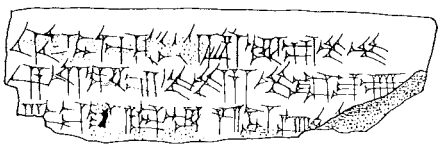


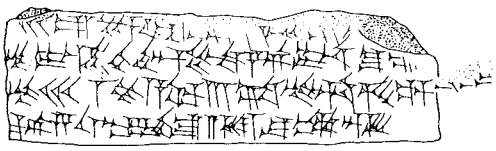
28 1cm CBS 12960

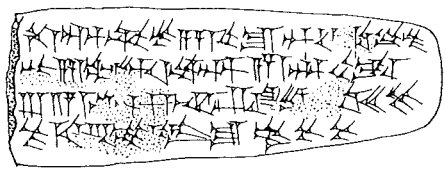


CBS 12993 **29** 1 cm

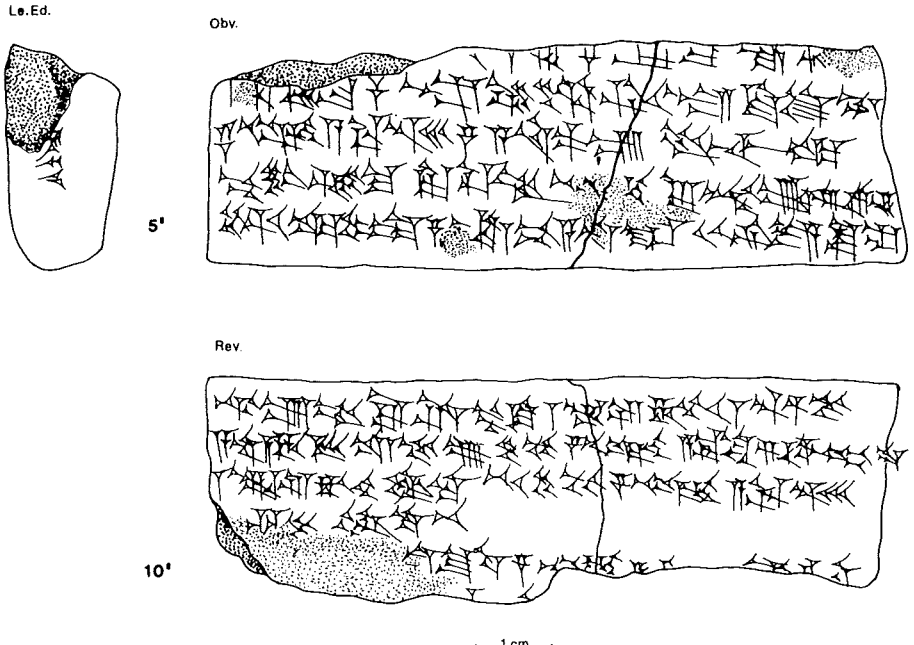




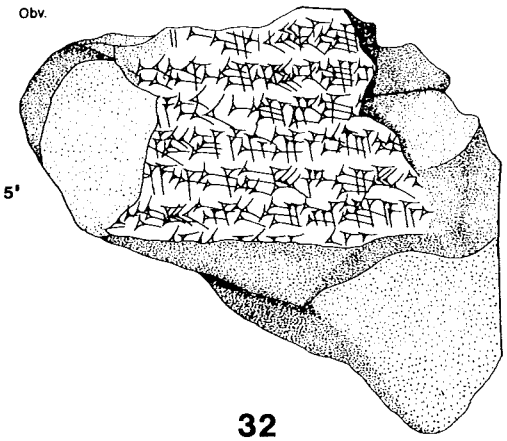




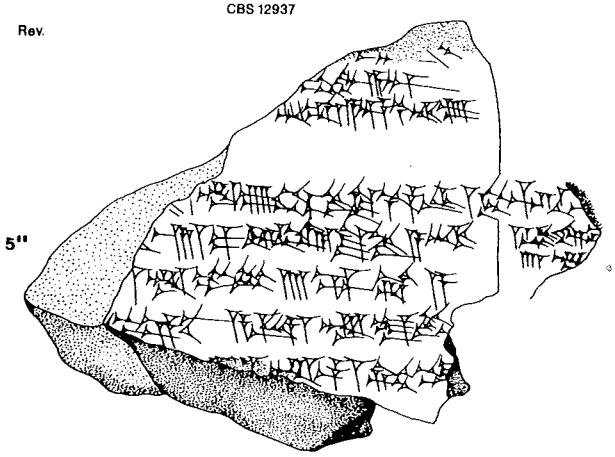
CBS 13037 **30** 1 cm

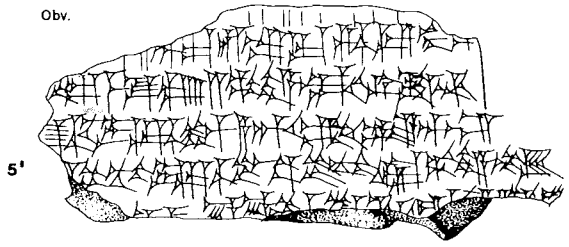


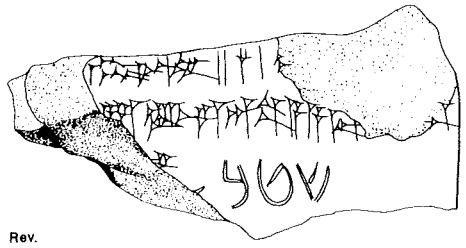
31 1 cm CBS 12974



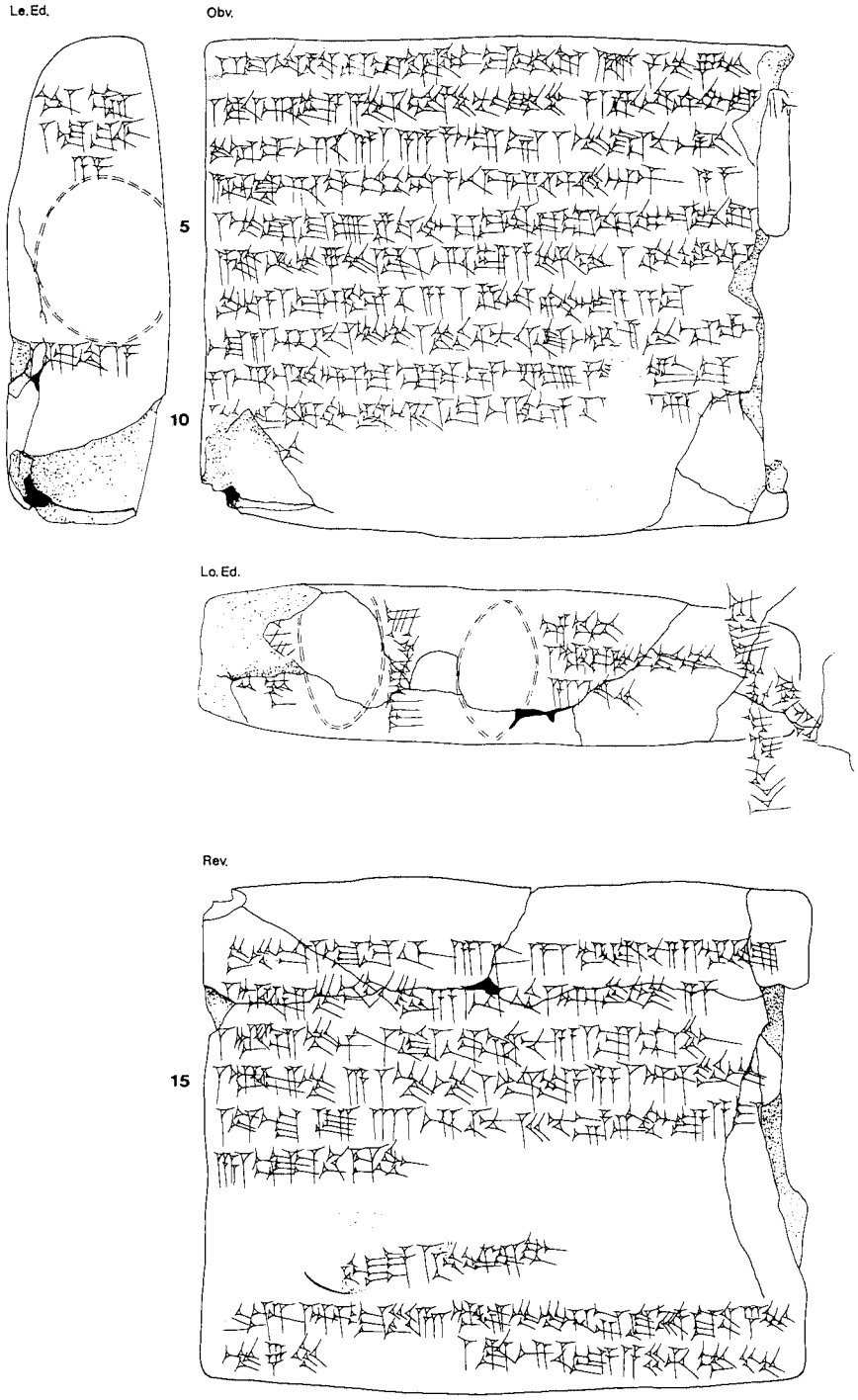
32 1 cm CBS 12937



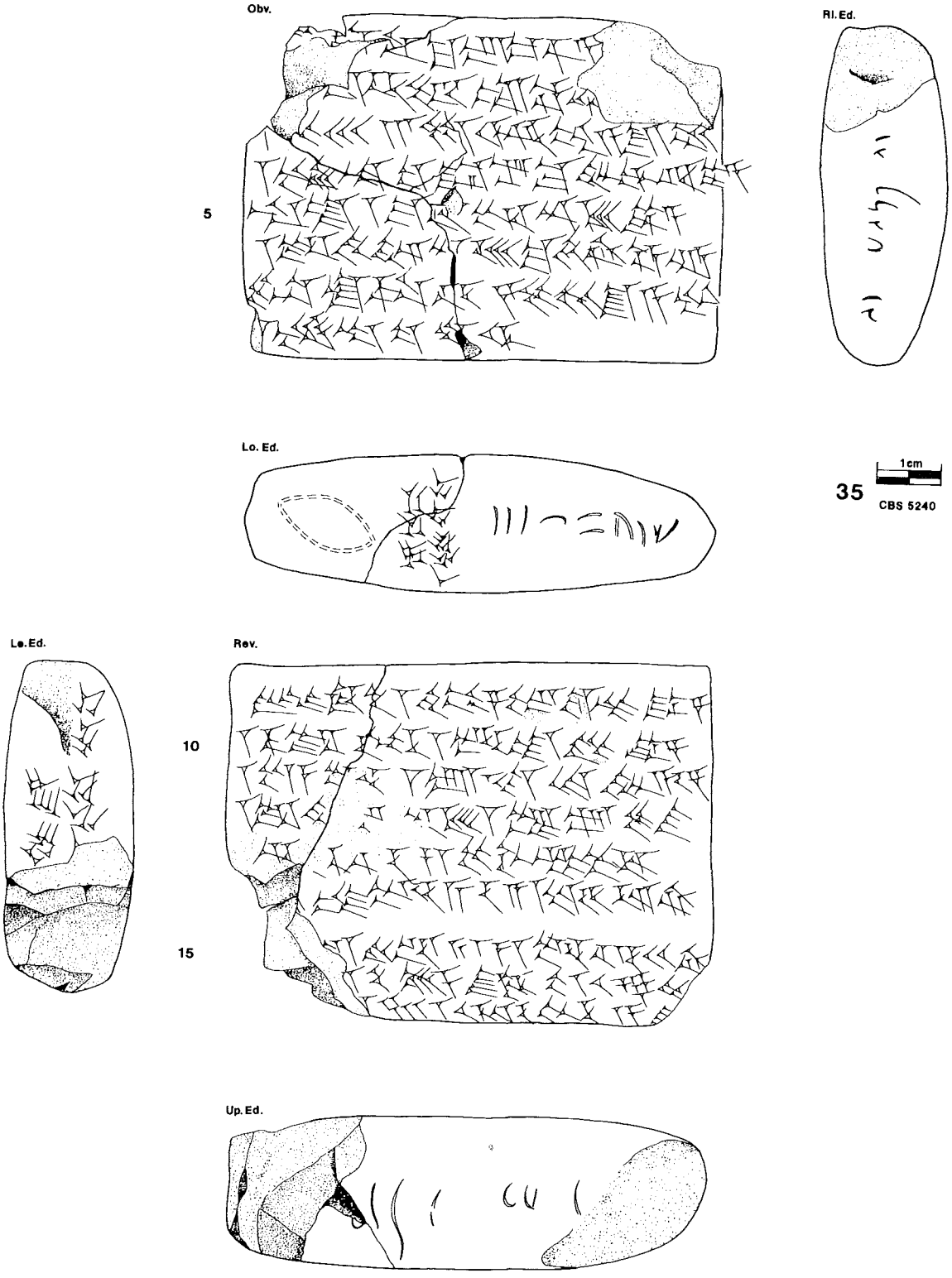


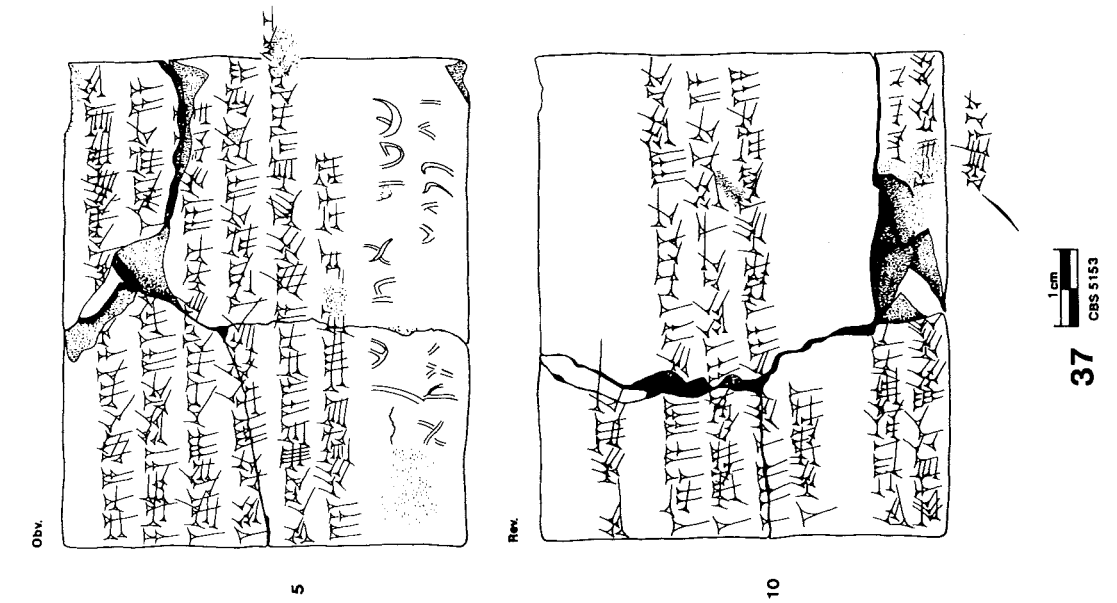


33 1 cm CBS 13018

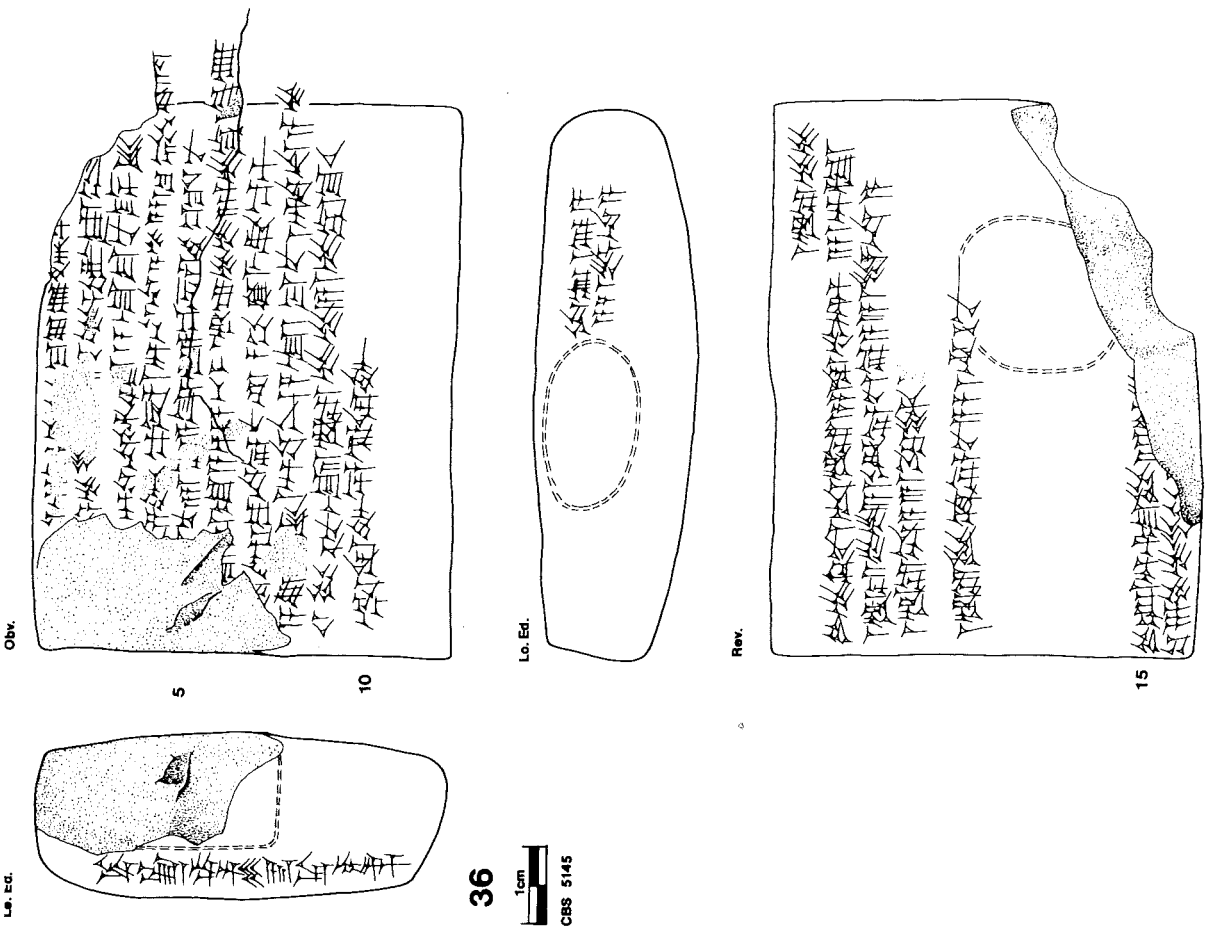


34 1cm BM12957

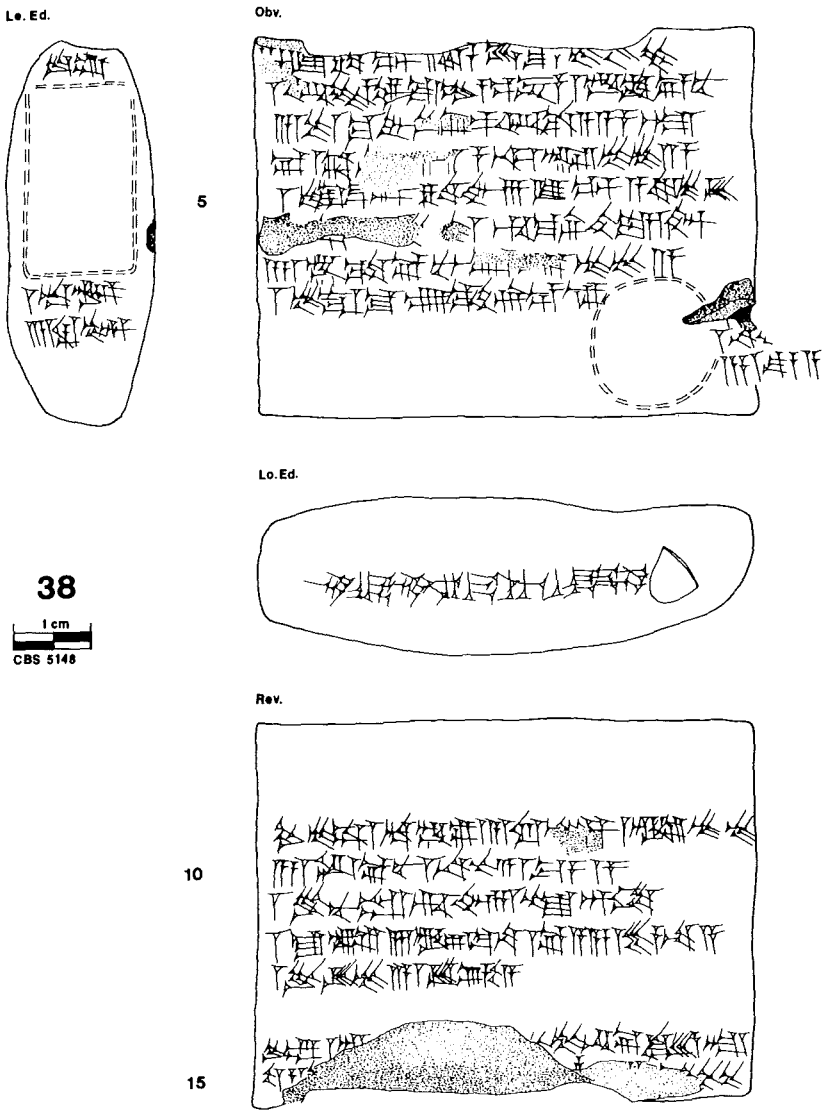

Obv.
Rl. Ed.
Lo. Ed.
Le. Ed.
Rev.
Up. Ed.
5
10
15
1cm
35
CBS 5240



37



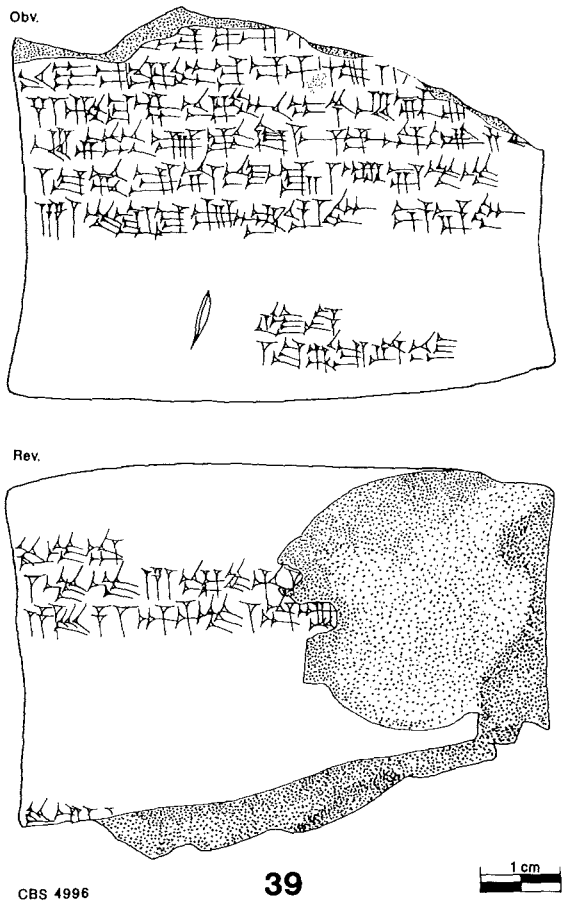
36



38

1 cm

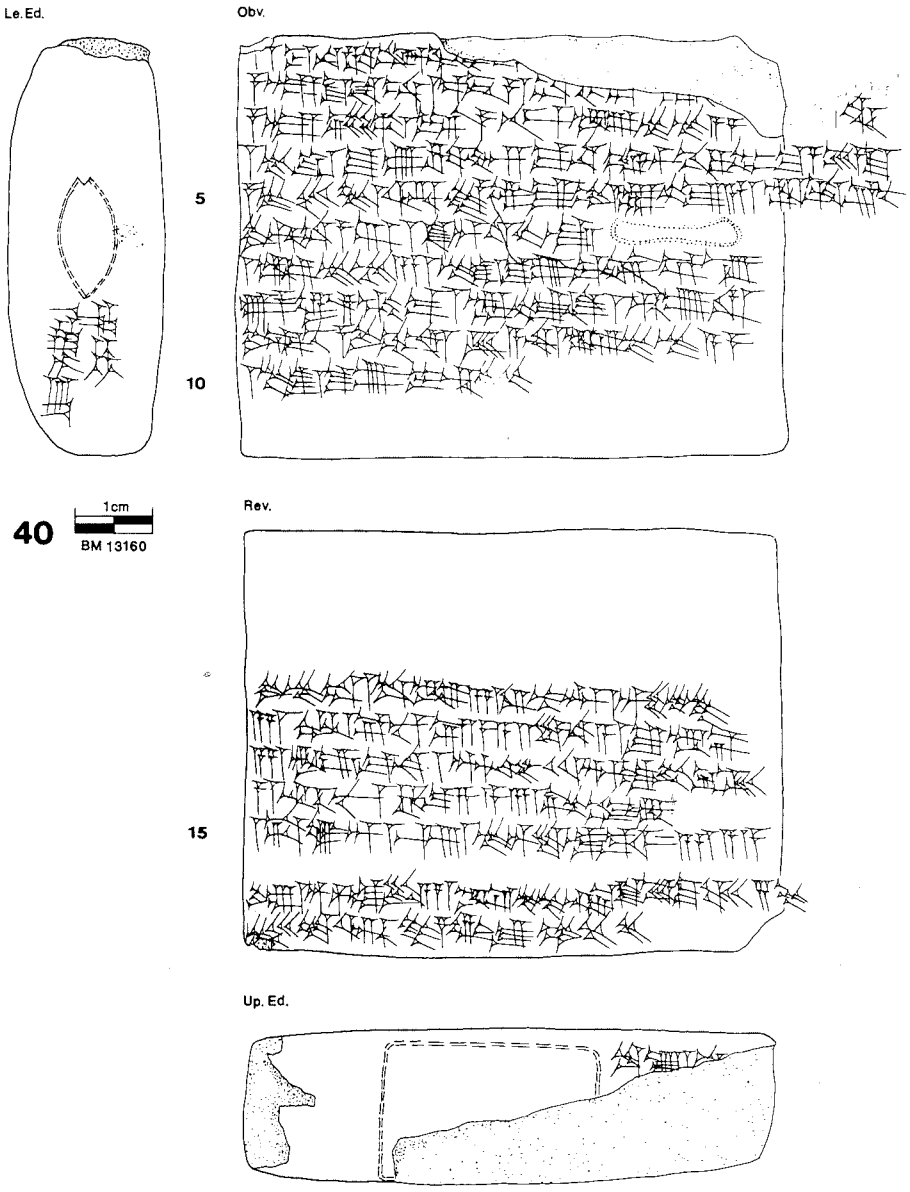
CBS 5148

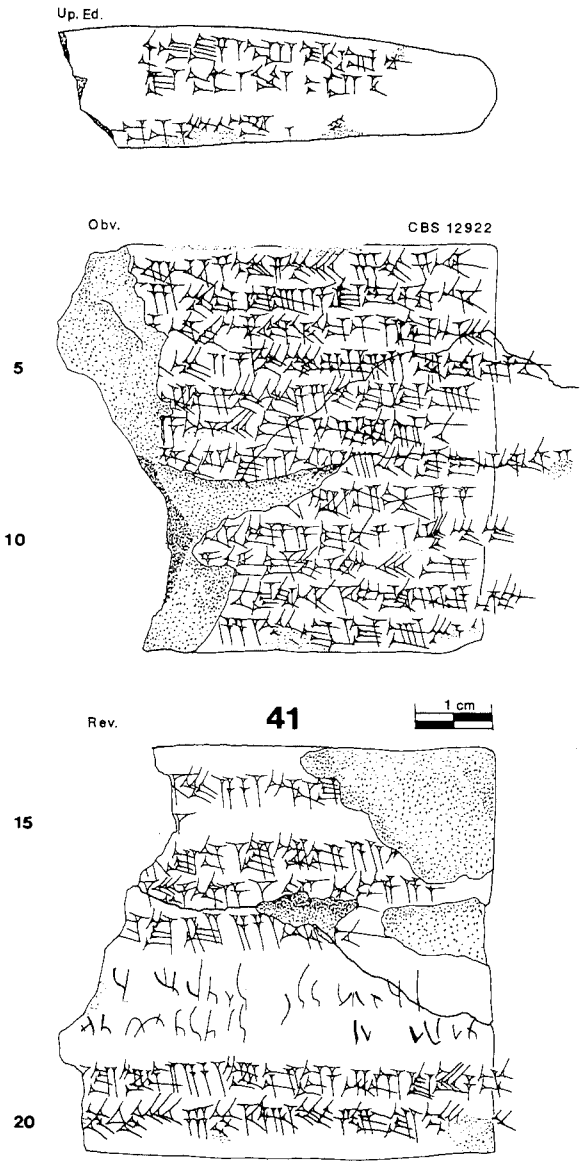


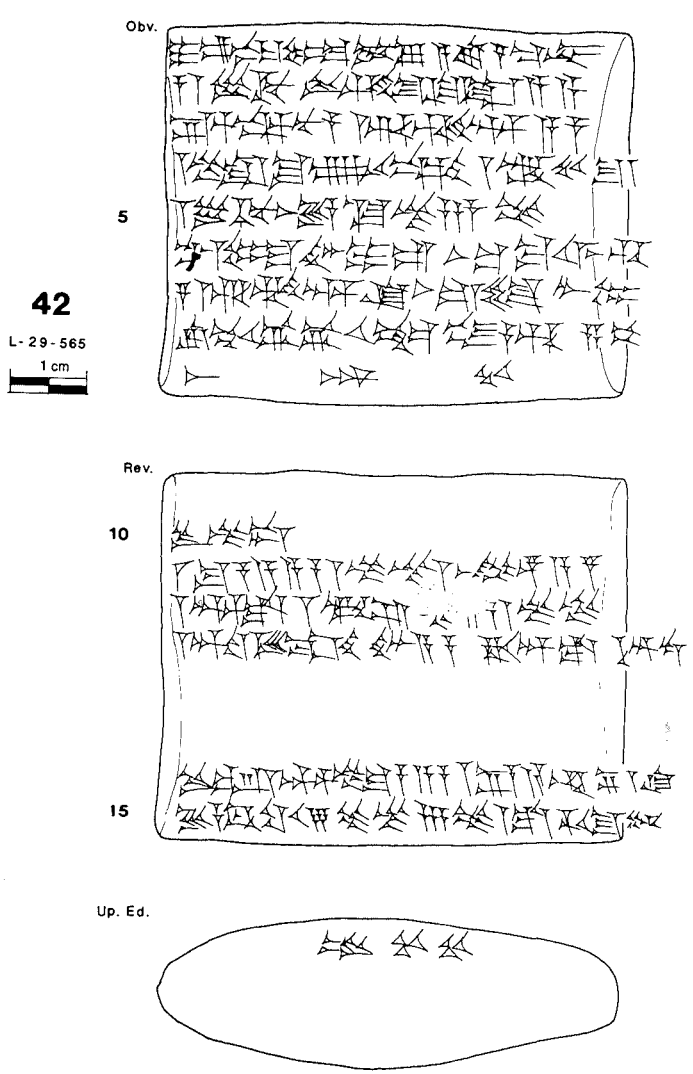
CBS 4996

39

1 cm


Le. Ed.
Obv.
5
10
40
1cm
BM 13160
Rev.
15
Up. Ed.

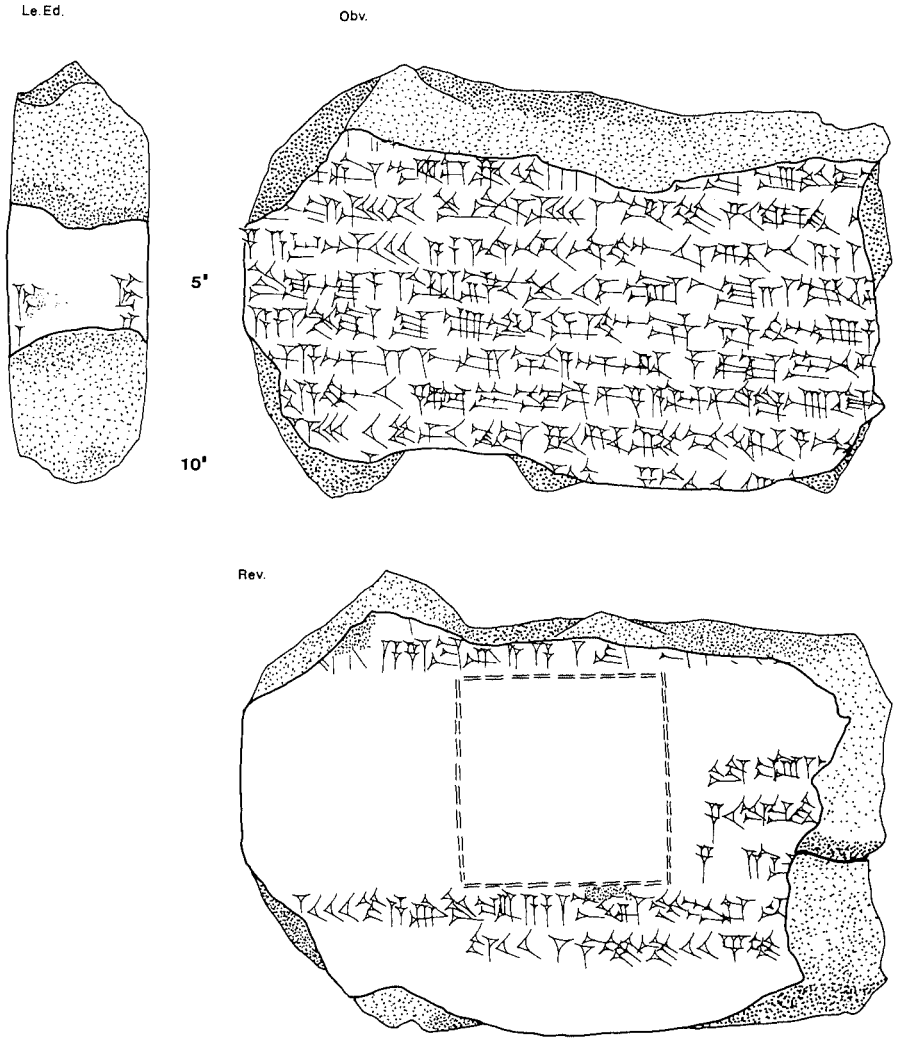

Up. Ed.
Obv.
CBS 12922
5
10
Rev.
41
1 cm
15
20



42

L-29-565

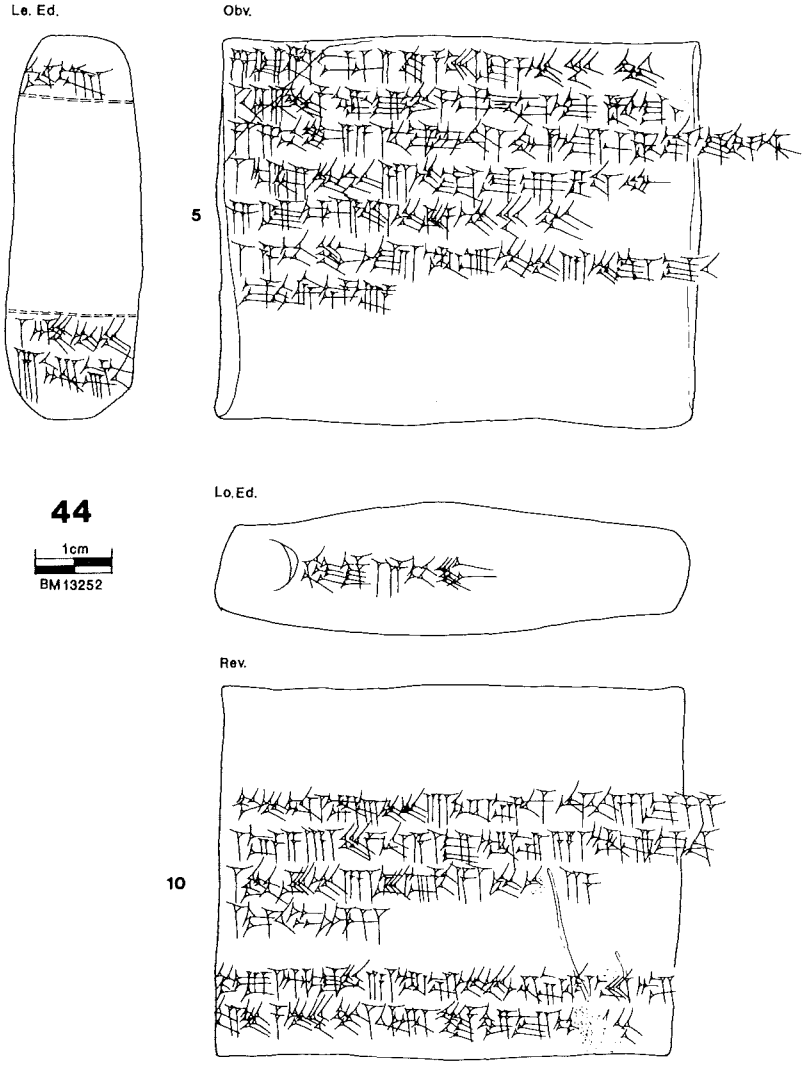
1 cm



43

1cm

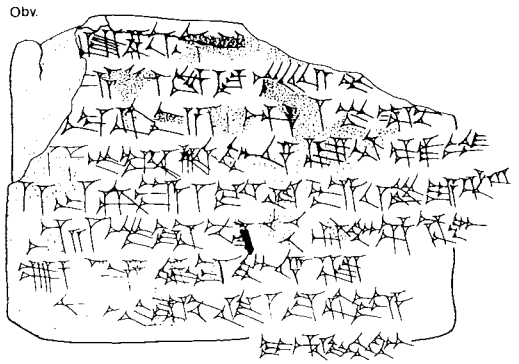
CBS 12862



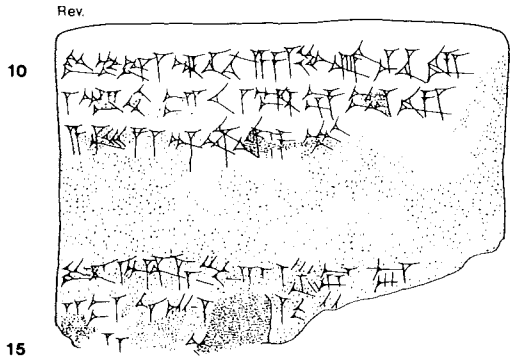
44

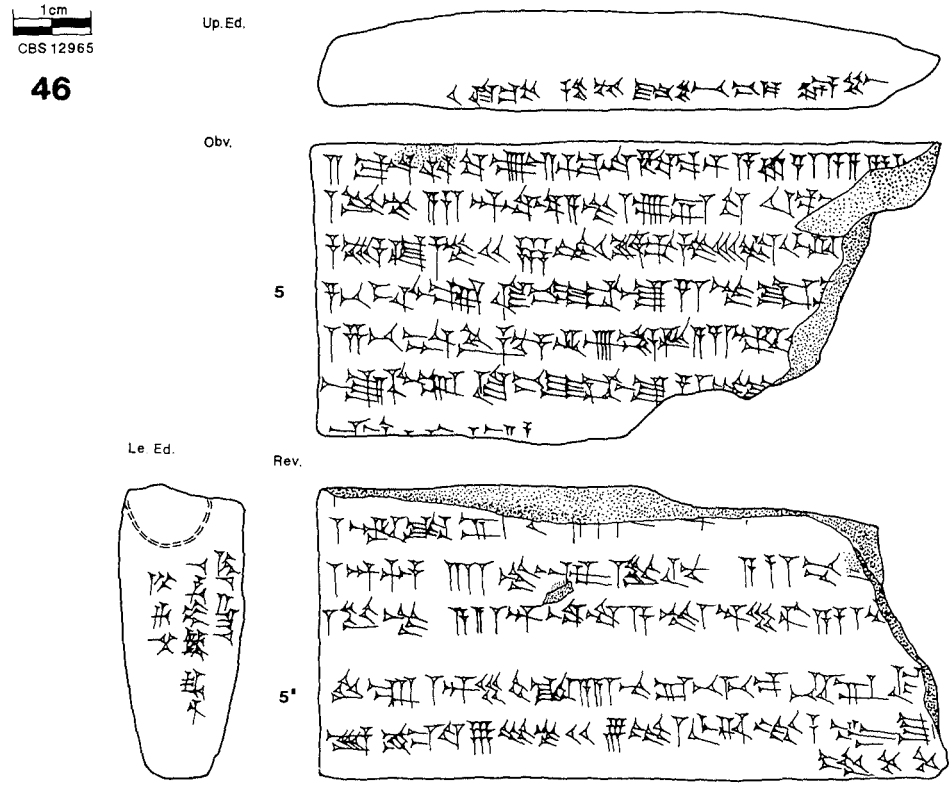
1cm

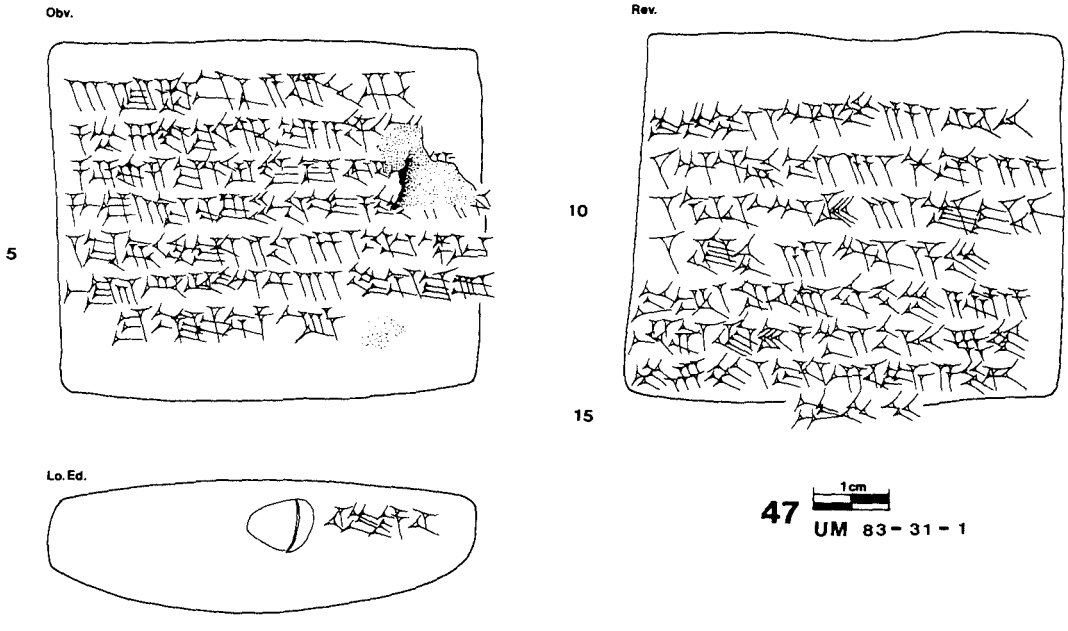
BM 13252

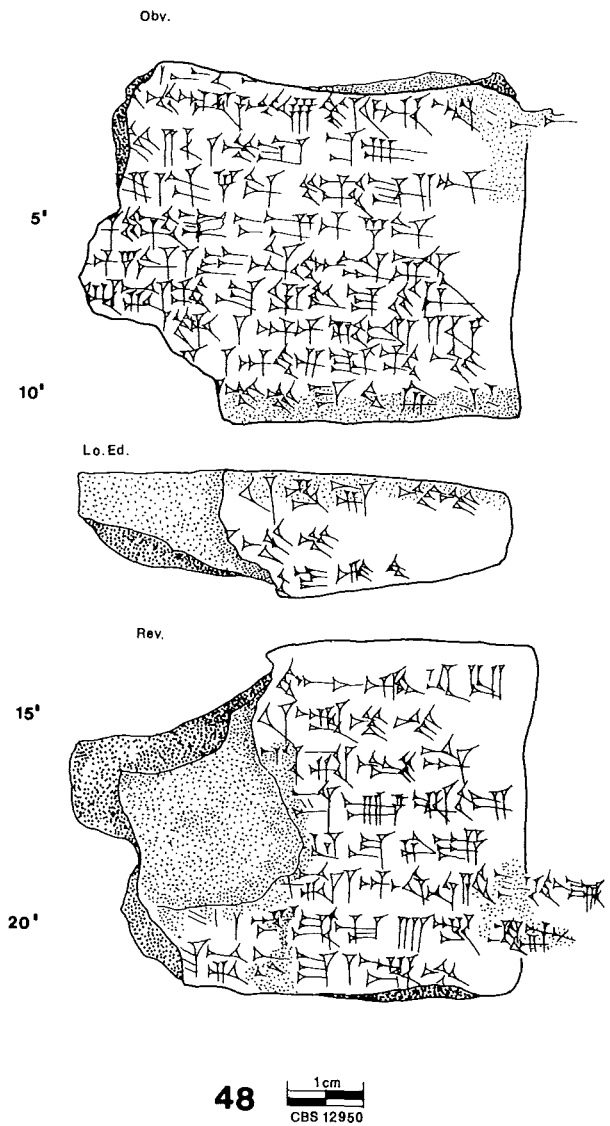


45 1cm CBS 5239

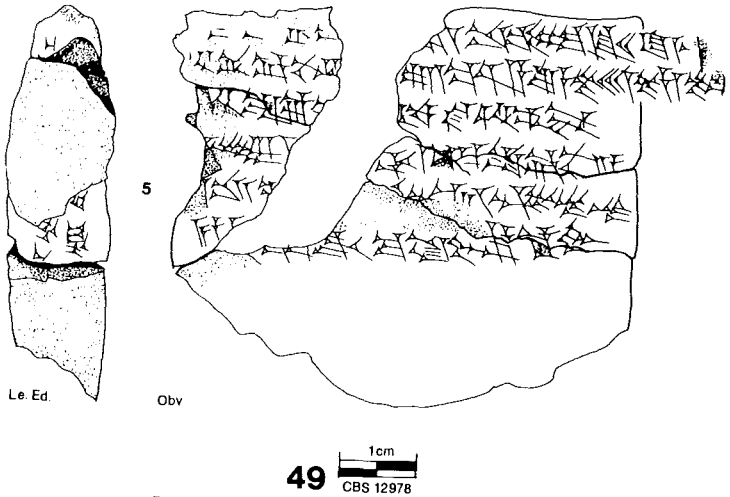



1cm
CBS 12965
46
Up. Ed.
Obv.
5
Le Ed.
Rev.
5'

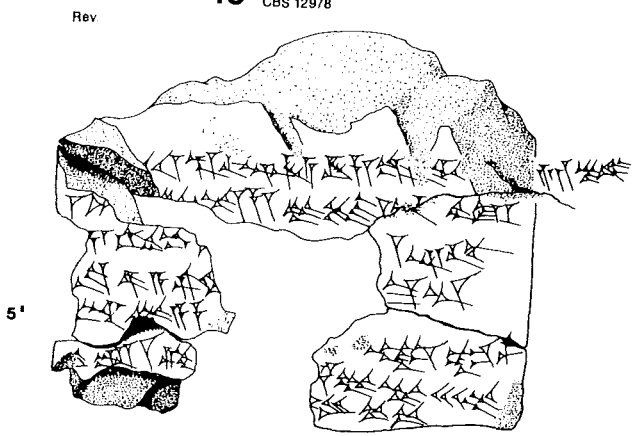

Obv.
5
Rev.
10
15
Lo. Ed.
1cm
47
UM 83-31-1

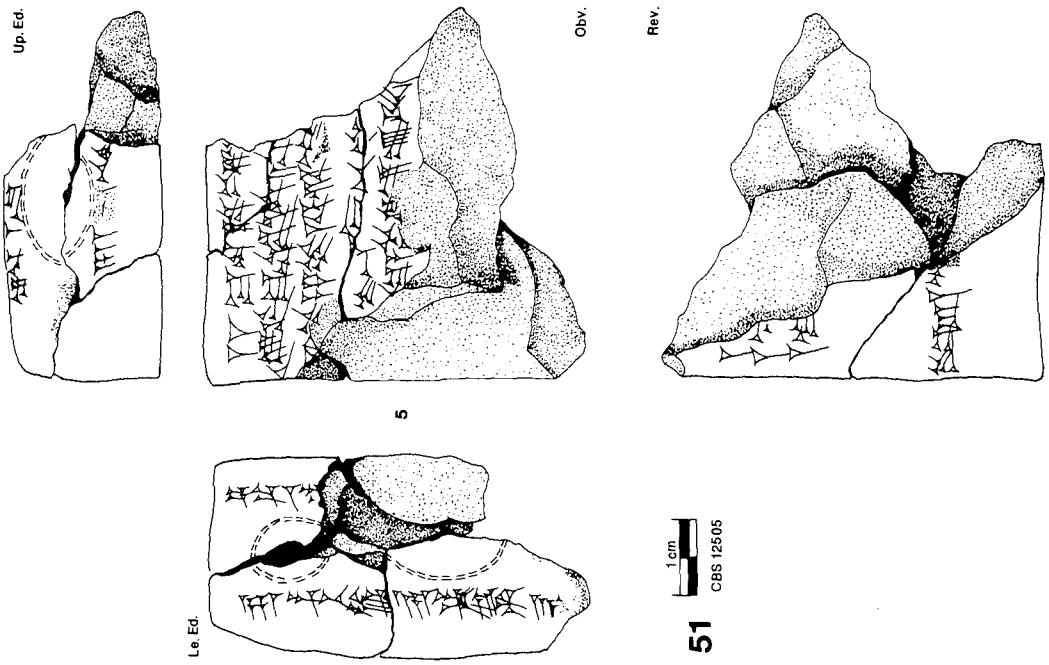


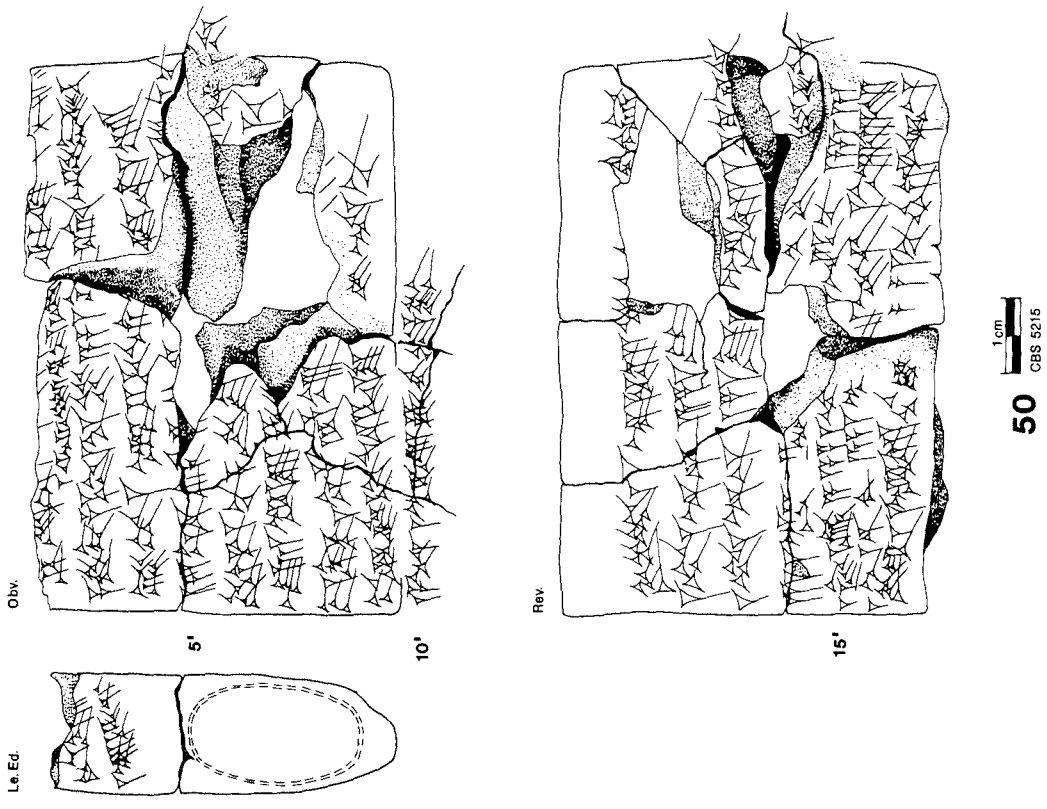
48 1cm CBS 12950

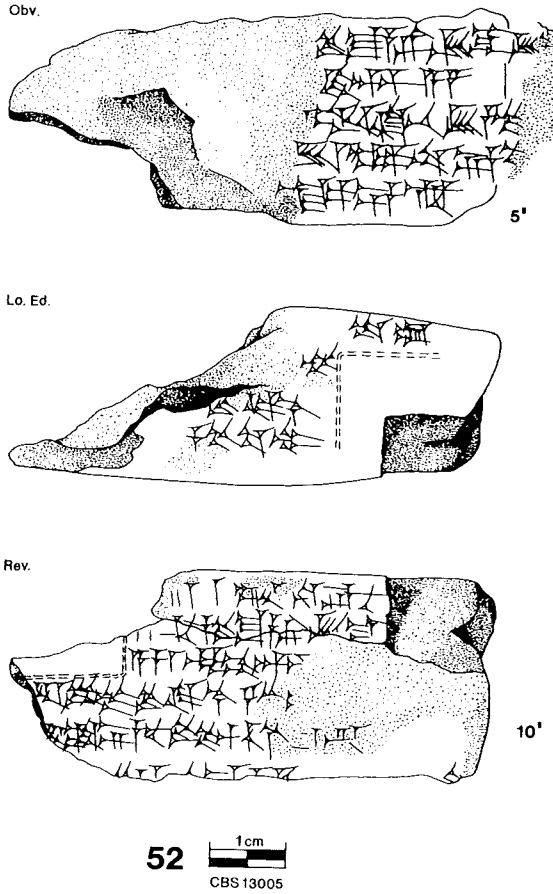


49 1cm CBS 12978

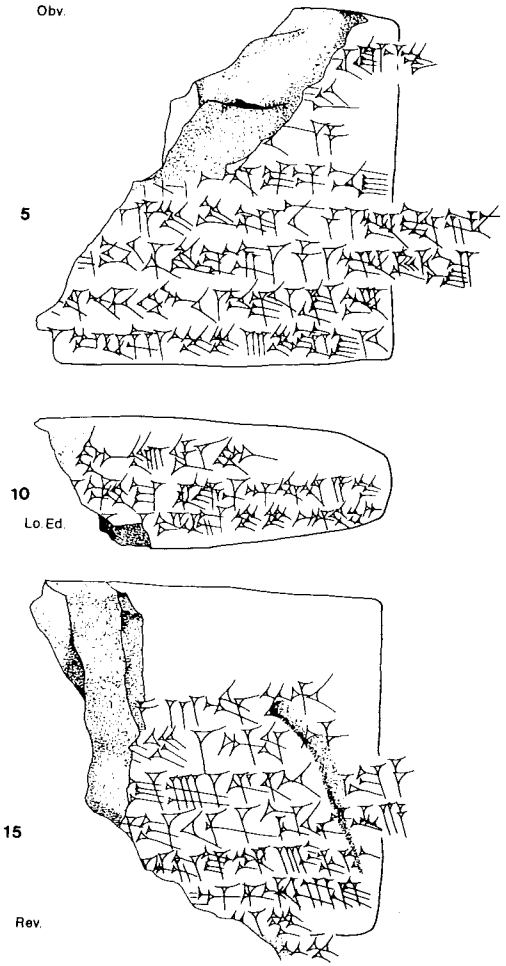



Up. Ed.
Obv.
Rev.
5
Le. Ed.
1 cm
CBS 12505
51

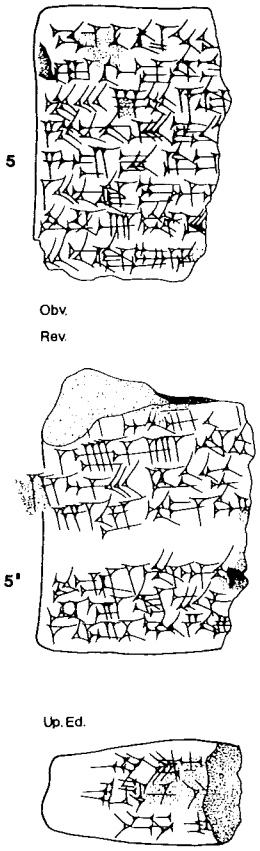

Obv.
5'
10'
Le. Ed.
Rev.
15'
1 cm
CBS 5215
50



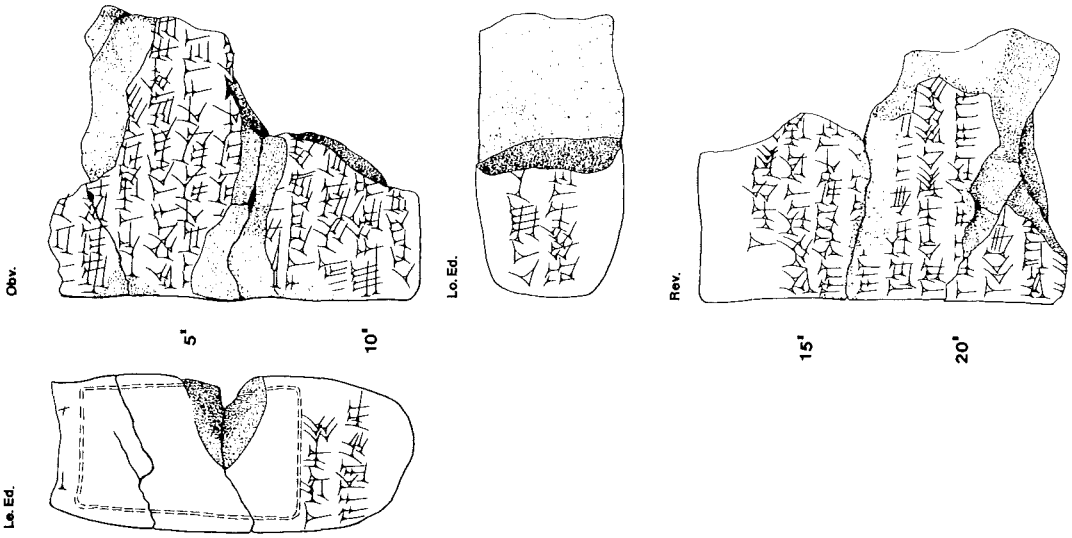
52 1 cm
CBS 13005

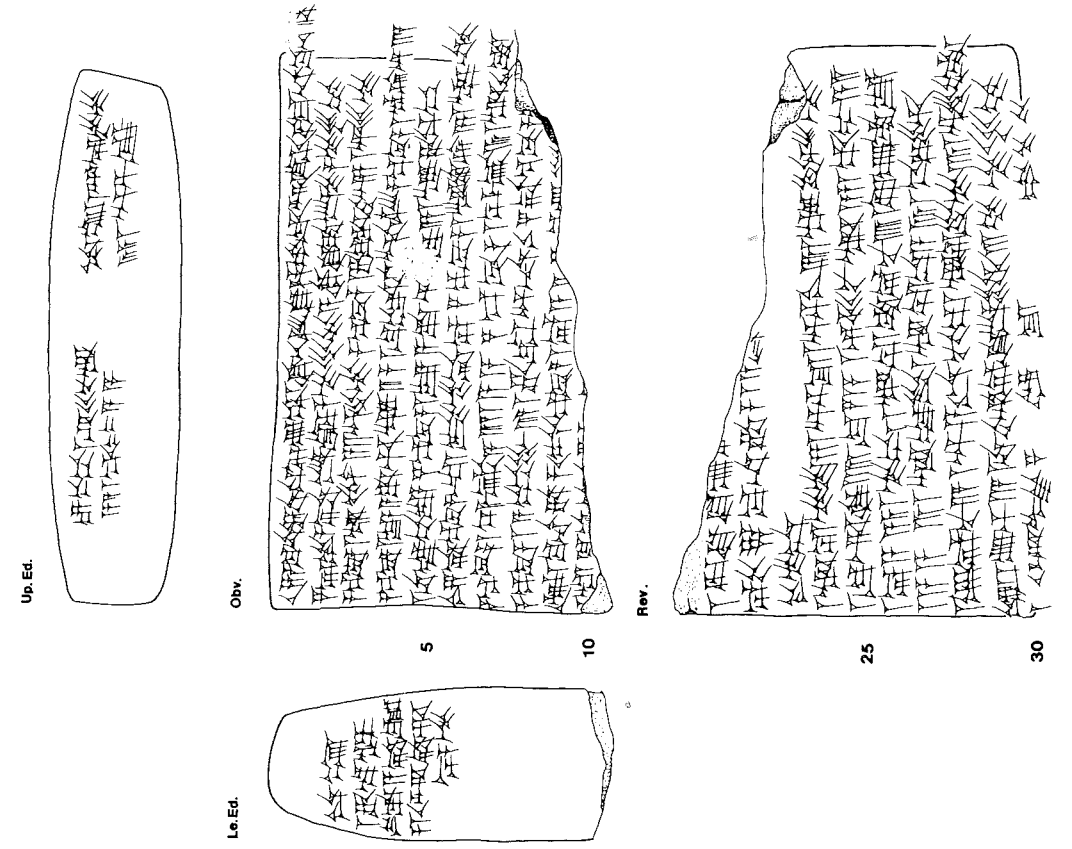


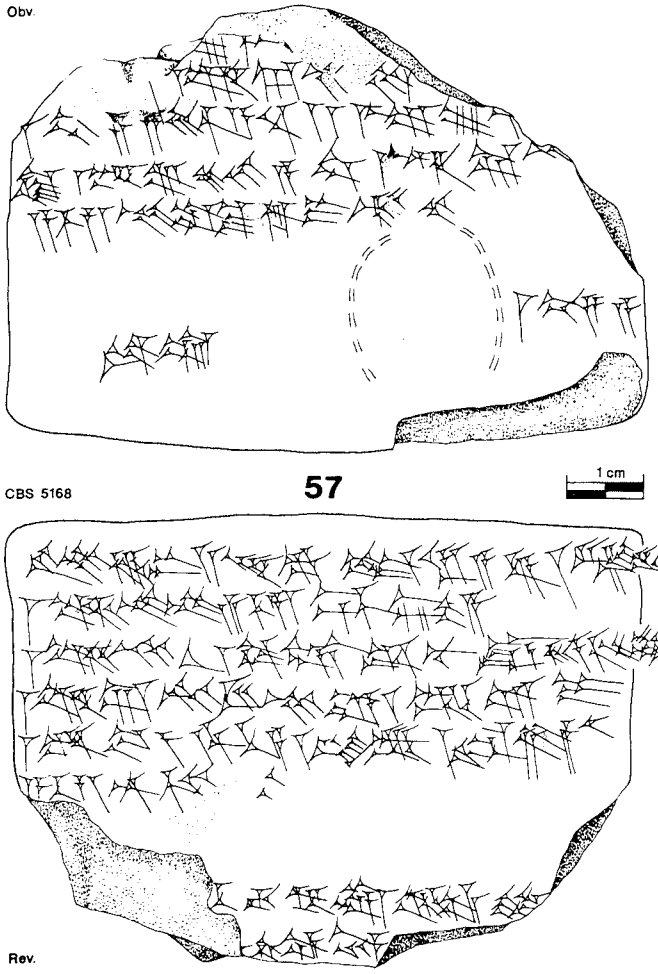
53 1 cm
CBS 12997



54 1 cm
CBS 13048


Obv.
Lo. Ed.
Rev.
5'
10'
15'
20'
Le. Ed.
56
1cm
CBS13042+13070

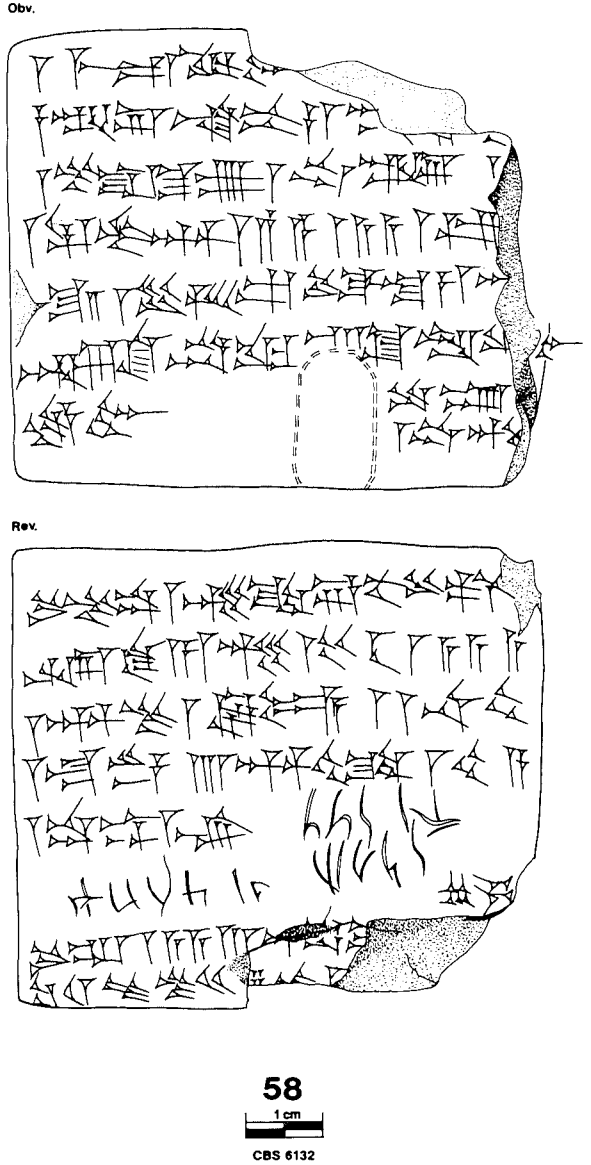

Up. Ed.
Obv.
Rev.
5
10
25
30
Le. Ed.
1cm
55
CBS12961



CBS 5168

57

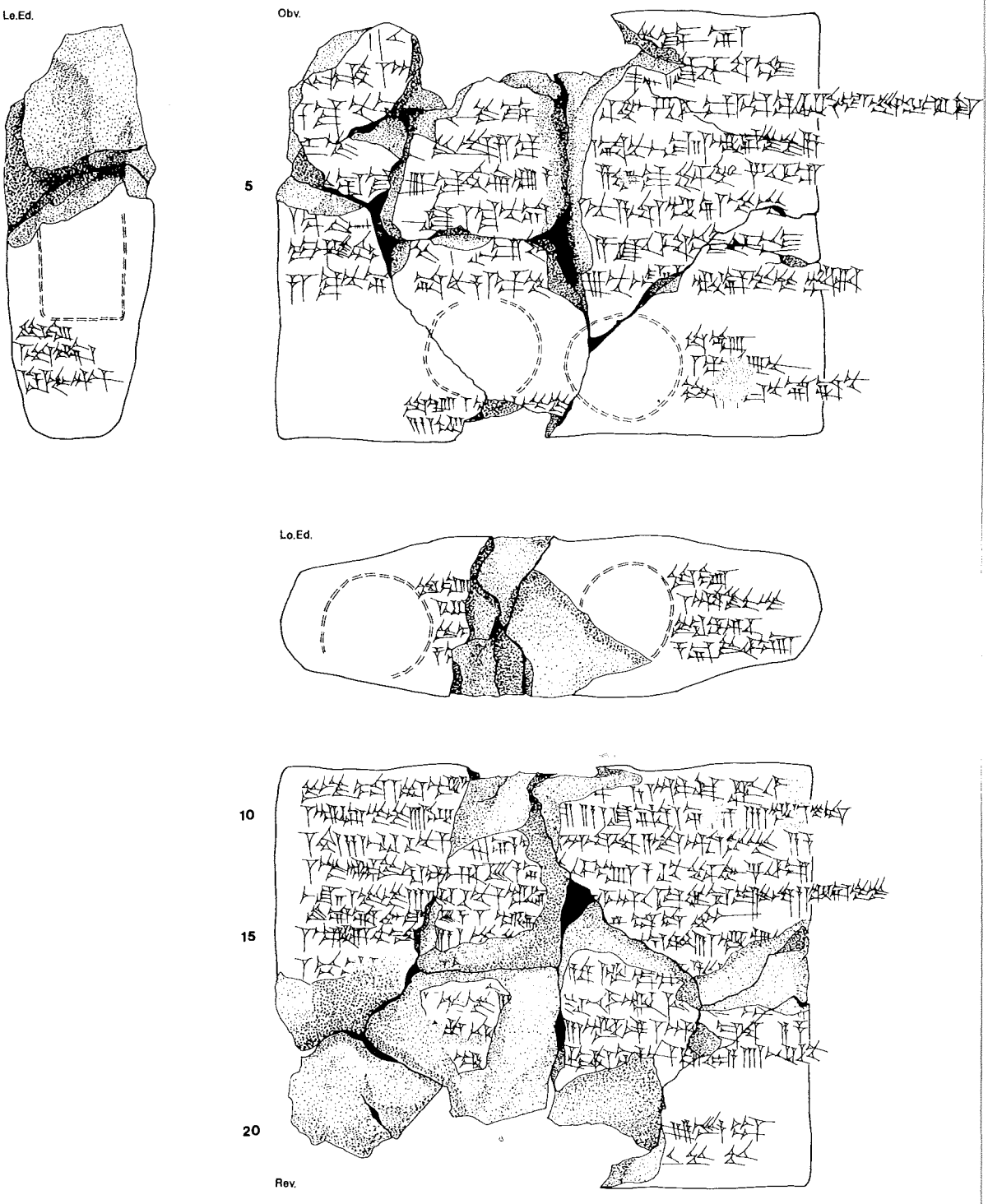
1 cm



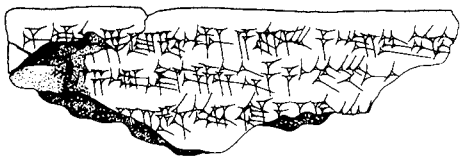
58

1 cm

CBS 6132

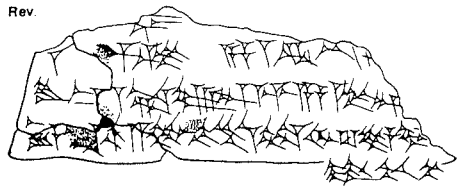


59 CBS 5195



Obv.

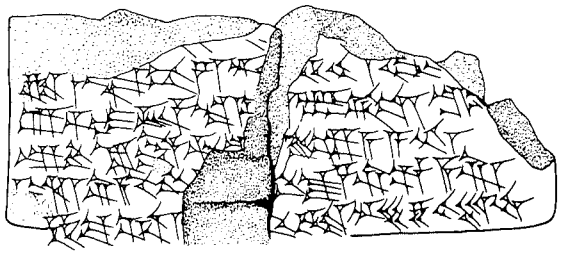
Rev.



60 1 cm CBS 13033

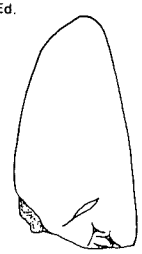
61 1 cm CBS 5248

Obv.

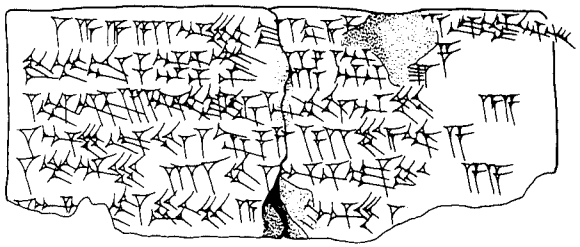


5'

Le. Ed.

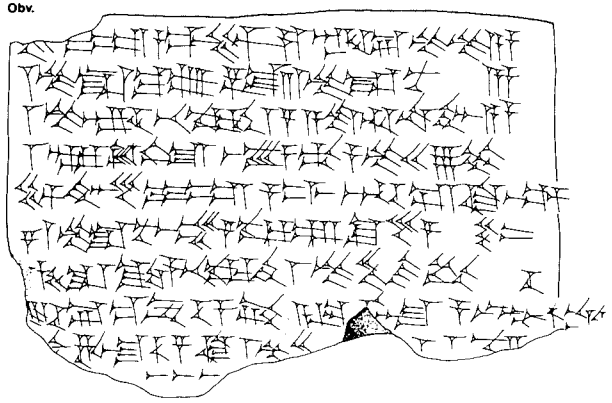


Rev.



10'

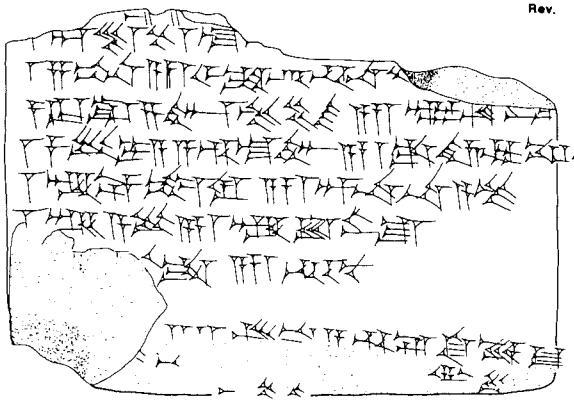
Obv.



5

10

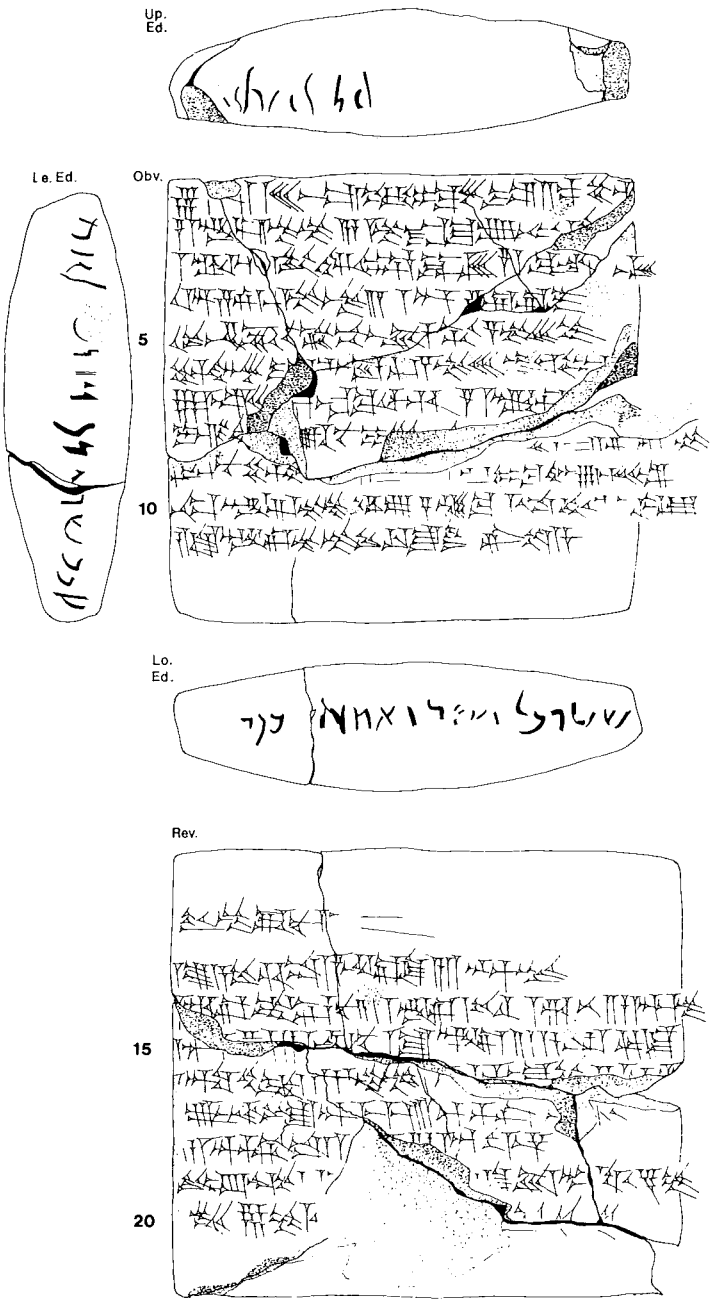
Rev.



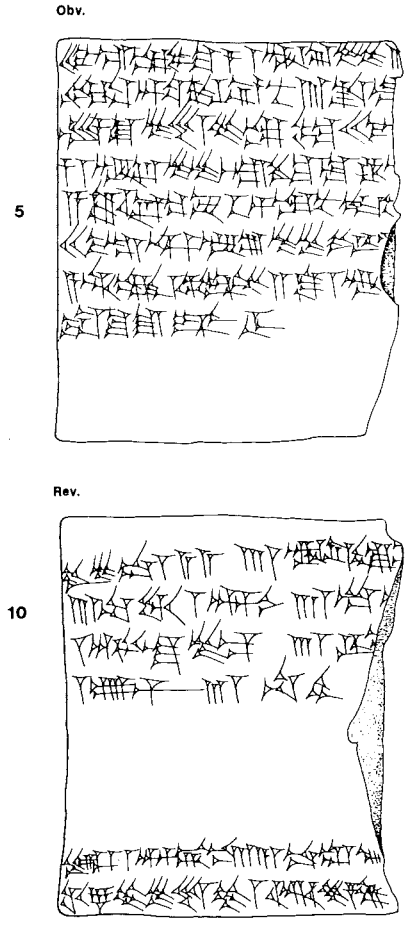
5'

10'

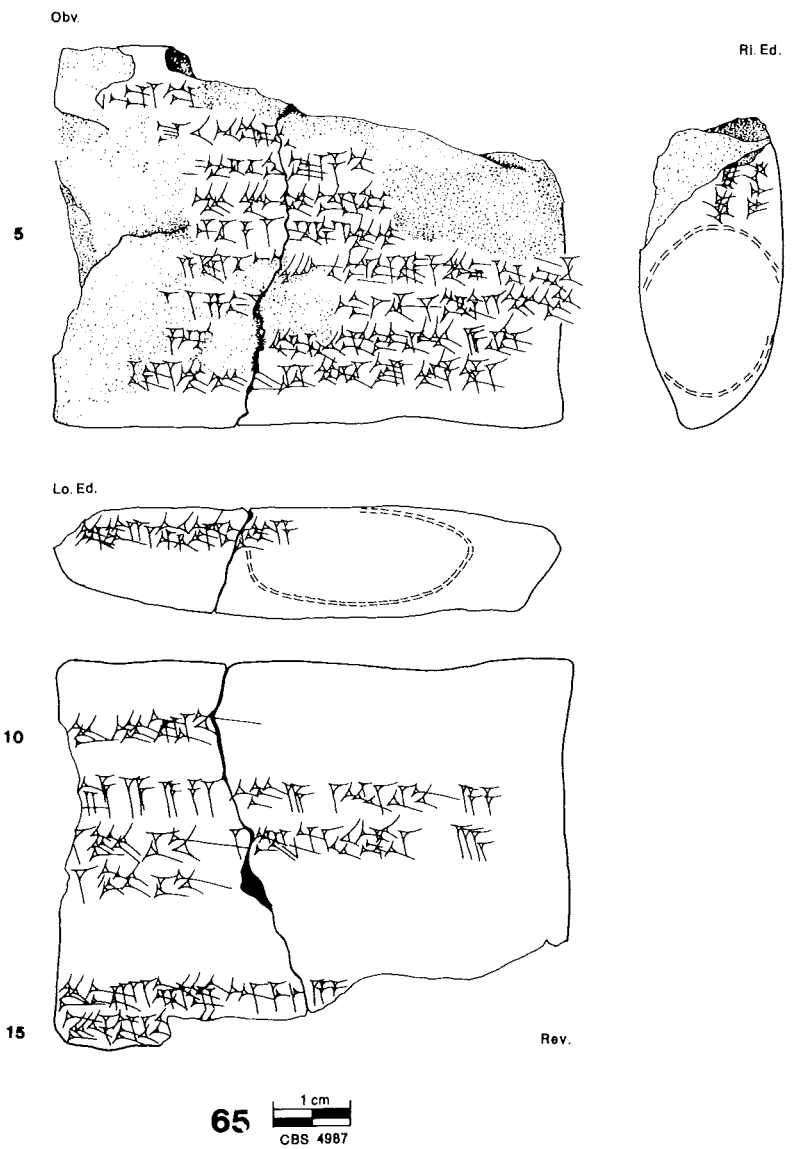
62 1 cm CBS 5156

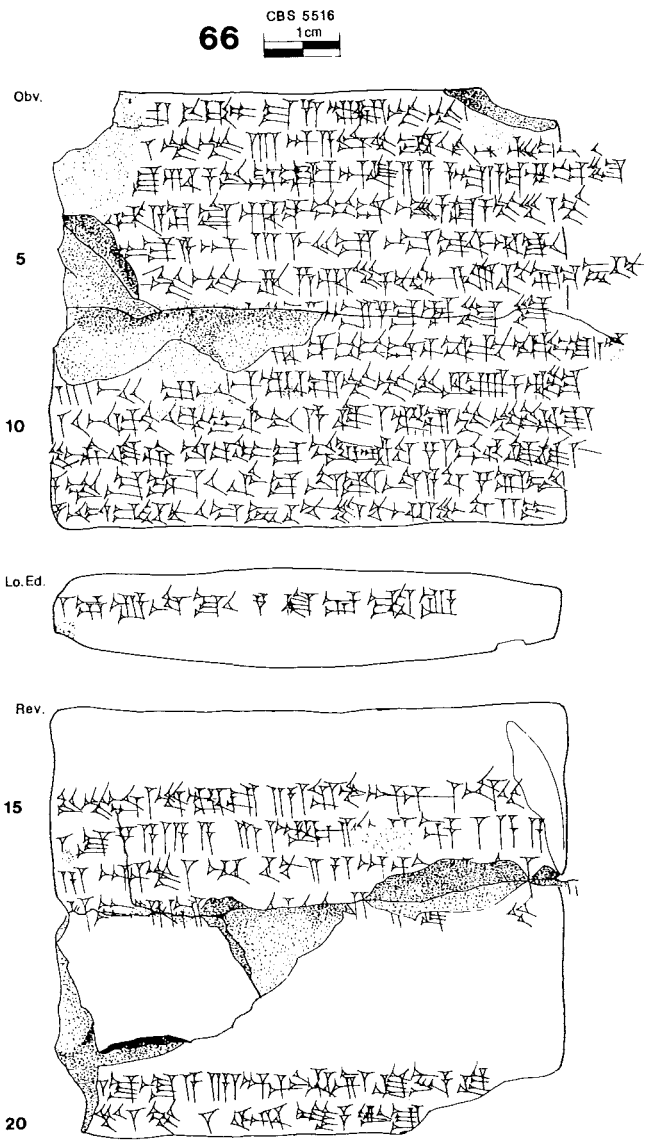


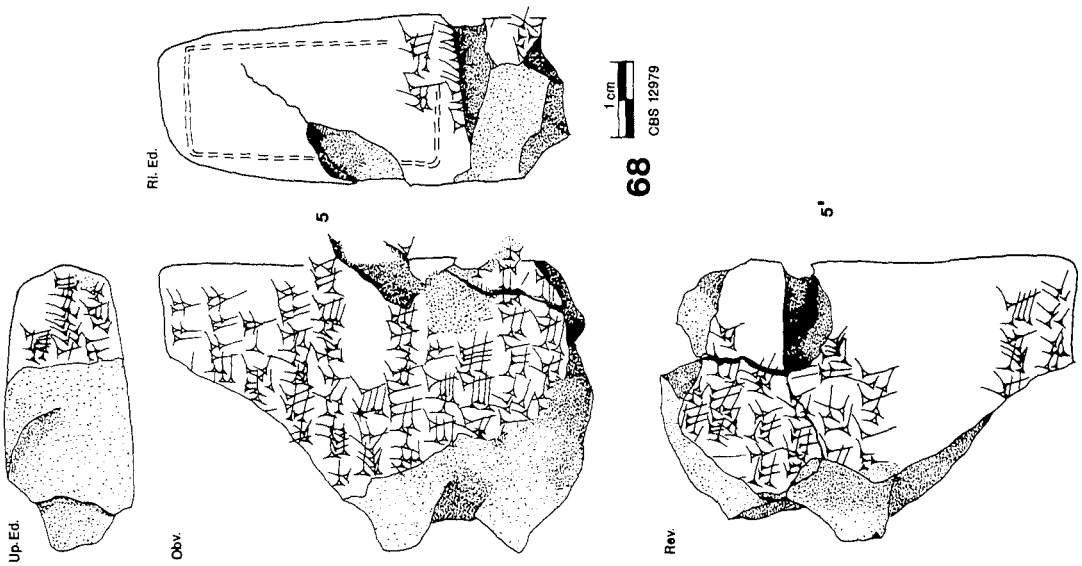
63 1 cm CBS 12873

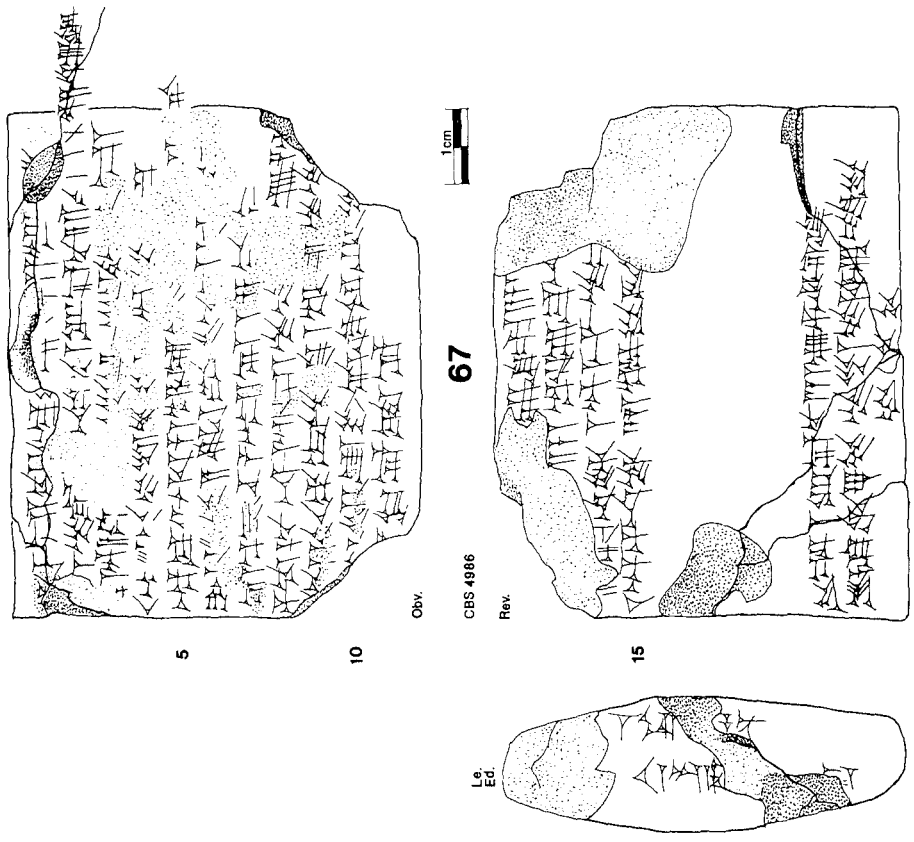


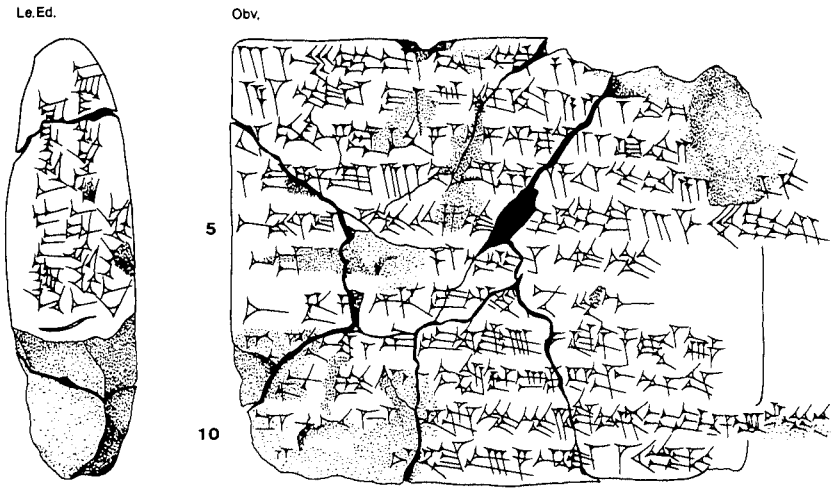
64 1 cm CBS 12983

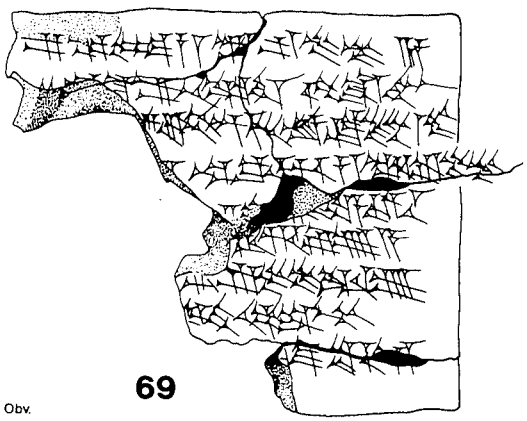

Obv.
Rl. Ed.
5
Lo. Ed.
10
15
Rev.
1 cm
65
CBS 4987

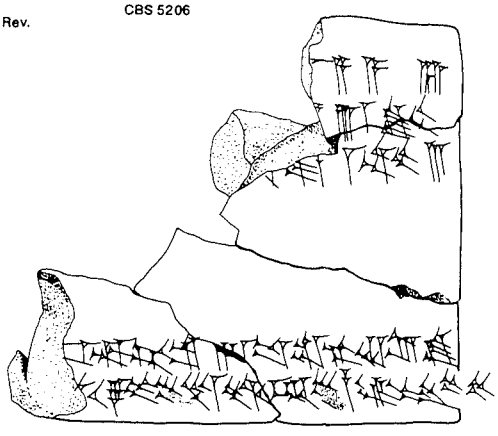

CBS 5516
66
1 cm
Obv.
5
10
Lo.Ed.
Rev.
15
20

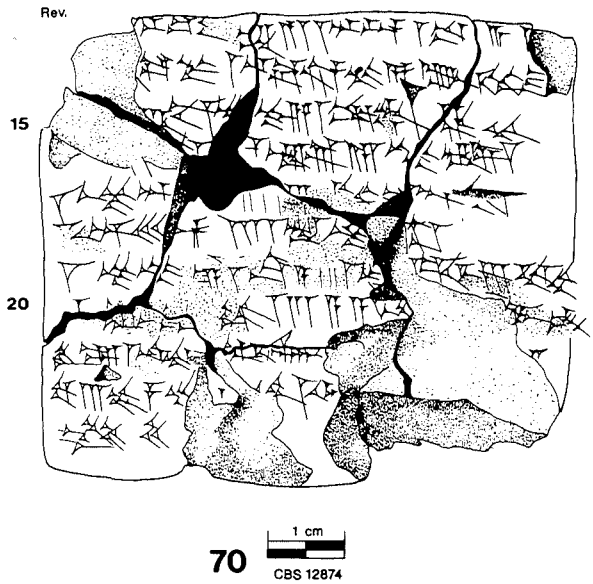

Up. Ed.
Obv.
Rl. Ed.
5
1cm
68
CBS 12979
Rev.
5'

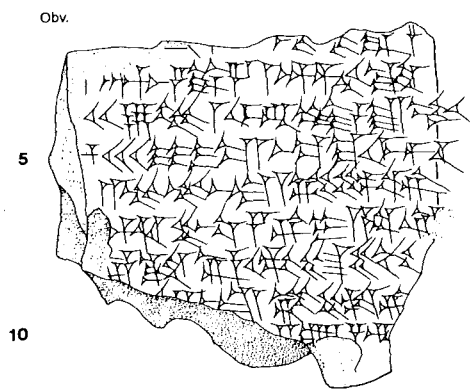

5
10
Obv.
1cm
67
CBS 4986
Rev.
15
Le. Ed.

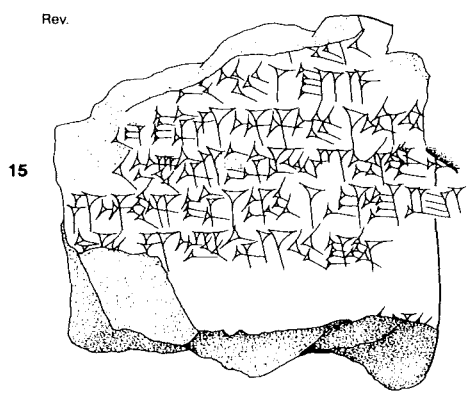

Le.Ed.
Obv.
5
10


Obv.
69
1 cm
CBS 5206

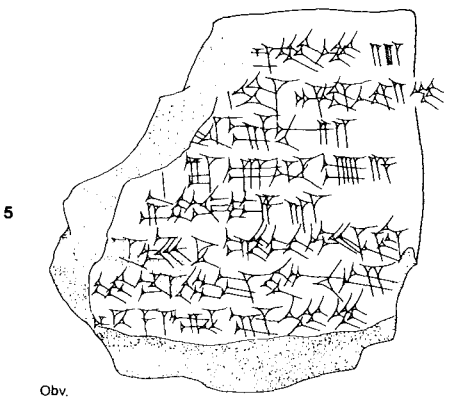

Rev.

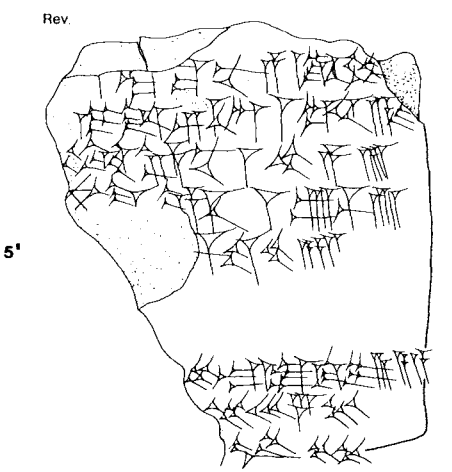

Rev.
15
20
70
1 cm
CBS 12874



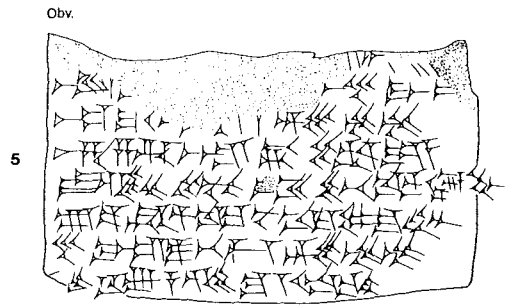


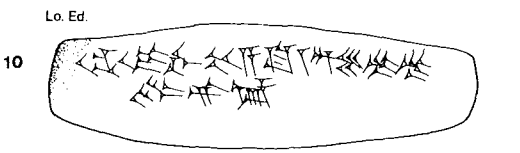
71 1 cm CBS 12962

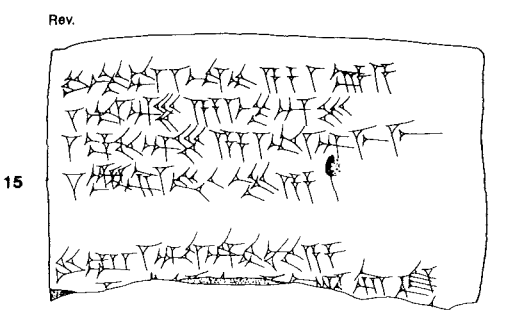




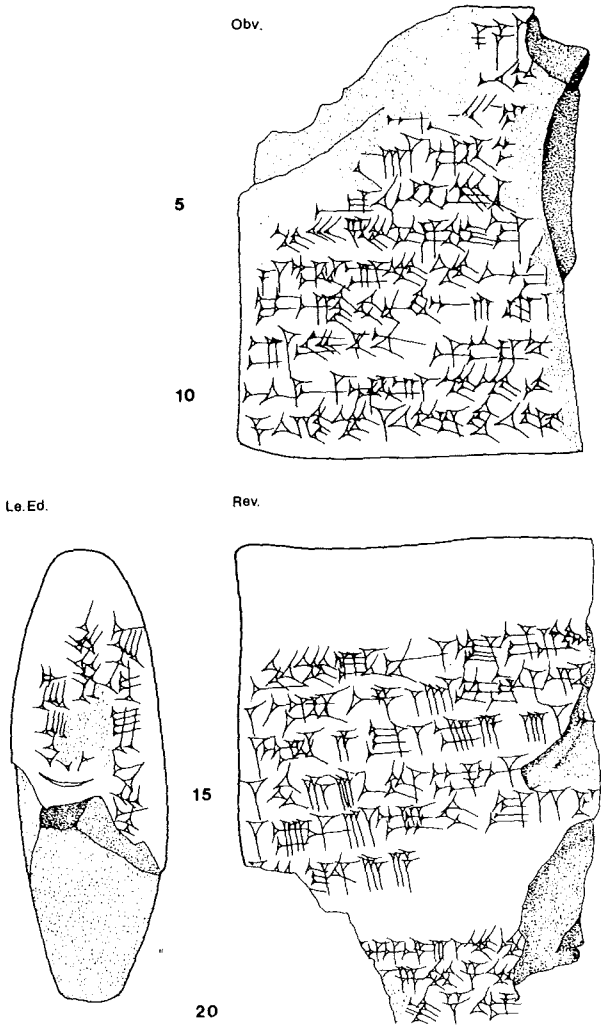
72 1 cm CBS 12963



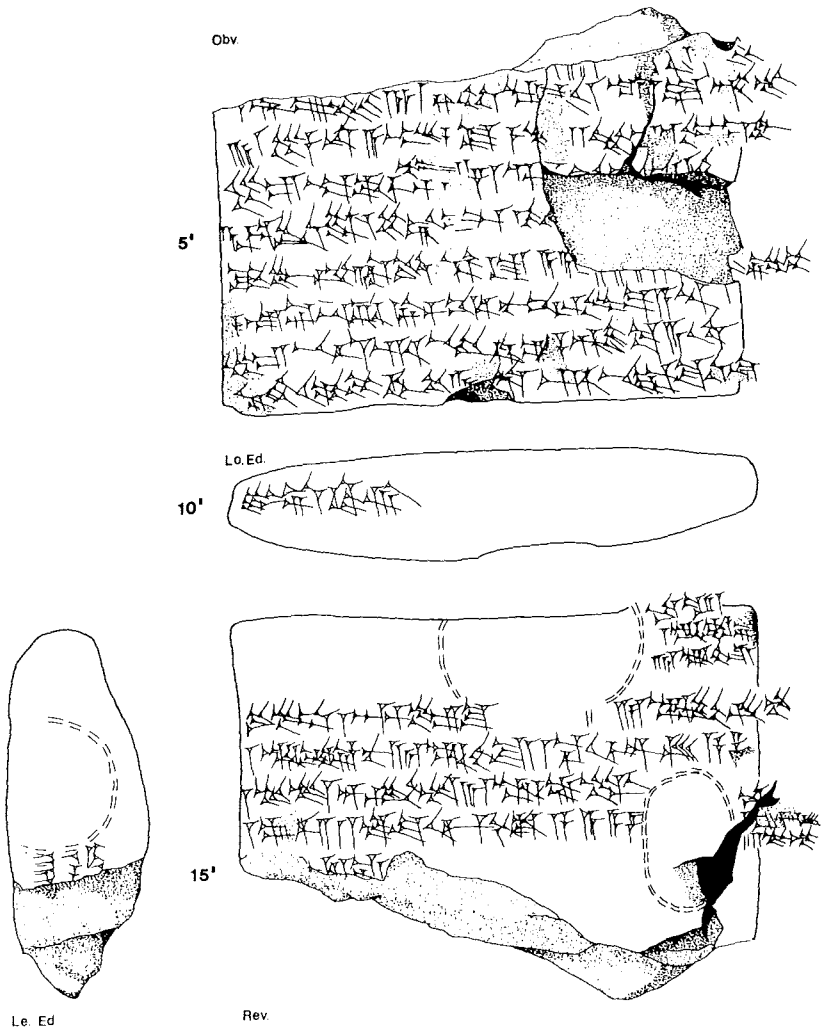




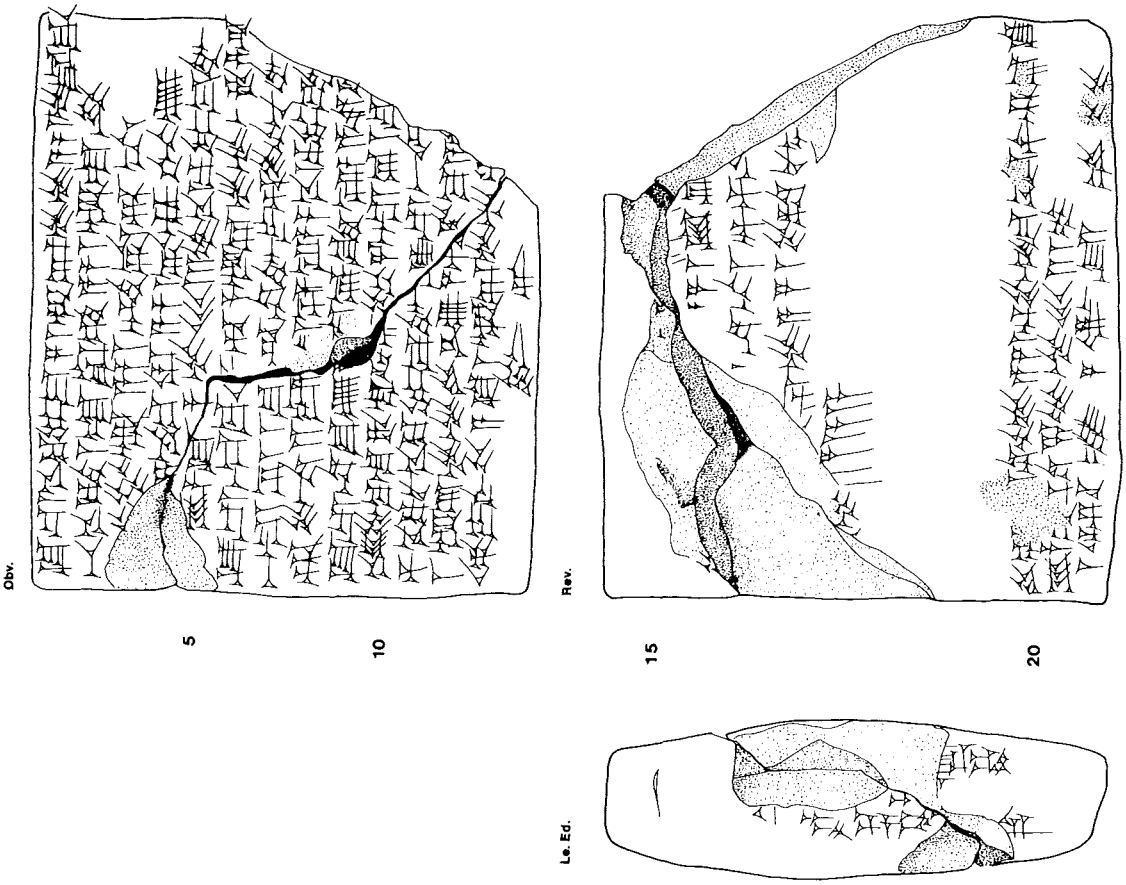
73 1 cm CBS 13034

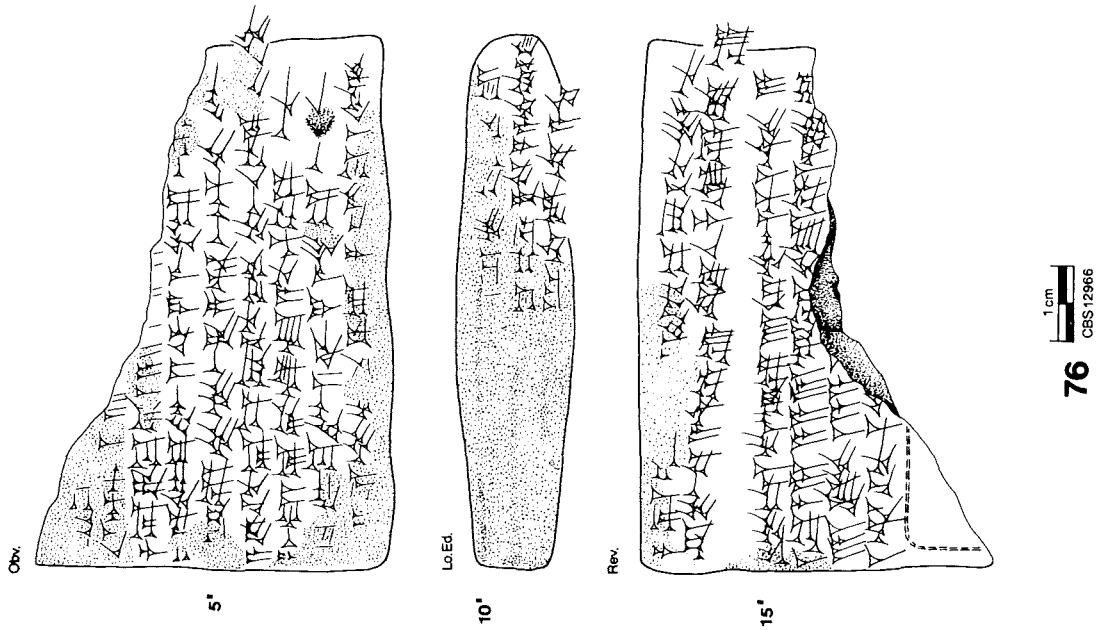


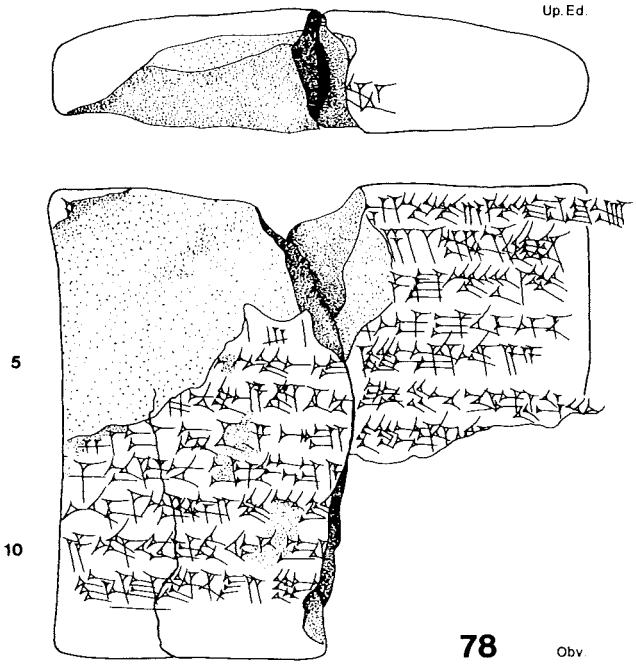
74 1cm CBS 12964



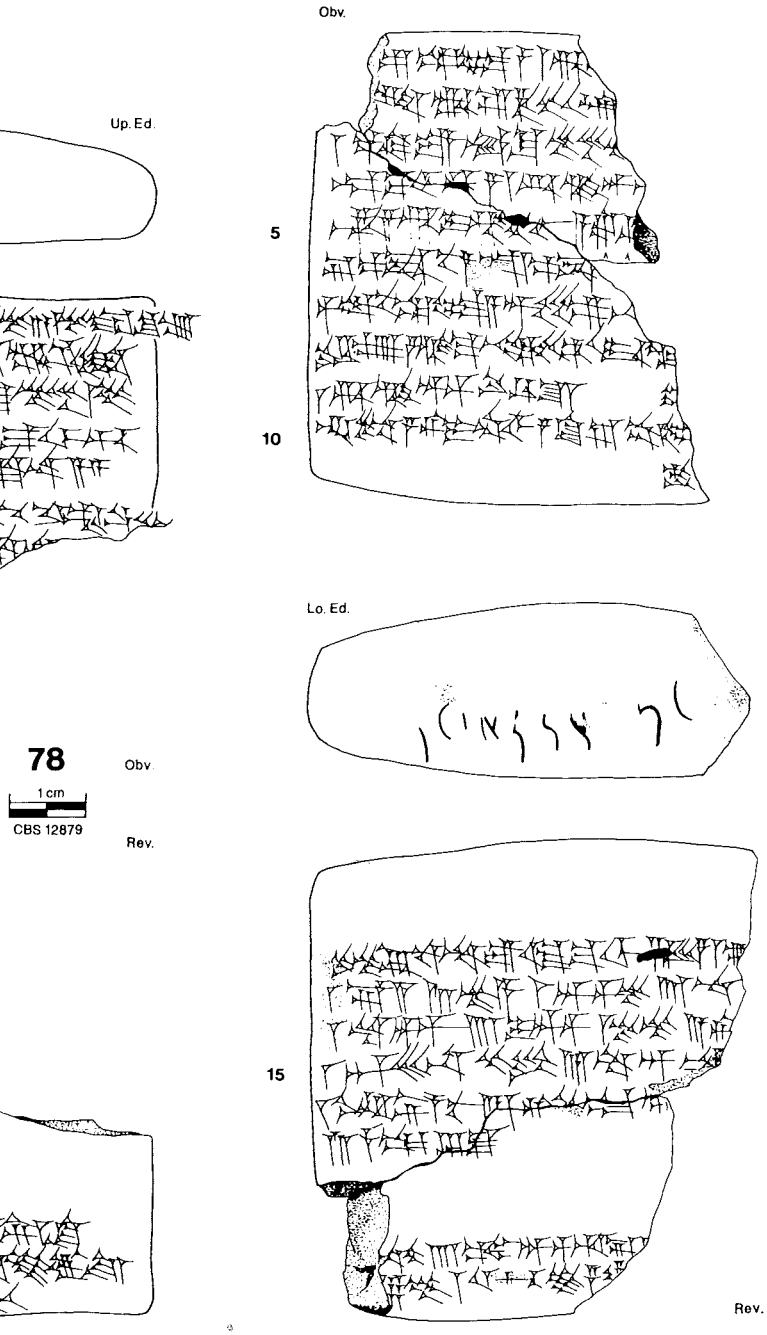
75 1 cm CBS 12971


Obv.
5
10
Rev.
15
20
Le.Ed.
1cm
77

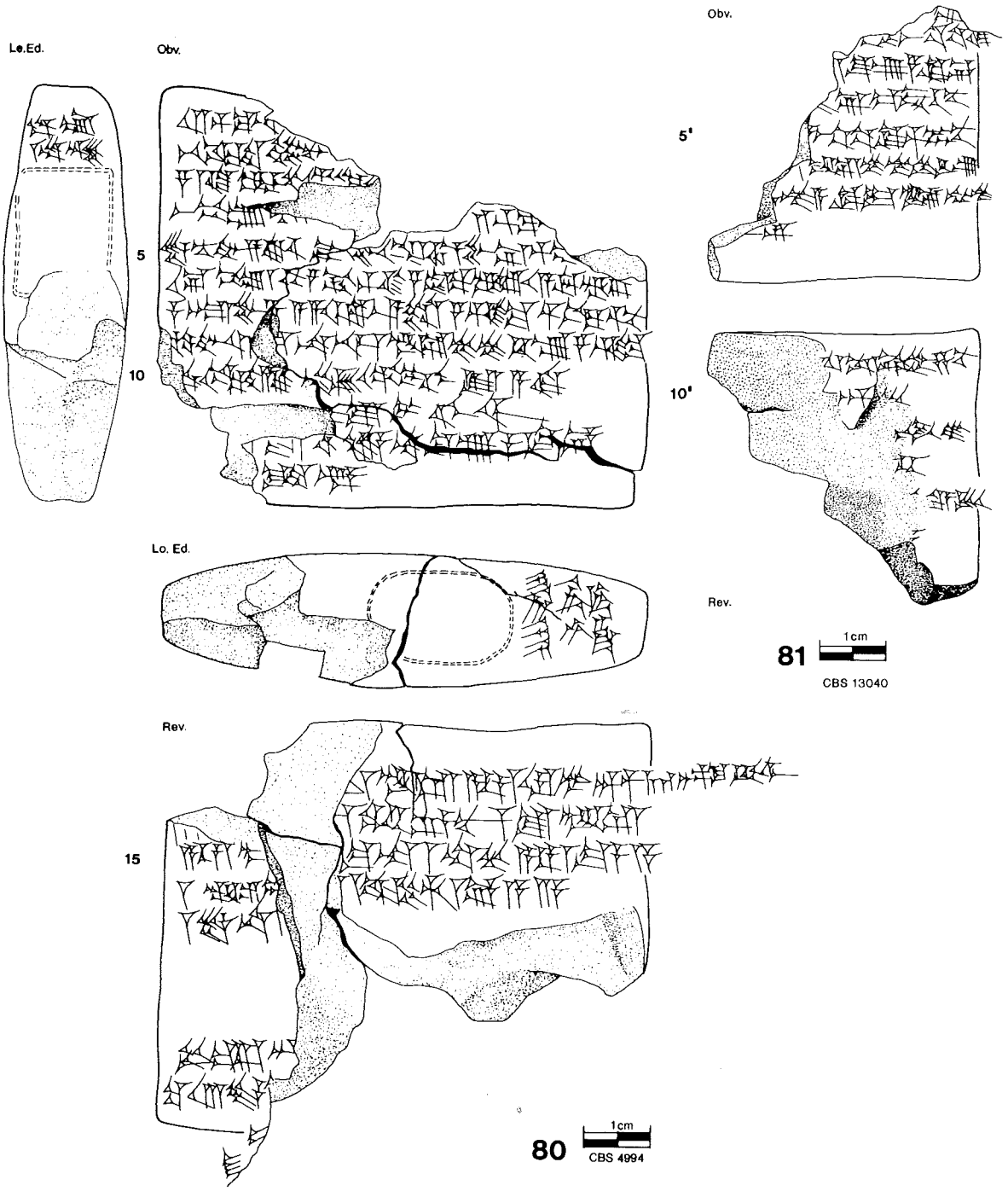

Obv.
5'
Lo.Ed.
10'
Rev.
15'
1cm
CBS12966
76

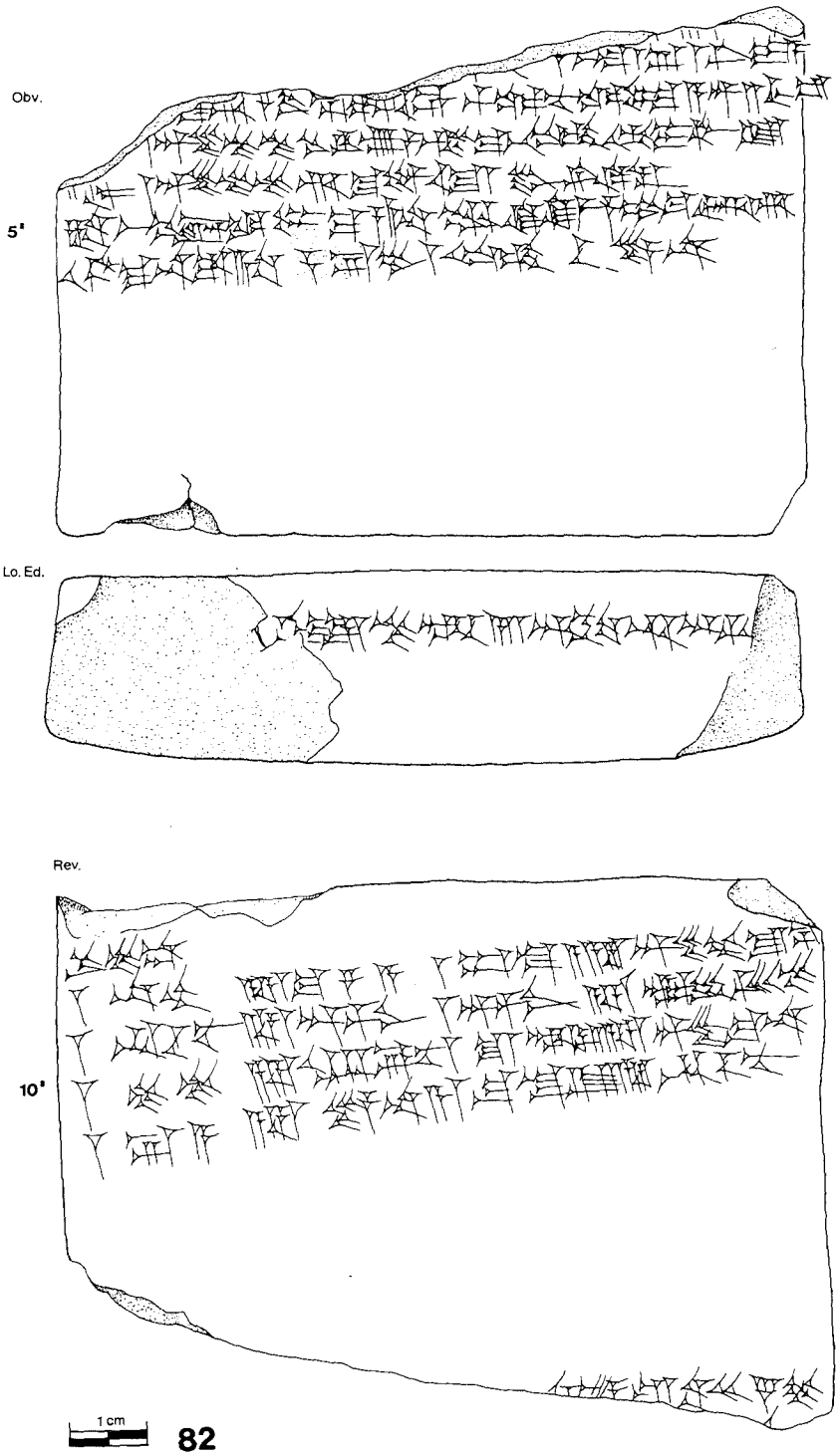


78 CBS 12879



79 CBS 12989+13051

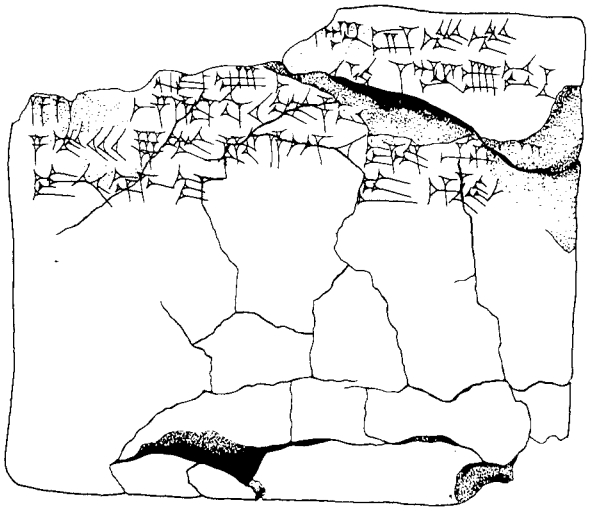

Le.Ed.
Obv.
5
10
Lo. Ed.
Rev.
15
80
1cm
CBS 4994
Obv.
5'
10'
Rev.
81
1cm
CBS 13040



82

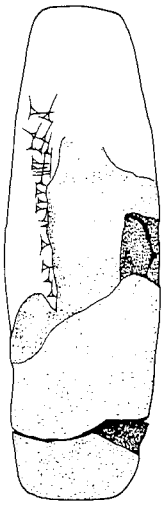
CBS 12863

Obv.

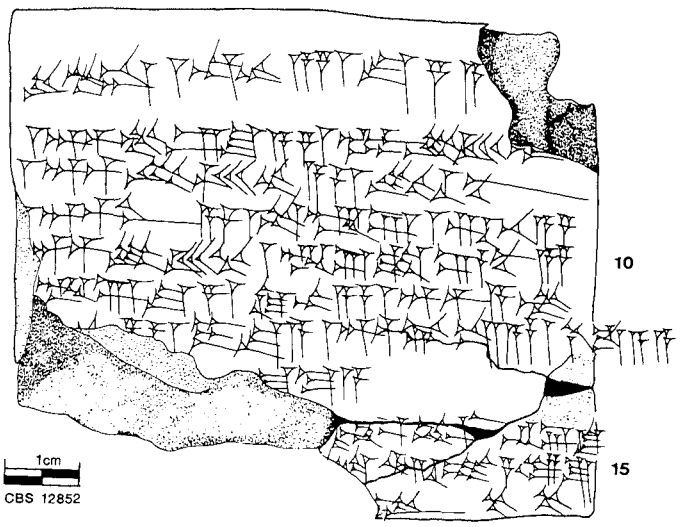


5

Le.Ed.



Rev.



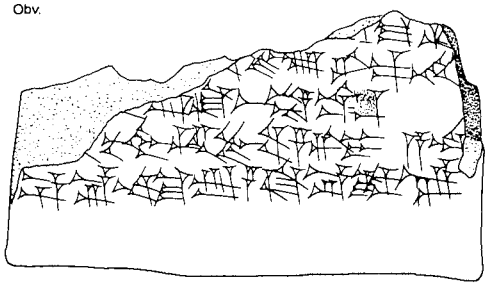
10

15

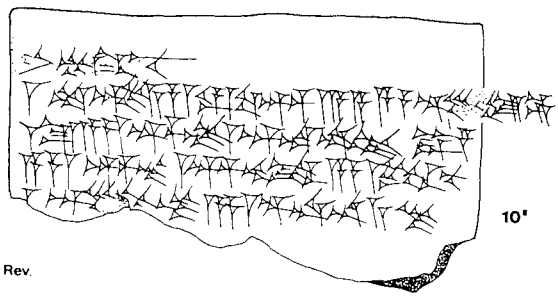
1cm

83 CBS 12852

Obv.



5'

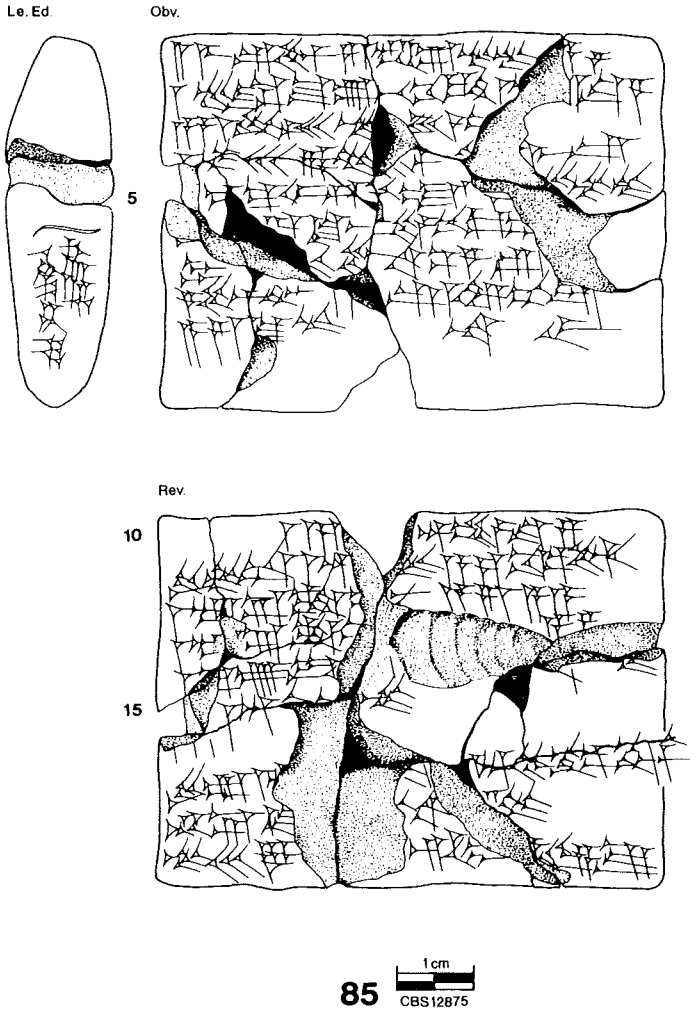


10'

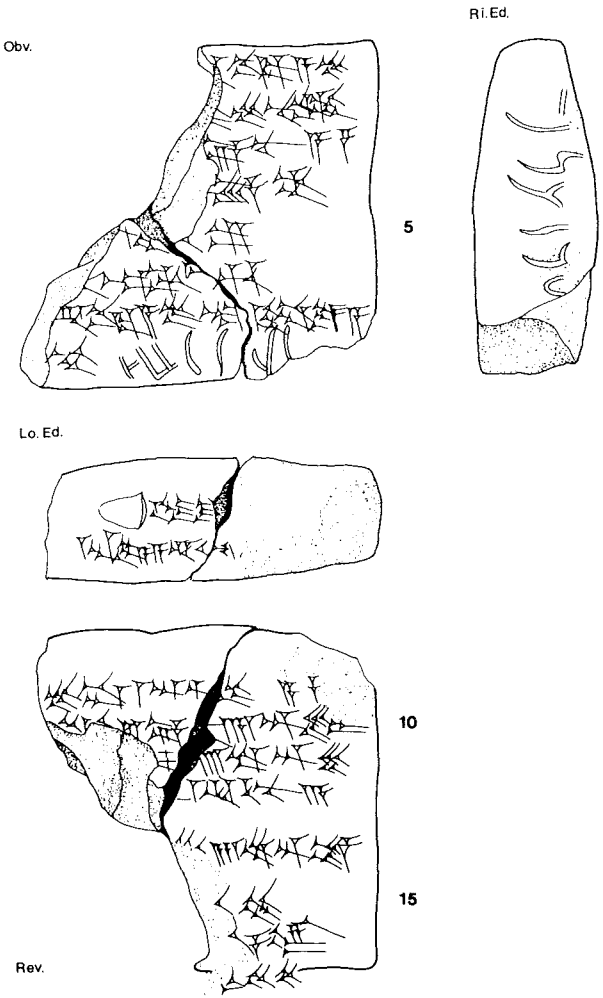
Rev.

1 cm

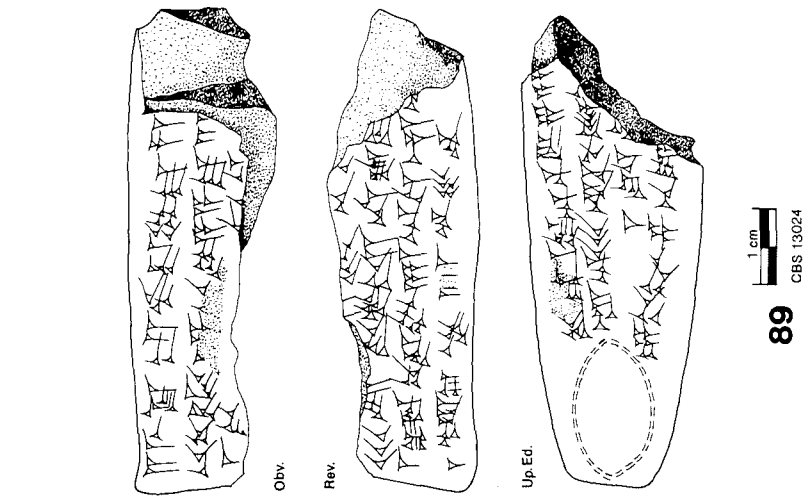
84 CBS 13029

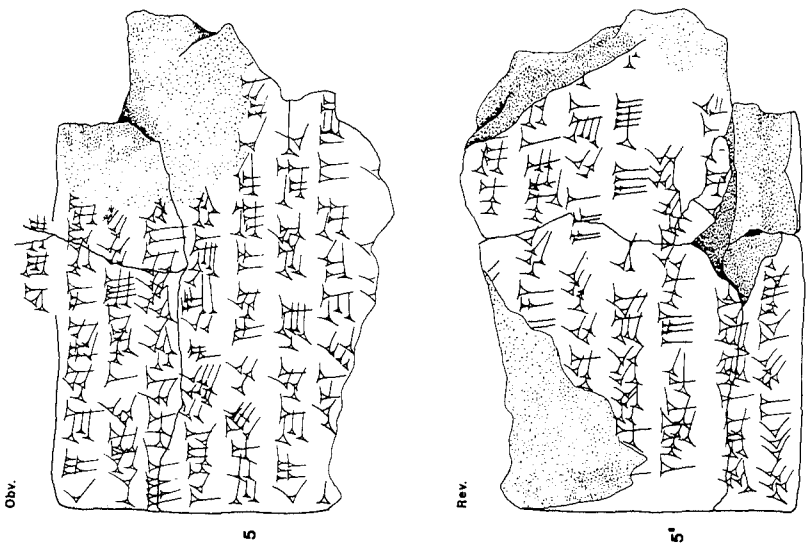


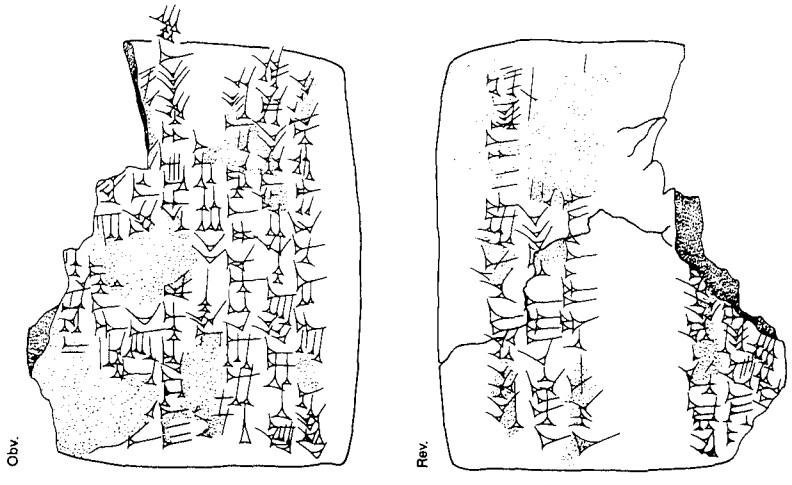
85 1 cm CBS12875

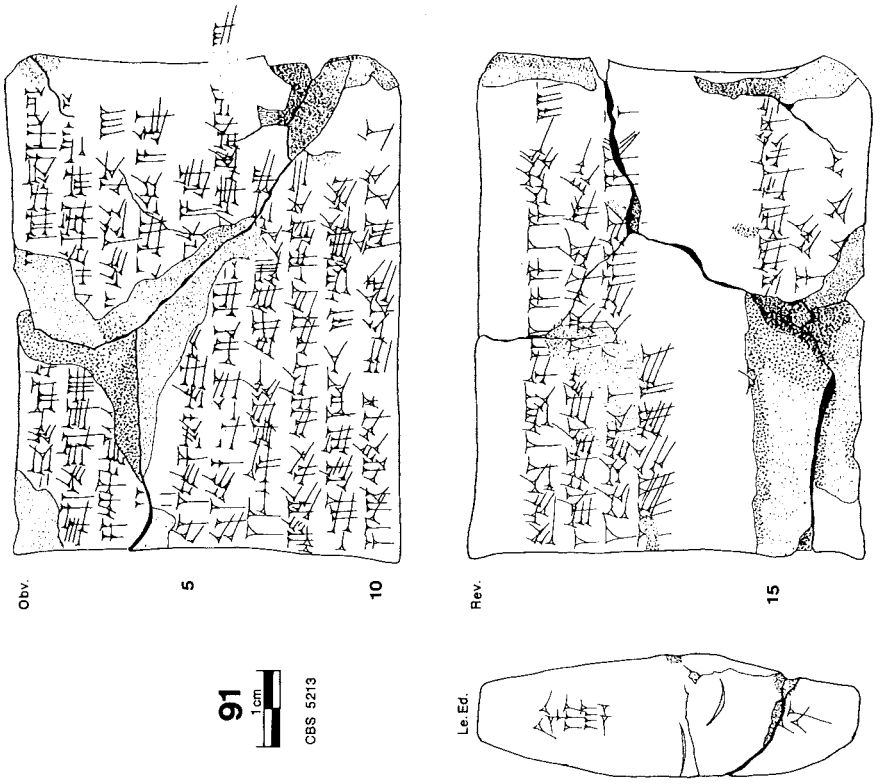


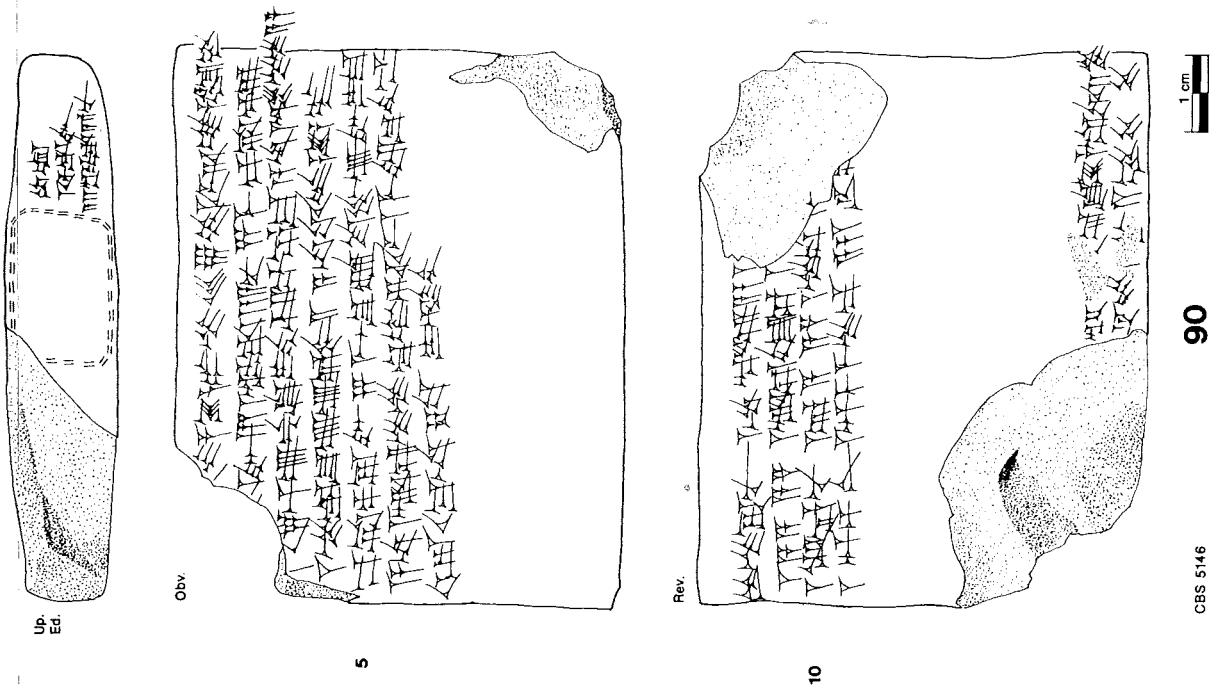
86 1 cm CBS 12924


Obv.
Rev.
Up.Ed.
1cm
89 CBS 13024

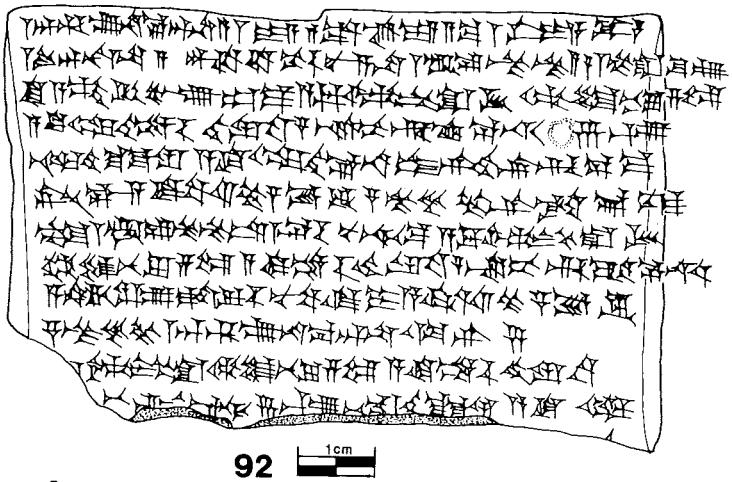

Obv.
5
Rev.
5'
1cm
88 CBS 12951


Obv.
5
Rev.
10
1cm
87 CBS12946


Obv.
5
10
Rev.
15
Le.Ed.
91
1cm
CBS 5213


Up.Ed.
Obv.
5
10
Rev.
1cm
90
CBS 5146

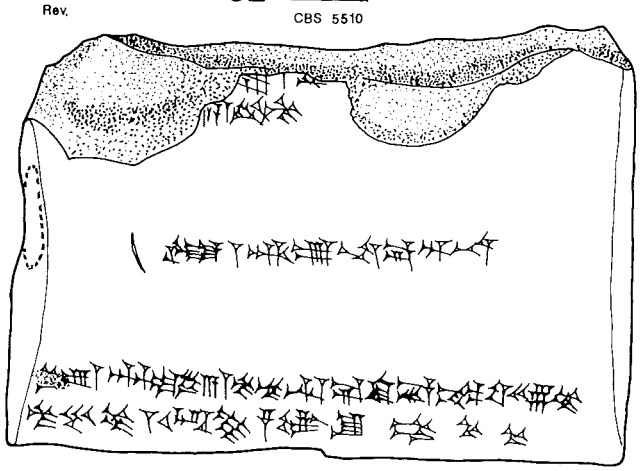
Obv.



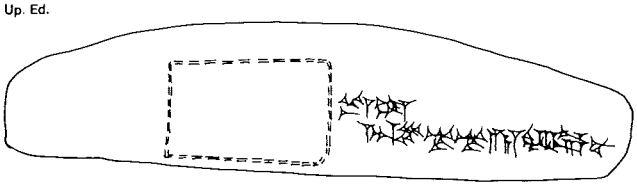
92 1cm

CBS 5510

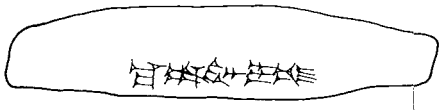
Rev.



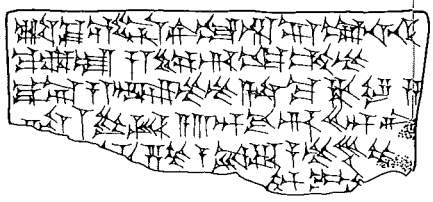
Up. Ed.



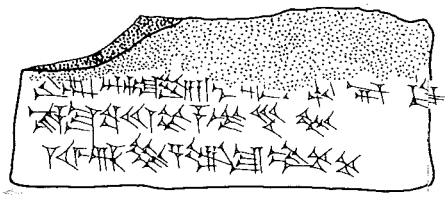
Up.Ed.



Obv.



Rev.



93 1cm

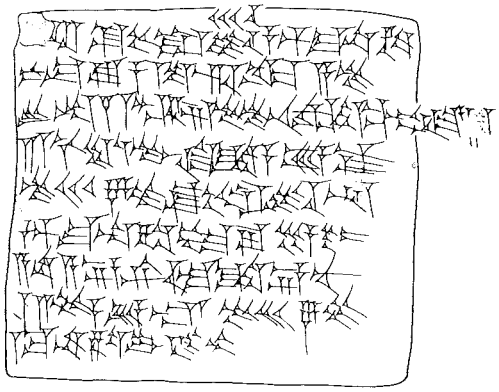
CBS 13006

94 1cm

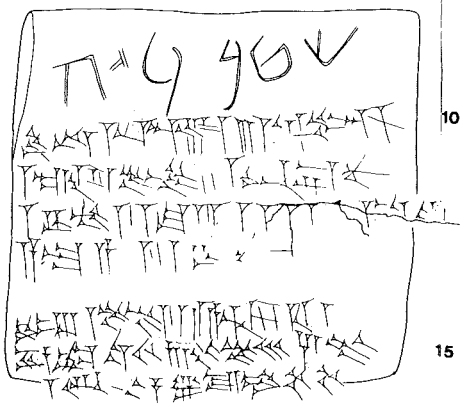
BM 13264

Le.Ed.

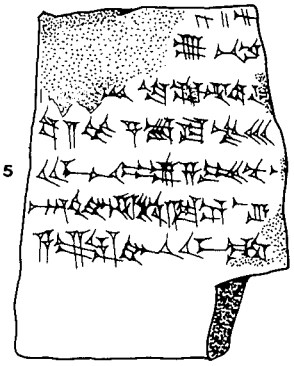
Obv.



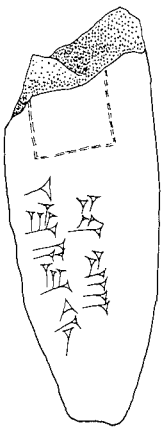
Rev.



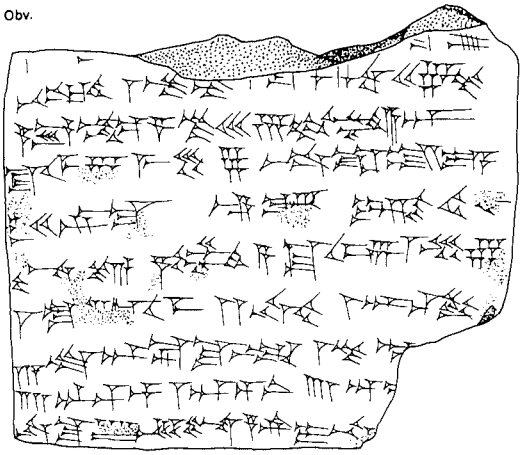
Obv.



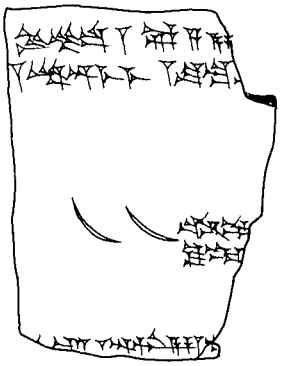
Le. Ed.



Obv.

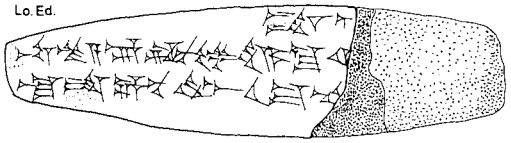


Rev.



95 1cm CBS 12982

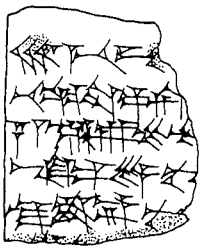
Lo. Ed.



Rev.

96 1cm CBS 13000

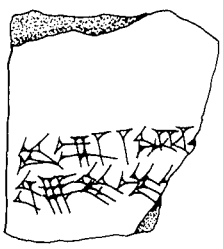
Obv.

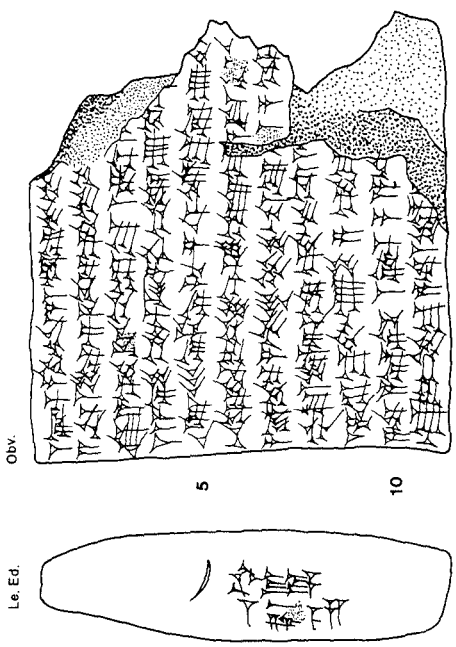


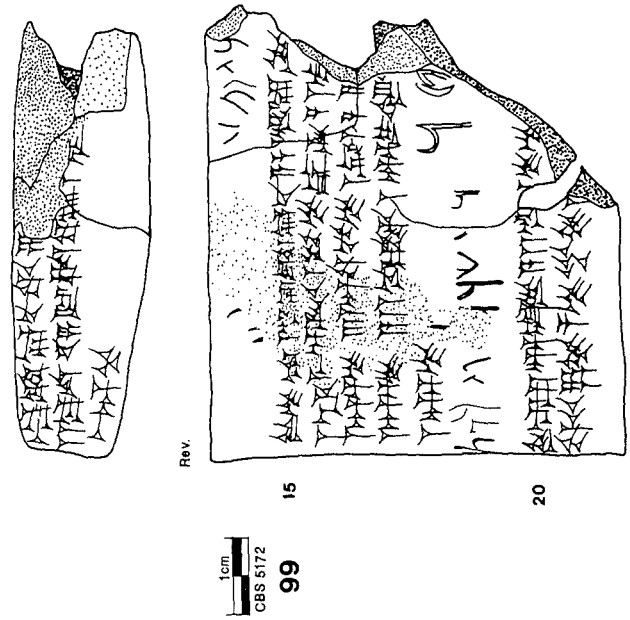
97 1cm CBS 13044

Le. Ed.

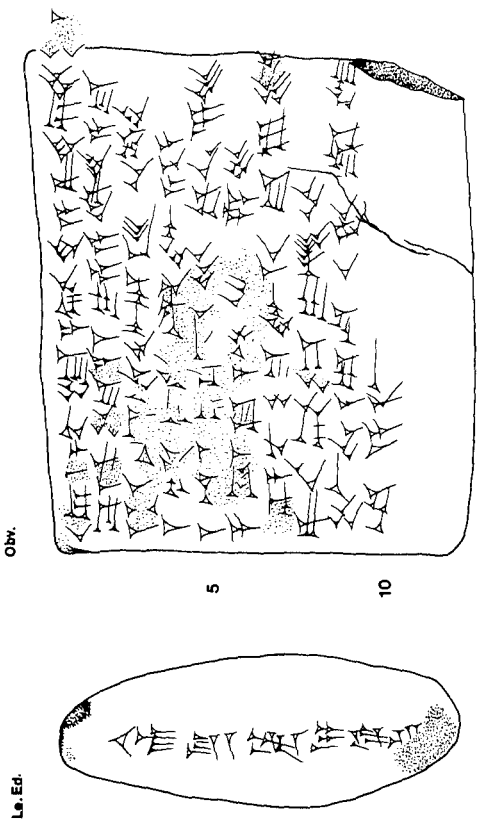
Rev.

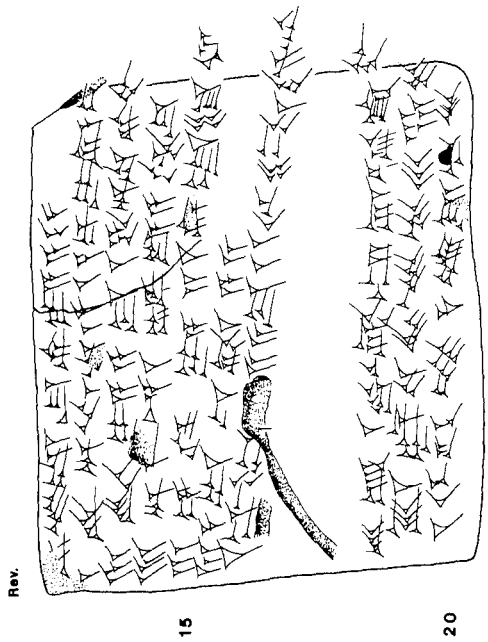



Obv.
Le. Ed.
5
10


Lo. Ed.
Rev.
15
20
1cm
CBS 5172

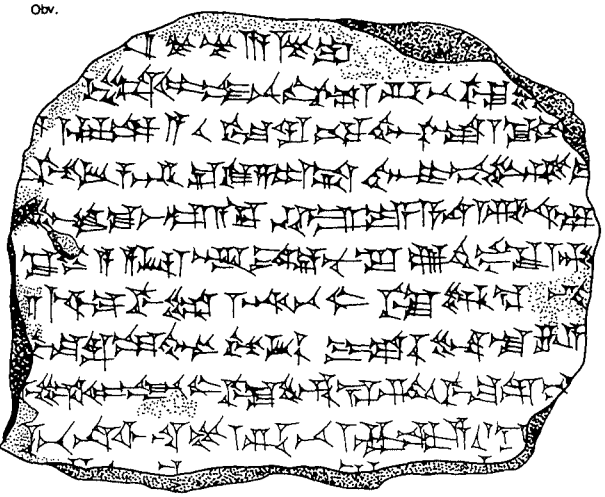
99


Obv.
Le. Ed.
5
10


Rev.
15
20
1cm
CBS 5170

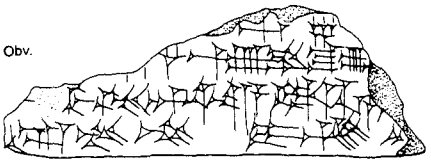
98

Obv.

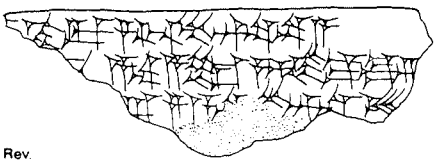


100 1 cm CBS 5212

Obv.



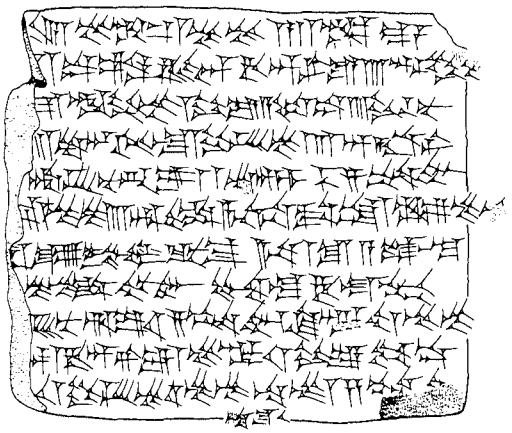
Rev.



5'

101 1 cm CBS 13027

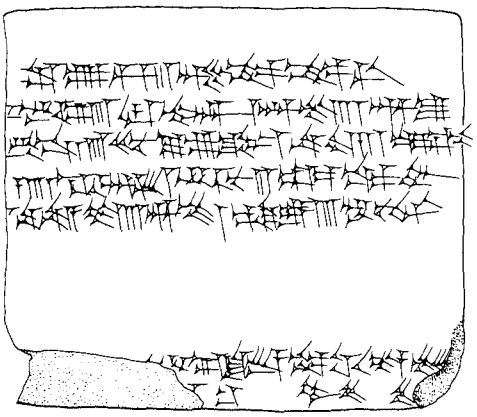
Obv.



5

10

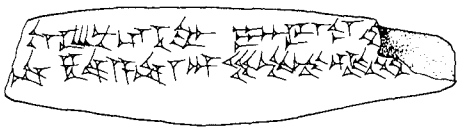
Rev.



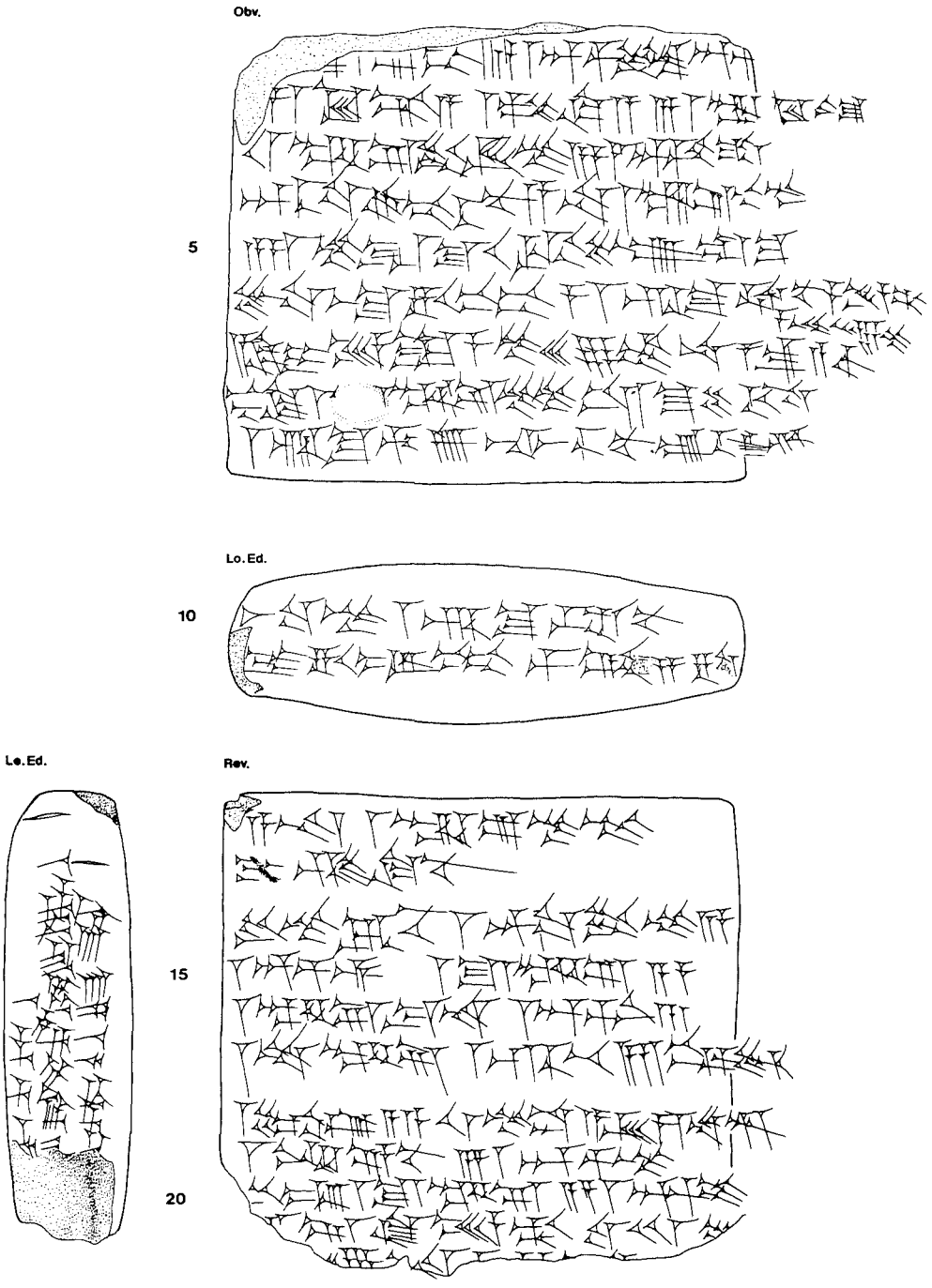
15

20

Lo. Ed.

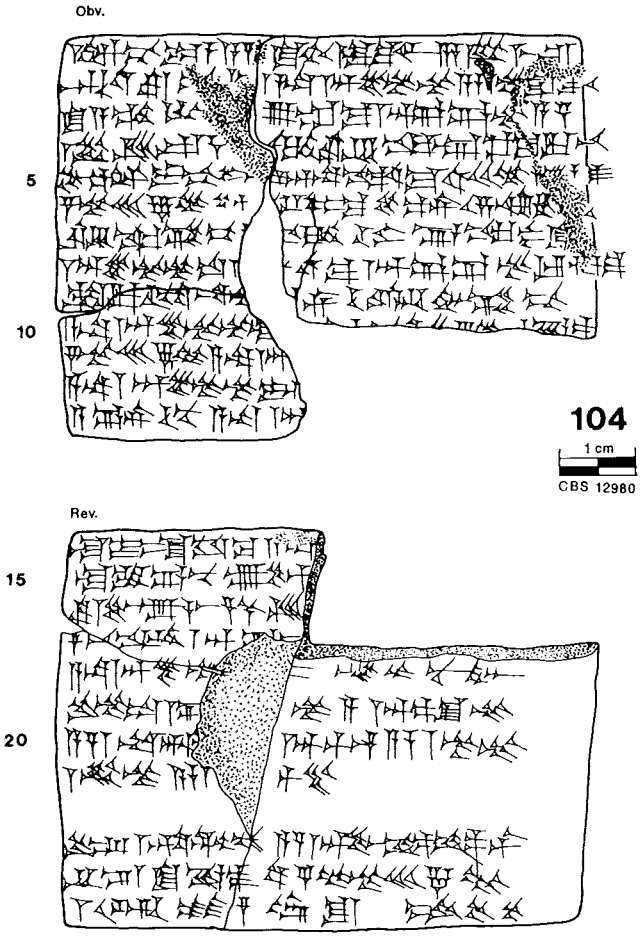


102 1 cm CBS 5151



103 1 cm

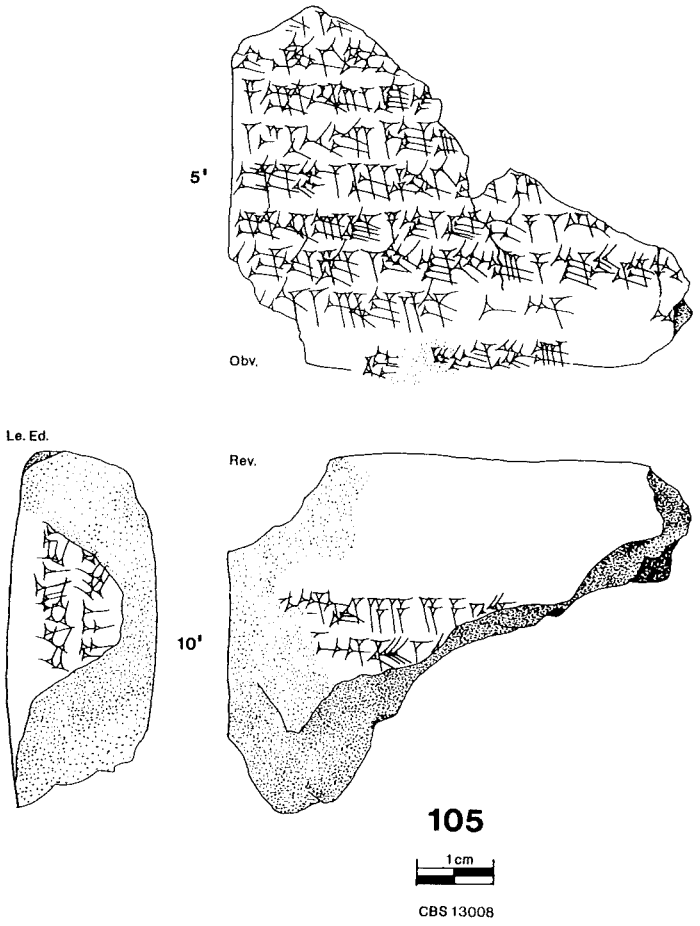
CBS 6126



104

1 cm

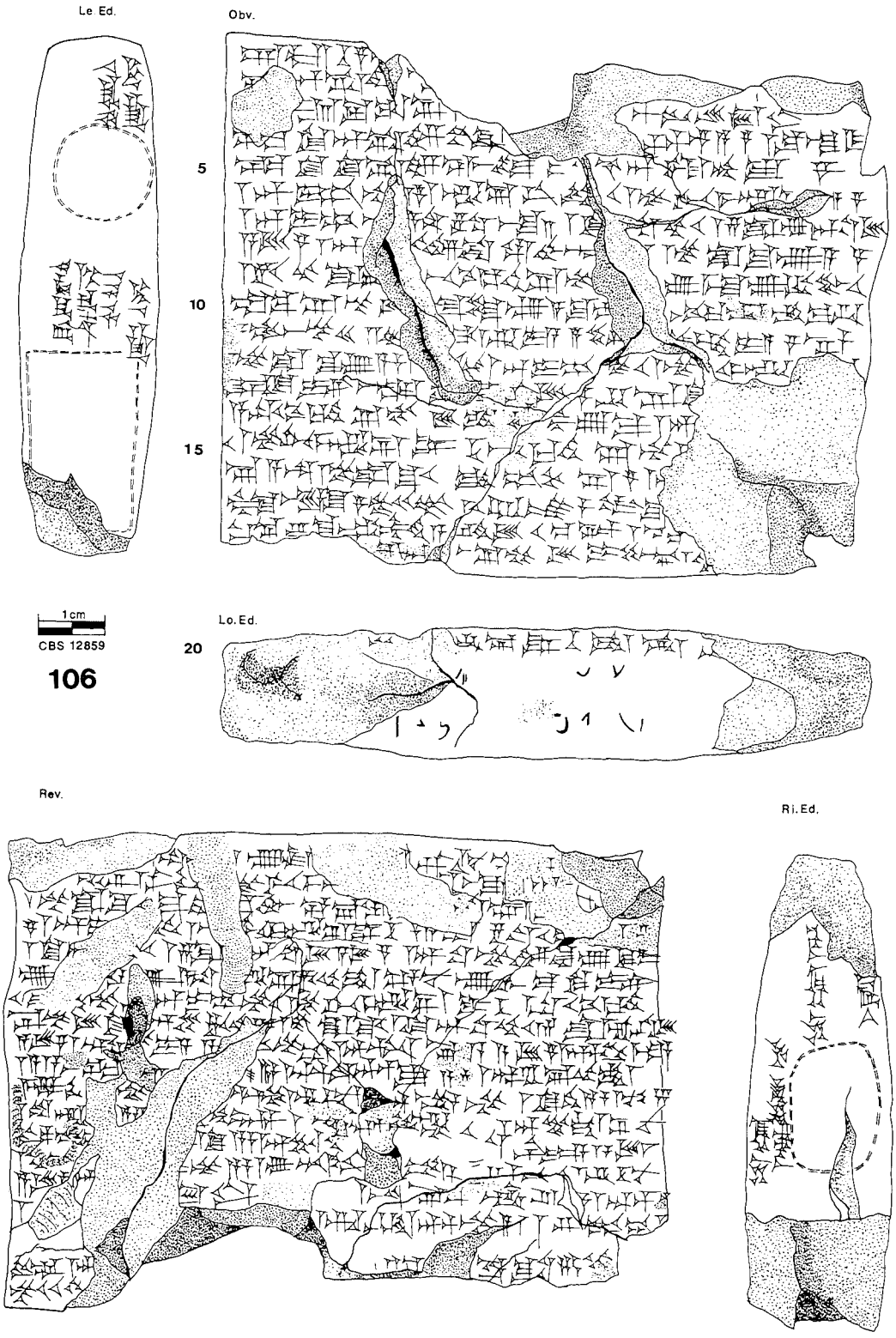
CBS 12980



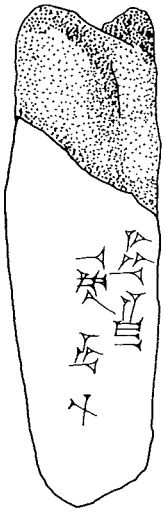
105

1 cm

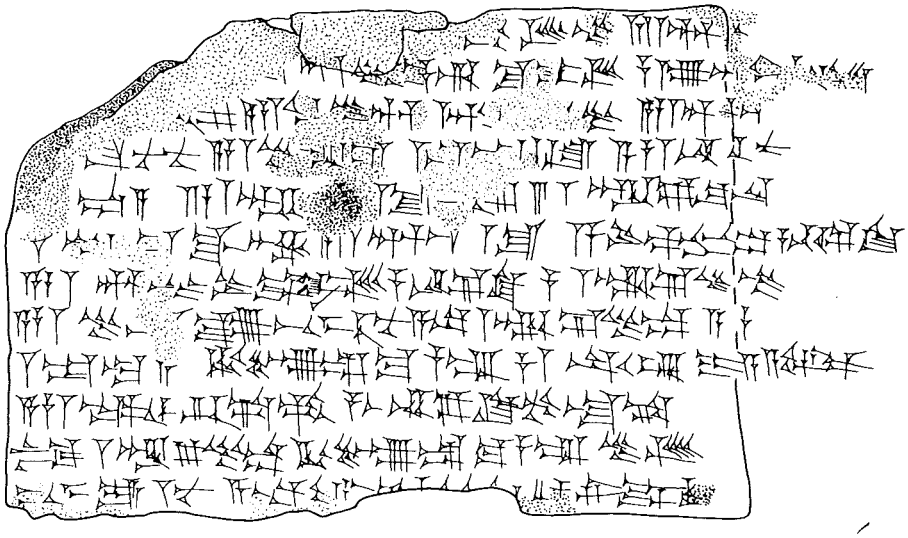
CBS 13008


Le. Ed.
Obv.
5
10
15
1cm
CBS 12859
106
Lo. Ed.
20
Rev.
Ri. Ed.
25
30
35

Le. Ed.



Obv.

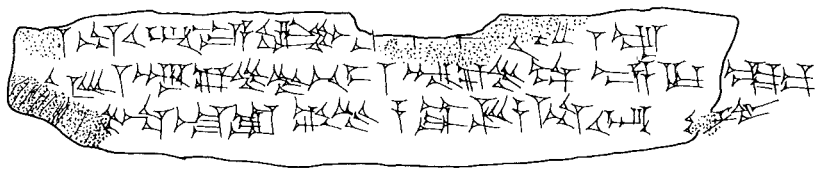


107

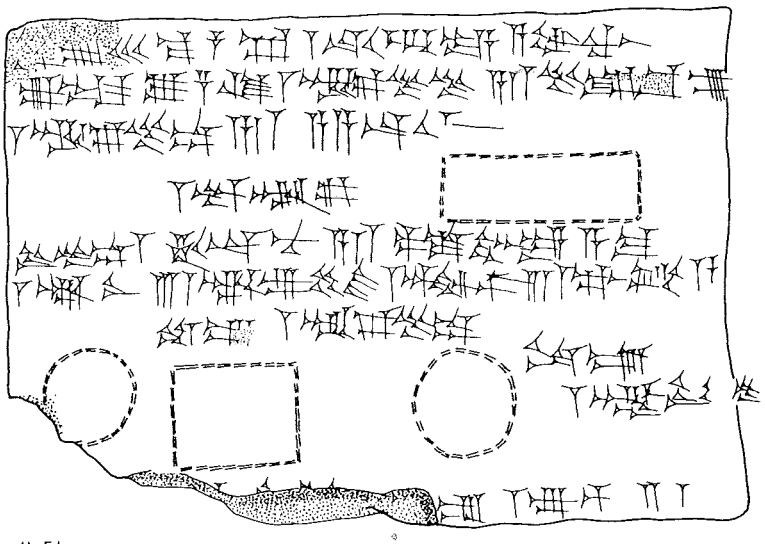
1cm

CBS 12829

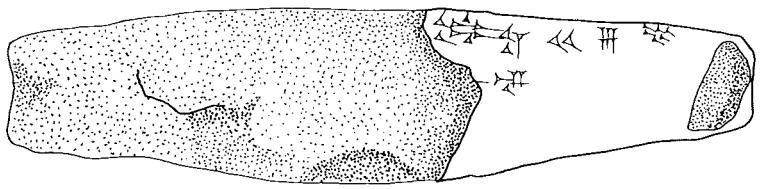
Lo. Ed.

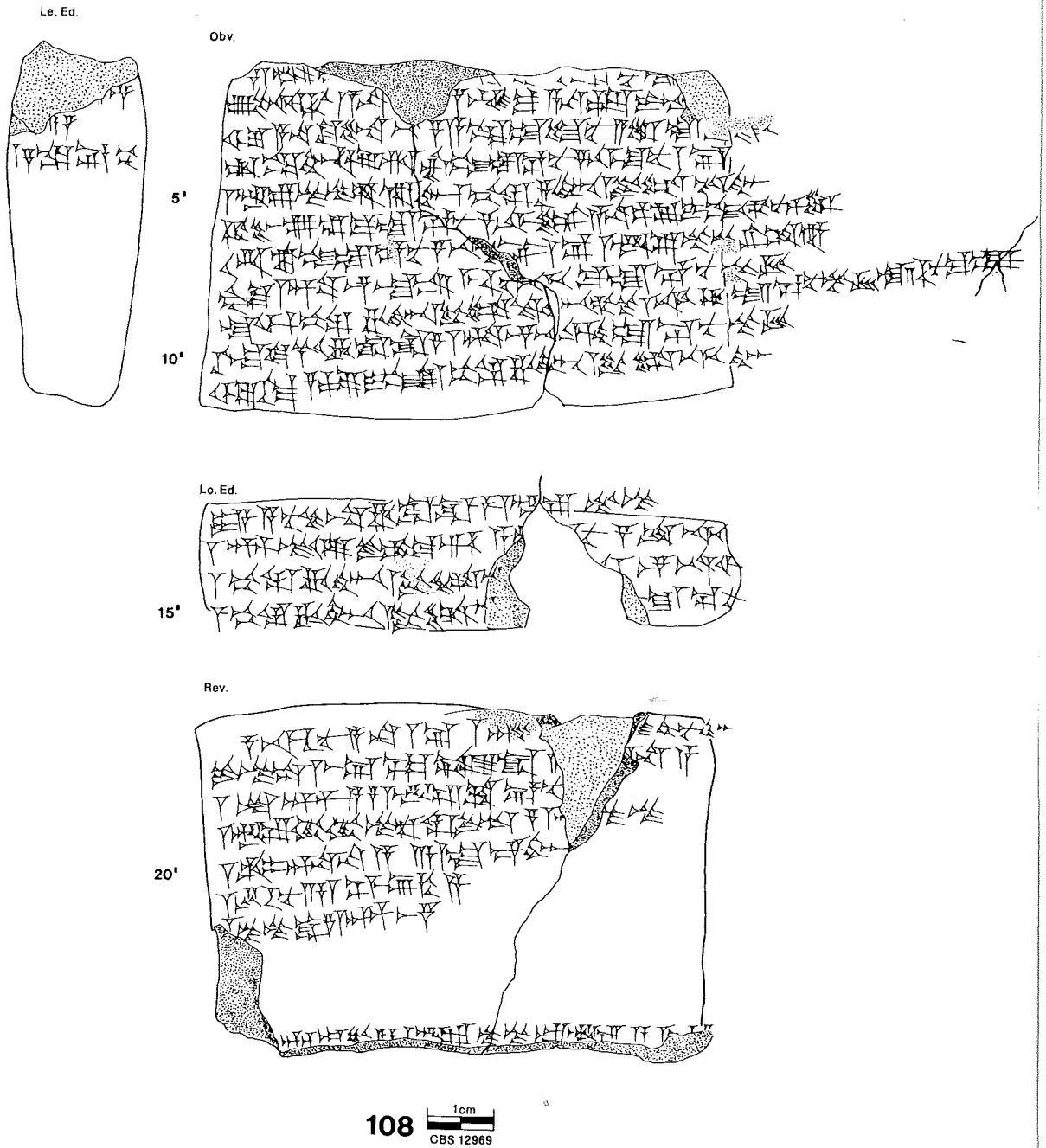


Rev.



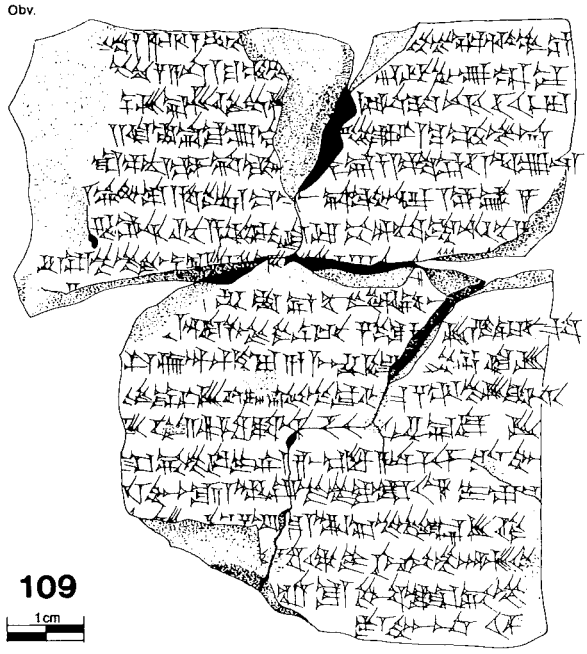
Up. Ed.





108 1cm
CBS 12969

Obv.

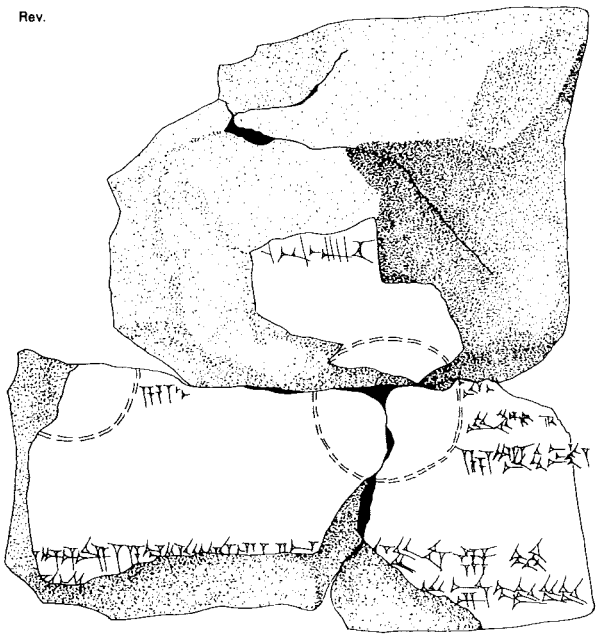


109

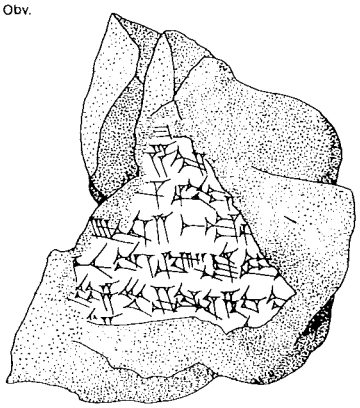
1 cm

CBS 12957

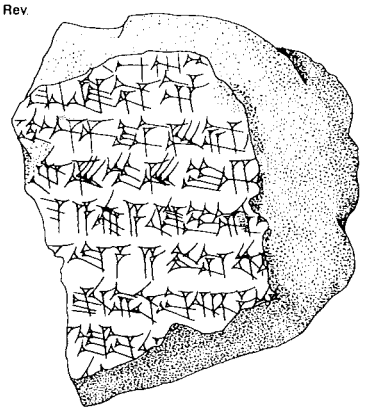
Rev.



Obv.



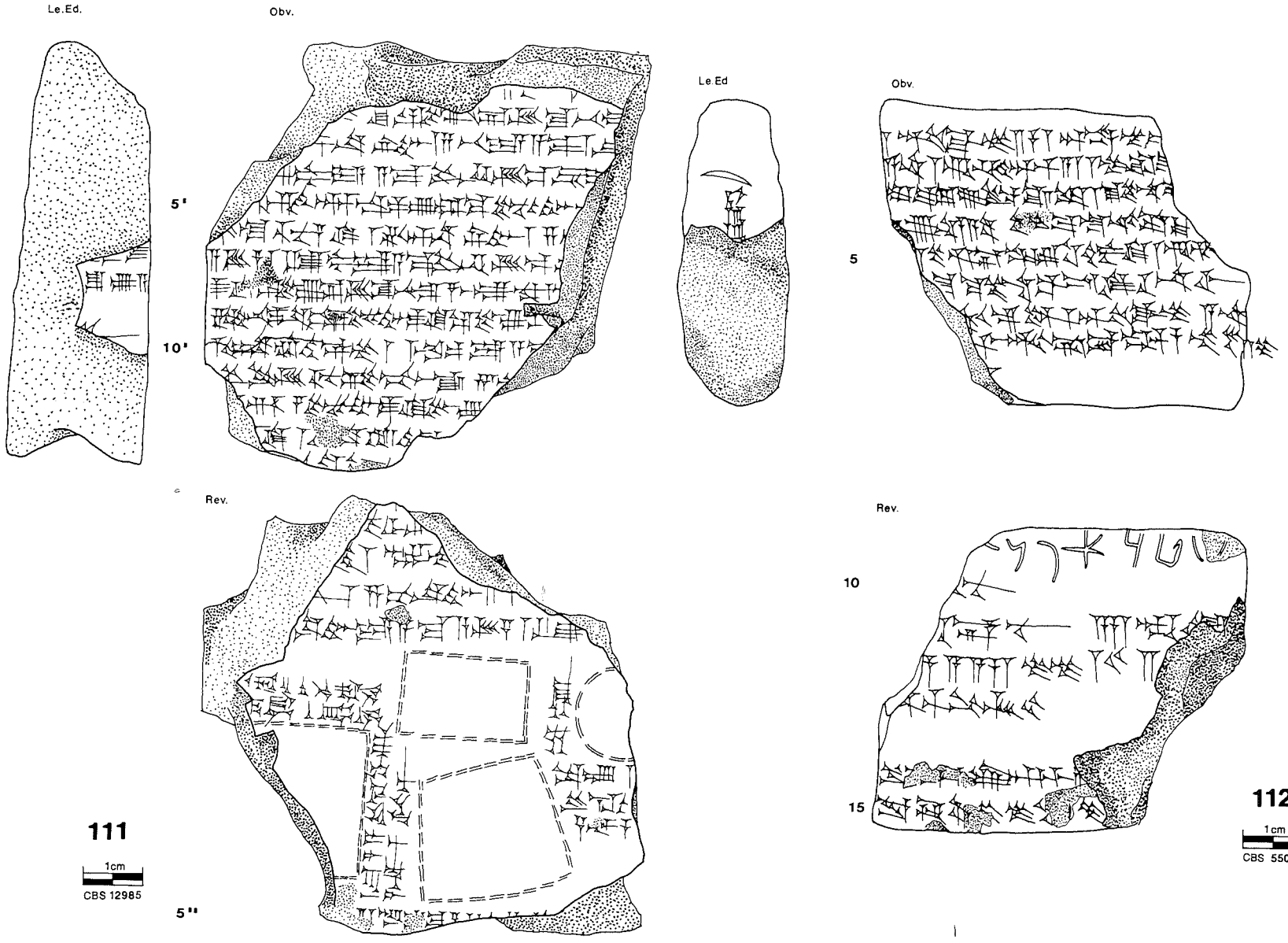
Rev.

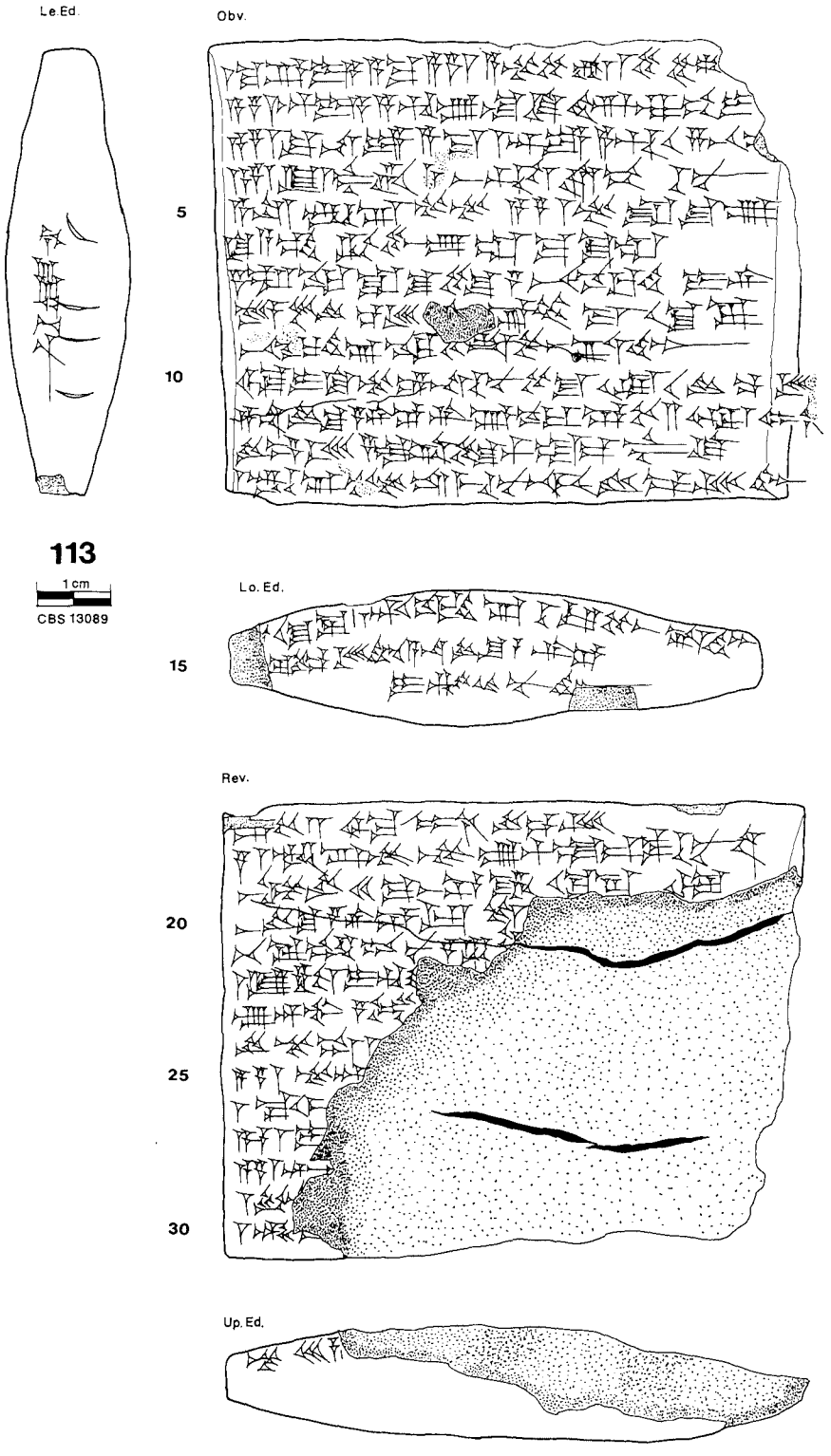


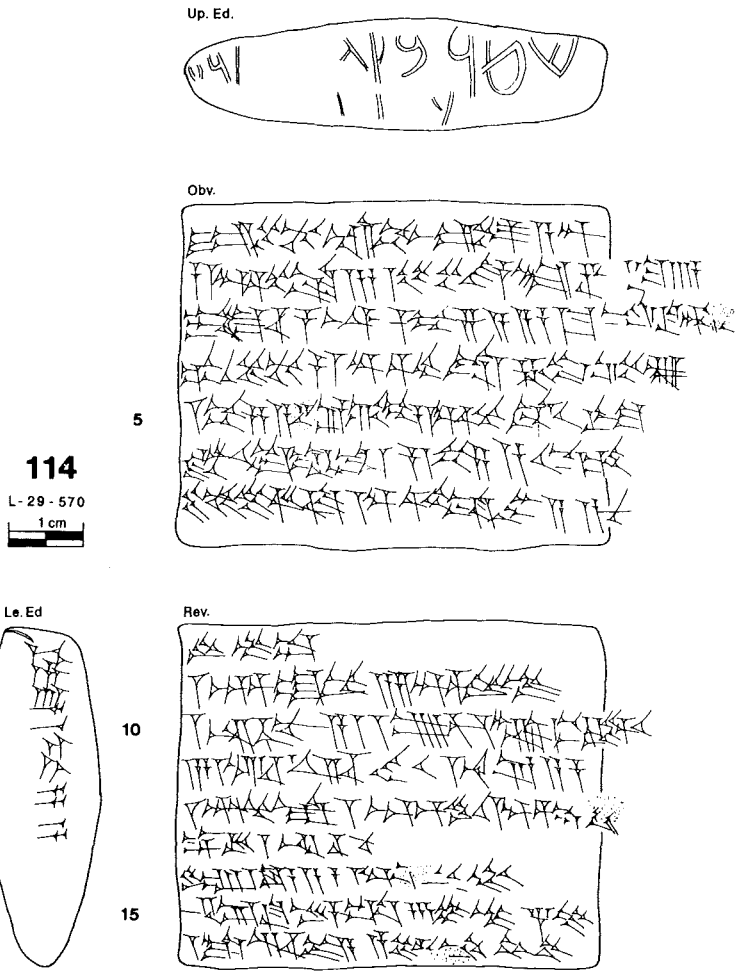
110

1 cm

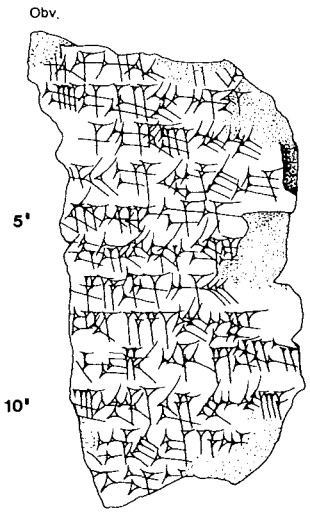
CBS 12996


Le.Ed.
Obv.
5'
10'
Rev.
5''
111
1cm
CBS 12985
Le.Ed
Obv.
5
Rev.
10
15
112
1cm
CBS 5506


Le.Ed.
Obv.
5
10
113
1 cm
CBS 13089
Lo. Ed.
15
Rev.
20
25
30
Up. Ed.

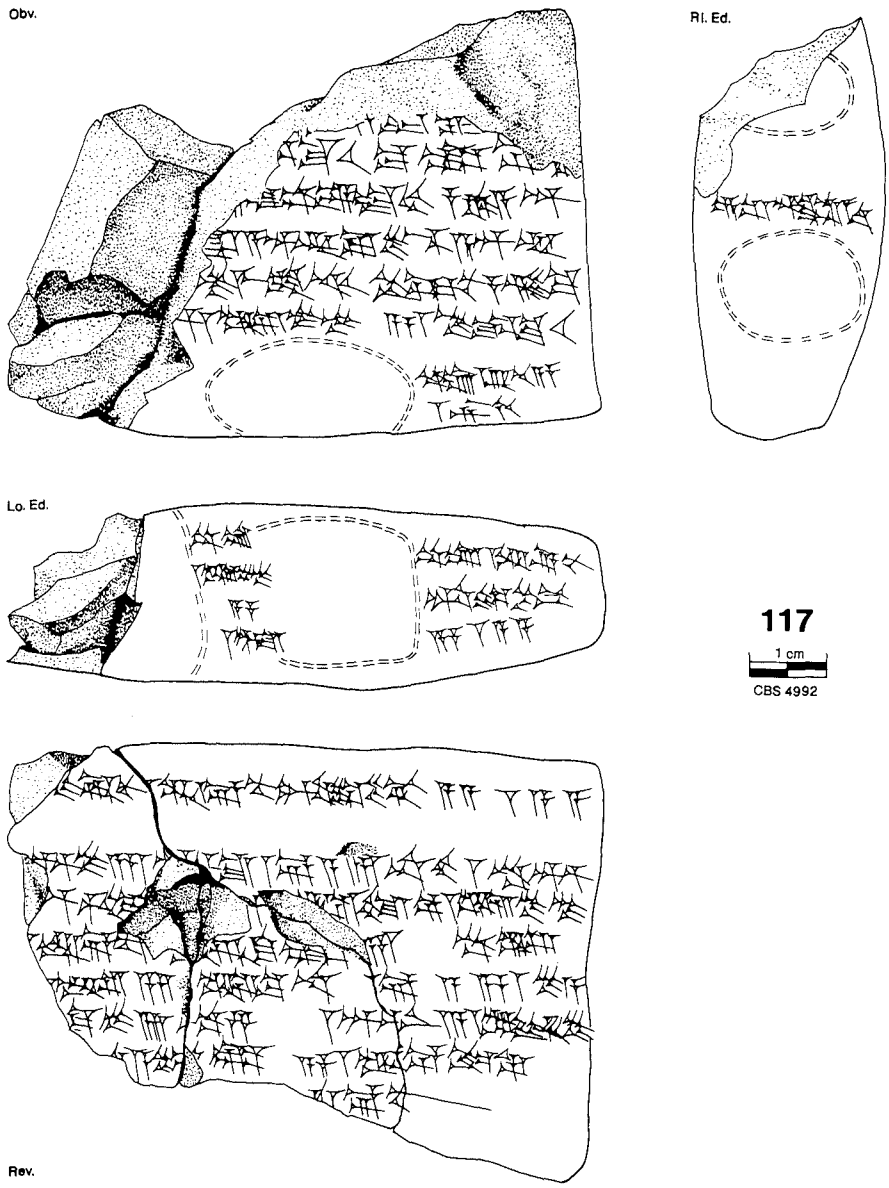


114
L - 29 - 570
1 cm



115
1 cm
CBS13036

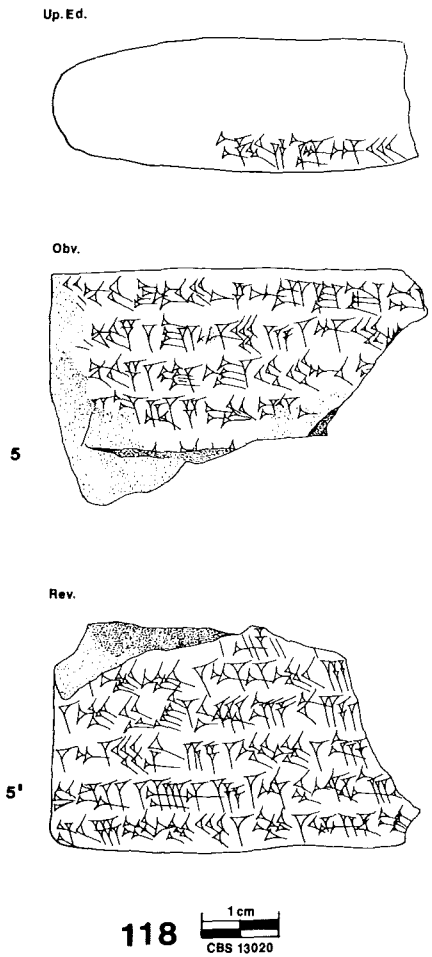
116
1 cm
CBS 3838



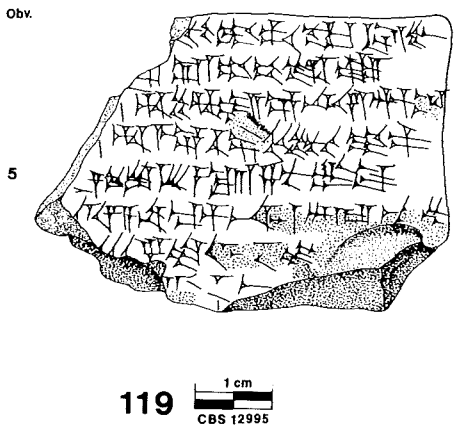
117

1 cm

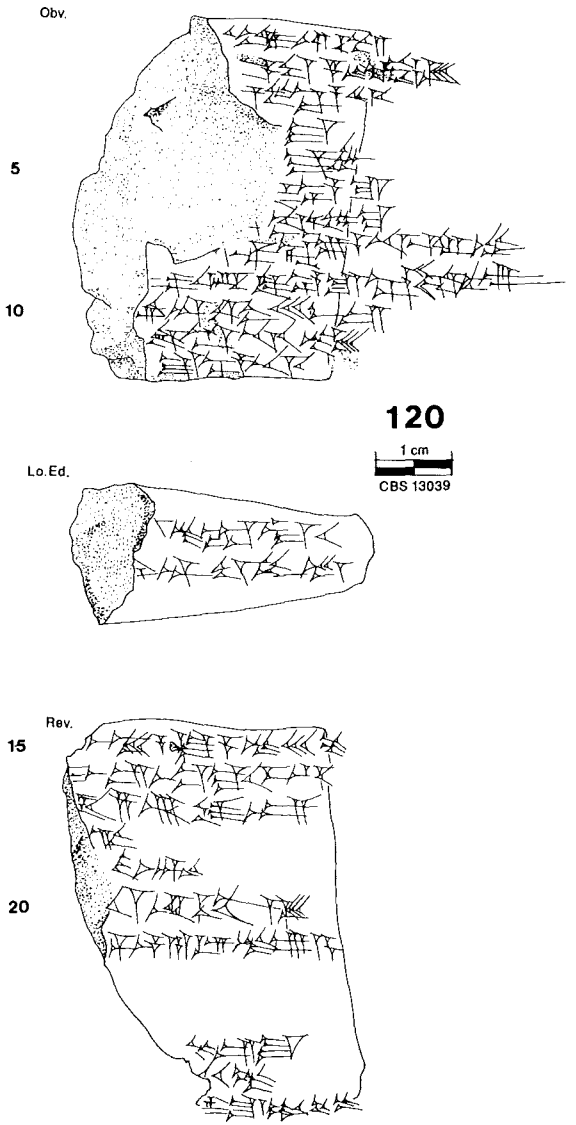
CBS 4992



118 1 cm CBS 13020



119 1 cm CBS 12995



120 1 cm CBS 13039

Transliterations [1]

1. (CBS 5199) 25/—/34 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU DUMU *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú ina* [*ḫu-ud lìb-bi-šú a-na*] [2] ^{md}AG-DIN-*iṭ* DUMU *šá* ^{m}*Ap-la-a* ŠEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* [...] [3] *ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma* ŠE.NUMUN LÚ *uz-ba-ri šá* [LUGAL *u ṣi-bit-tú šá* LUGAL] [4] *šá ina ši-li-iḫ-tu*$_4$ ÍD *Ba-di-ia-a*(!)*-ti šá* ^{f}[*A-mi-si-ri-*ʾ *a-di* 3.TA] [5] MU.AN.NA.MEŠ *bi i*[*n-na*]*m-ma* [A.MEŠ(?) *šá* LU]GAL *u* ^{f}*A-mi-si-ri-*ʾ [... *ul-tu*] ^{r}ÍD *Ḫar-ri*^{1}*-Pi-qud* [6] *ana lìb-bi* ^{r}*lu*^{1}*-*[*uš-d*]*u-ud u ina* MU.AN.NA *m*[*im*]*-ma ma-l*[*a ina lìb-bi il*]*-l*[*a-*ʾ] [7] [*a-na* 1 GUR ŠE.NU]MUN 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ŠE.BAR *lud-dak-ka ár-ki* ^{m}[^{d}AG-DI]N-*it iš-me-šu-ma* [8] [ŠE.NUMUN *u ṣ*]*i-bit-tú šá* LUGAL *a-di* 3.TA MU.AN.NA.MEŠ *a-*[*na* ^{md}]*En-líl*-MU-MU *id-din* [9] [*ina* MU].AN.NA *mim-ma ma-la ina lìb-bi il-la-*[ʾ] *a-na* 1 GUR ŠE.NUMUN [10] 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ŠE.BAR ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *a-*[*n*]*a* ^{md}AG-DIN-*iṭ i-nam-din* [11] TA ITI.SIG$_4$ *šá* MU.34.^{r}KÁM^{1} ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL ŠE.NUMUN *ina* IGI ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU

(Rev.) [12] LÚ *mu-kin-nu* ^{md}EN-DIN-*it u* ^{md}BE-*tab-tan-ni*-DIN-*su* A.MEŠ *šá* [13] ^{m}*Mi-nu-ú-ana-*^{d}EN-*da-a-nu* ^{m}*Ú-bar* A *šá* ^{md}*Bu-ne-ne*-DÙ [14] ^{m}*Da-ar-par-na-*ʾ A *šá* ^{m}*Kar-ge-e* ^{md}AG-SIPA-*šú-nu* DUMU *šá* [15] ^{m}AD-NU-ZU ^{md}UTU-DIN-*iṭ* A *šá* ^{m}*Ti-ri-ia-a-ma* [16] ^{m}DU-A A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-I ^{m}SU-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl-ba-na* [17] ^{m}*Si-*^{r}*x*^{1}*-a* LÚ *si-p*[*i-ri š*]*á* LÚ.IGI+DUB A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}EN

[18] LÚ.ŠID ^{md}MAŠ-*na-ṣir* [A *šá* ^{m}ARAD]-^{d}*En-líl* [... ITI.X] [19] UD.^{r}25^{1}.KÁM [MU.34.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Rev.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{m}*Da-ar-par-/ na-*ʾ / A *šá* ^{m}*Kar-ge-e* // NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{md}AG-DIN-*iṭ* / A *šá* ^{m}A-*a* / [ŠEŠ *šá* ^{m}]*Tat-tan-nu*

2. (CBS 4993+13050) Nippur 5/V/[24] [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) [1] [^{md}50-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu*]*-ú ina ḫu-ud l*[*ìb-bi-šú a-na*] [2] [^{m}*Ia-di-Ia-a-ma* A *š*]*á* ^{m}*Ba-na-Ia-a-ma ki-a-a*[*m iq-bi*] [3] [*um-ma* ÍD.^{d}EN *šá* Í]D *Sa-ḫi-ri* MU-*šú*[a] *u* ÍD *šá* ^{m}*Mu-še-zib-*^{d}EN [4] [...]*-ú u uz-bar-ra-šú a-na* GIŠ.BAR *a-na* MU.AN.NA [5] [1 ME 50 GUR ŠE.BAR 10 G]UR GIG.BA 30 GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM [6] [10 GUR *duḫ-nu*] PAP 2 ME GUR EBUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu* GAL-*ú* [7] [*i-b*]*i in-nam-ma lu-ki-il-šú á*[*r-k*]*i* ^{m}*Ia-di-Ia-a-ma* [8] [*iš-me-e*]*-šú-ma* ÍD.^{d}EN *šá* [MU-*šú* ÍD *S*]*a-ḫi-ri u* ÍD *šá* ^{m}KAR-^{d}EN [9] [*a-n*]*a lìb-bi ina* ^{r}*la*^{1}*-*[*le-nu šá*]*-*^{r}*ṭa-ri*^{1} *ù a-na* GIŠ.BAR *a-na* MU.[AN.NA] [10] [1 ME] 50 GUR ŠE.BAR 10 GUR GIG.[BA] 30 ⟨GUR⟩ ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM 10 GUR [*duḫ-nu*] [11] [PAP 2] ME GUR EBUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-*[*ší*]*-ḫu* GAL-*ú id-daš-*[*šú*]

[1] Page numbers at the beginnings of notes accompanying the transliterations refer to the main text of this book. References to substantive discussions are italicized.

1. Pp. *40 n. 12*, 42 n. 21, 47 n. 45, 64 n. 61, 104 n. 1, *126*, *133 n. 17*.
2. Pp. *39*, *50*, 104 n. 1, *133 n. 17*, 141 table 8.
[a] Cf. line 8 and No. 30:3.

12 [*ina* ITI.G]U_4 *šá* MU.25.ᵀKÁM ŠE.BAR a_4ᵀ 1 ME 5[0 GUR] 13 [GIG].ᵀBA a_4ᵀ 10 GUR *duḫ-nu* a_4 [10 GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM a_4 30 GUR] 14 [*ina* G]IŠ *ma-ši-ḫu* GAL-*ú i-n*[*am-din* A.MEŠ] 15 [*ina ṣí*]-*bit-tú* a_4 *ina* URU(?) É [...] (Lo. Ed.) 16 [^{md}]*En-líl*-MU-MU *i-šad-dad* [... 1-*en* GU_4] 17 [*šá* S]IPA-*i-tu*$_4$ *ù* 5 UDU.NITÁ.ḪI.[A *šá* SIPA-*i-tu*$_4$] 18 [*ana man*]-*dat-ti* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *a-na* [^{m}*Ia-di-Ia-a-ma i-nam-din*] (Rev.) 19 [*pu-ut l*]*a da-ba-ba la ḫa-ra-ra* [*šá* ^{md}EN-PAP A *šá*] 20 [^{md}E]N-*ú-še-zib šá muḫ-ḫi* GIŠ.BAR *šá* ÍD ^{d}[X *a-na muḫ-ḫi*] 21 [A].MEŠ *u qaq-qar*.MEŠ-*šú it-ti* [^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá*] 22 [^{m}*Mu-ra-šu*]-*ú* ^{m}*Ia-di-iḫ-Ia*-[*a-ma na-ši* ...] 23 [... X MA].NA KÙ.BABBAR *i-nam-din*

24 [LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ... ^{m}]DIN-*su*-^{d}AMAR.UTU ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* A *šá* ^{m}[...] 25 [...]-*ia-ma-nu* ^{md}MAŠ-MU LÚ *šak-nu šá* E[N.LÍL.KI] 26 [A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SU ...]-*Ia-a-ma* A *šá* ^{m}*Pa-la-ṭa*-[*a-a*] 27 [... ^{m}ARA]D-*ia* A *šá* ^{m}DÙG.GA X [...]

28 [LÚ.ŠID ...] EN.LÍL.KI ITI.NE UD.5.KÁM [MU.24.KÁM] 29 [^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su*] LUGAL KUR.KUR

3.[a] (CBS 12864) Nippur 20/I/22 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 ^{md}*En-líl-ḫa-tin* A-*šú šá* ^{m}[*Mu-ra-šu-ú ina ḫu-ud lib-bi-šú a-na*] 2 ^{m}*Ka-ṣir* A-*šú šá* ^{md}EN-*na-ṣ*[*ir* LÚ *šak-nu šá* LÚ *šu-šá-né* MEŠ] 3 [DU]MU LÚ *ḫi-sa-nu ki-a-am iq-*[*bi um-ma* ŠE.NUMUN *zaq-pi u* KA *šul-pu*] 4 LÚ *ia-a-da-*ᵇ *u* LÚ *ra-bi-ia* ᵇ É LÚ.BAN [*šá* ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-DÙ A-*šú šá* ...]-*šú* 5 ŠE.NUMUN *zaq-pi ù* KA *šul-pu* [LÚ *ia-a-du-*ᵇ *u* LÚ] ᵀ*ra-bi-ia*ᵀ *šá* É LÚ.BAN 6 *šá* ^{md}*E*[*n-lí*]*l*-DIN-*iṭ* A-*šú šá* ^{m}*x-x-x*-DINGIR ŠE.NUMUN *zaq-pi ù* KA *šul-pu* 7 LÚ *ia-a-du-*ᵇ *ù* LÚ *ra-bi-ia šá* ^{m}*Lib-luṭ* A-*šú šá* ^{m}*La-qip* 8 ᵀ*ú*ᵀ LÚ *ia-a-du-*ᵇ M[EŠ] *u* LÚ *ra-bi-ia šá* LÚ.EN BAN.MEŠ-*a-tú* [c] 9 [*a*]*n-ni-tú* ᵀ*ù* ŠEᵀ.NUMUN *zaq-pi ù* KA *šul-pu* E. LÚ.BAN 10 *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU *e-lat* LÚ *ia-a-du-*ᵇ MEŠ 11 *ù* LÚ *ra-bi-ia šá* ^{m}*Ki-din* ᵀA *šá*ᵀ ^{md}*En-líl*-BA(!)-*šá kul-lu* 12 *a-na* GIŠ.BAR *a-di* 10.TA MU.AN.NA.MEŠ *bi in-nam-ma* (Lo. Ed.) 13 *ina* MU.AN.NA $\frac{5}{6}$ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *lu-ud-dak-ka*(!) 14 *ár-ki* ^{m}*Ka-ṣir iš-me-šú-*⟨⟨MEŠ⟩⟩-*ma* ŠE.NUMUN *zaq-pi* 15 *ù* KA ᵀ*šul*ᵀ-*pu* LÚ *ia-a-du-*ᵇ LÚ *ra-bi-ia* (Rev.) 16 *šá* LÚ.BAN *šá* ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-DÙ *šá* LÚ.BAN *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-DIN-*iṭ* 17 *šá* LÚ.BAN *šá* ^{m}*Lib-luṭ ù* LÚ.BAN *šá* ^{md}MAŠ(!)-DIN-*iṭ* PAP 4.TA 18 *šá ina* URU É ^{m}*Mu-ra-nu* GÚ ÍD *Ḫar-ri-Pi-qu-du* ⟨*ana* GIŠ.BAR *adi* 10.TA MU.AN.NA.MEŠ *id-daš-šú*⟩ 20 *ina* MU.AN.NA KÙ.

3. Pp. 13 n. 47, 77, 104 n. 1, 147 nn. 59 and 61.

[a] Cf. PBS 2/1 30 (18/XII(?)/1 Darius II), PBS 2/1 63 (—/V/3 Darius II), and PBS 2/1 87 (4/VII/4 Darius II), dealing with some of the same properties.

[b] *jāda*ᵓ (*jādu*ᵓ): cf. (LÚ) *uᵓdu* (Cardascia *Murašû*, 102 n. 11, with complete references, *AHw.*, s.v., and Zadok, *BiOr* 41 (1984) 34f.. *rabia*: cf. LÚ *ra-bi-ia ša* LÚ *ḫaṭar* (heading a section of a list of amounts of silver), Durand, *TBER*, pl. 50 AO 17637:37 (= Joannès, *TEBR*, 31ff. no. 1), written at Nippur in the reign of Artaxerxes II; x *uṭṭatu* x *suluppē ana* PN *u* PN_2 *ana kurummāti* LÚ *ra-bi-ia ša dullu inna*ᵓ, "give x barley and x dates to PN and PN_2 for rations for the supervisor of the work", CT 55 30:7 (letter, reign of Darius I); barley *ana kurummāti* LÚ *ra-bi-iá* PN *ina qībi* PN, "rations of the supervisor of (i.e., under the control of) PN, (issued) on PN's order", CT 55 381:20; and barley *kurummāti* 5 LÚ *ra-bi-ia* PN, CT 57 720:24 (both Darius I or earlier).

[c] Cf. *mar-ši-pir-a-ta*, BE 9 84:7.

BABBAR a_4 $\frac{5}{6}$ MA.NA [19] 1-*en* DUG *dan-nu* 1-*en* UDU.NÍTA[d] [(20)] [md]*En-líl-ḫa-tin a-na* [m]*Ka-ṣir* [21] *i-nam-din ul-tu* ITI.BÁR *šá* MU.22.KÁM [m]*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL [22] ŠE.NUMUN LÚ *ia-a-du-*ʾ *u* LÚ *ra-bi-ia ina pa-ni* [md]*En-líl-ḫa-tin*

[23] LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ [m]*Im-bi-*[d]30 A [md]30-*ra*(!)-*mu* [m]ARAD-[d]MAŠ A-*šú šá* [24] [m]SU-[d]*En-líl* [m]*Ki-din* A-*šú šá* [md]*En-líl*-BA-*šá* [m]*Man-nu-ki-i-*[d]*Na-na-a* [25] A [*šá* [m]B]A-*šá-a* [m]EN-*šú-nu* A *šá* [md]EN-*it-tan-nu* [m]MU-[d]*En-líl* [r]A *šá* [m]*Kiʾ*-[...] [26] [m][...]-[d]*En-líl* A *šá* [m]ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU [md]MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU A [r]*šáʾ* [...] [27] [md][*Lí*]-*si-a-a* A *šá* [m]ARAD-[d]MAŠ

LÚ.ŠID [m][... A *šá*] (Up. Ed.) [28] [m]*Ta-at-tan-nu* EN.LÍL.KI ITI.BÁR UD.20.KÁM [MU.22. KÁM] [29] [m]*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

KÙ.BABBAR [ʾ*a* $\frac{5}{6}$ MA.NA] [30] GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ *šá* MU.23.KÁ[M [md]*En-líl-ḫa-tin* SUM-*na*]

(Le. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / [m]*Ka-ṣir* [e]

(Le. Ed.) [...]*t kṣr* / *br blnṣr* (Rev.) [r]*l*(?)[ʾ]*llḫtn* [f]

4. (CBS 4998) Nippur 30/—/2 Darius II

(Obv.) [1] [m]*Ri-mut-*[d]*Nin-urta* DUMU *šá* [m]*Mu-ra-šu-ú ina ḫu-*⟨*ud*⟩ *lìb-bi-šú a-na* [2] [m]SILIM-E.KI DUMU *šá* [md]EN-KI-*ia* LÚ *pa-qa-du šá* [m]*Ar-ta-ú-ma-nu* [3] *ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ *pi šul-pu* NÍG.ŠID *ra-šu-u*(?) *pa-a-*[r]*x*ʾ [4] [...] ḫa ba(?) na A.ŠÀ bi rid(?) da nu u URU *Ḫu-uṣ-se-e-*[*ti šá*] [5] [...] [r]*Ar*(?)ʾ-*ta-ma a-na* GIŠ.BAR *i-bi-*⟨*na*⟩*-am-ma lu-*[*ki-il ár-kí*] [6] [m]SILIM-E.KI *iš-še-e-šu ú* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ *šu-a-tì gab-*[*bi ma-la*] [7] [ḪA].LA *šá* [m]*Ar-ta-*[r]*ú-ma*ʾ-⟨*nu*⟩ *a-na* GIŠ.BAR *a-na* M[U.AN.NA ...] [8] [r]*x x x x x x*ʾ [...] [r]*x x*ʾ [...]

(Rev.) [1′] [rm]*x x*ʾ

[2′] [md]EN-*lu-mur* LÚ.ŠID DUMU *šá* [md]EN-DIN-*su* EN.LÍL.KI IT[I.X] [3′] UD.30.KÁM *šá* MU.2. KÁM [m]*Da-ri-ia-a-muš* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Le. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / [m]SILIM-E.KI

(Up. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / [m]KAR-[d]EN

(Rev.) [*š*]*ṭr s*ʾ*t*(?) *ḥnbny*(?) ʾ[...] [a]

[d] Over erasure of preceding line.

[e] No seal impression accompanies this caption. Cf. No. 55 (duplicate of BE 9 82) and BE 9 67 (near-duplicate of No. 29).

[f] See Clay, "Aramaic Indorsements", 290 and 316, no. 49; PBS 2/1 pl. 122 no. 49 and p. 52 (erroneously assigning this docket to CBS 4998 = No. 4); and Vattioni, *Augustinianum* 10 (1970), 515 no. 113.

4. Pp. 13 n. 47, 68 n. 82, 104 n. 1.

[a] See Clay, "Aramaic Indorsements", 293 and 307, no. 21; PBS 2/1 pl. 119 no. 21; and Vattioni, *Augustinianum* 10 (1970), 512 no. 90.

5. (CBS 13055)

(Obv.) 1 ^{md}*En-lil*-MU-MU DUMU *šá* ^{m}[*Mu-ra-šu-u* ...] 2 *ki-a-am iq-bi um-*[*ma* ...] 3 *šá ina šu-pal* URU [...]

(Rev.) 1′ LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*La-ba-ši* DUMU *šá* ^{m}*Ba-l*[*a-ṭu* ...]

6. (CBS 12977) Nippur 12/VII/41 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 1 GUR ŠE.NUMUN *zaq-pu* GÚ ÍD.UD.KIB.NUN.[KI] 2 *šá ina* URU É *Ba-ḫa-ar-r*[*i*] 3 É LÚ.BAN *šá* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* A *šá* ^{m}*I-li-la-a-a* 4 [*a*]-*na* GIŠ.BAR *a-na* MU.AN.NA 15 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ⌜x⌝ 5 [^{m}*Tat*(?)-*t*]*an-nu ù* [...] GA *ù* ^{m}*x*-[*x*]-*me* 6 [...] SUM [...] *x* [...]

(Rev.) 1′ ^{m}[...] ⌜*x* A *šá* ^{m}*x x x*⌝ [...] 2′ ^{m}ŠEŠ-MU(!) A *šá* ^{m}*L*[*a-ba-ši* ...] 3′ ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{md}EN-[...]

4′ 1-*en-nu* TA.A.NU *šá-ṭa-ri il-q*[*é* ...]

5′ LÚ.ŠID ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* A *šá* ^{m}A-*a* EN.LÍL.KI 6′ ITI.DU$_6$ UD.12.KÁM MU.41.KÁM 7′ ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

7. (CBS 12941) —/—/40 [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) ′ [...] *x* 2′ [... 1]-*en* UDU.NÍTA 3′ [... ^{m}*Ri-mut-*^{d}MAŠ] A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* 4′ [...] ITI.DU$_6$ 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR 1-*en* DUG *dan-nu* 5′ ⌜KAŠ.SAG *ma-lu-ú*⌝ 4 BÁN *qé-me* GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ.MEŠ MU.MEŠ ^{m}*Ri-mut-*^{d}MAŠ 6′ *a-na* ^{m}*Pa-me-e i-nam-din* TA ITI.ŠU *šá* MU.40.[KÁM] 7′ GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ.MEŠ *ina* IGI ^{m}*Ri-mut-*^{d}MAŠ

(Rev.) 8′ LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{m}ḪA.LA-^{d}AG A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-še-zib-*^{d}EN ^{m}*Ba-la-*[*ṭu*] 9′ A *šá* ^{md}EN-*it-tan-nu* ^{m}*Ni-in-na-ka-*’ LÚ.DUMU.É 10′ [*šá* ^{m}*Za-t*]*a-me-e* ^{md}MAŠ-*mu-tir-ri*-ŠU A *šá* ^{md}AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU 11′ [^{md}MAŠ-MU A *šá*] ^{md}MAŠ-SU

(Rev.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{m}*Ni-in-na-ka-*’

(Ri. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{m}DIN A *šá* / ^{md}EN-*it-tan-nu*

(Lo. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{m}*Pa-me-e* // NA$_4$.KIŠIB / [^{m}ḪA.L]A-^{d}AG

8. (CBS 13065+13076) —/—/22 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1′ ⌜A *šá* ^{m}⌝*Mu-ra-š*[*u-ú* ...] 2′ $\frac{5}{6}$ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR GIŠ(!).BAR [...] 3′ [^{m}*Za*]-*ba-du i-nam-din* TA ITI.[...] (Lo. Ed.) 4′ [ŠE].NUMUN *ina* IGI-*šú* GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ *šá* MU.22.K[ÁM] 5′ ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL ^{m}*Za-ba-du ina* ŠU^{II} (Rev.) 6′ ^{md}50-*ḫa-tin ma-ḫir e-ṭir* 7′ ⌜*nab-bal-kát*⌝-*ta-*[*nu* X M]A.NA ⌜KÙ.BABBAR *i-nam*⌝-[*din*]

5. P. 104 n. 1.
6. Pp. 104 n. 1, 117 n. 28, *127*.
7. P. 104 n. 1.
8. Pp. 104 n. 1, 147 n. 59.

9. (CBS 13031) —/—/4 Darius II

(Obv.) 1′ [... ^{m}A-*a* A] ˹*šá* ^{md}*En-lil*-DIN-*su*-E˺ [...] 2′ [...]-*ri* ^{m}*Ri-mut*-^{d}MAŠ *a-na* [...] 3′ [...]-*ši i-nam-din ina* u_4*-mu* ^{md}AG-*mu-še-tìq*-UD.DA 4′ [*u* ...] ŠE.NUMUN MU.MEŠ *a-na* ^{m}*Ri-mut*-^{d}MAŠ *i-te-kim-*˹ 5′ [...] *a-na* ^{m}*Ri-mut*-^{d}MAŠ *i-nam-din-nu-*˹ 6′ [TA ITI.X *šá* M]U.4.KÁM ^{m}*Da-ra-muš* LUGAL ŠE.NUMUN MU.MEŠ 7′ [*a-di* X.TA M]U.AN.NA.MEŠ *ina* IGI ^{m}*Ri-mut*-^{d}MAŠ

(Rev.) 8′ [LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{md}*En-lil*-M]U-*lil-bir* A *šá* ^{m}*Na-din* 9′ [...] A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-MU 10′ [...]-MU-MU 11′ [...]-*ṣir*

(Lo. Ed.) [*ṣu*]-*pur* / [...]-*šú-nu* // NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{m}ŠEŠ-MU(!)

(Rev.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{md}*En-lil*-MU-*lil-bir* / A *šá* ^{m}*Na-din*

10. (CBS 12981) 4/—/26 [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) 1 [...] *e-pu-uš* ˹É GIŠ(?).GIGIR(?)˺ LÚ(?) X 2 [...] A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU 3 [^{md}MAŠ-MU] A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SU LÚ *šak-nu šá* EN.LÍL.KI ^{m}*Ka-ṣir*(?) 4 [...] *šá* ^{m}*A-qu-bi-iá* LÚ *paq-du šá* ^{m}*Un-na-tú* 5 [... ŠE.NUM]UN MU.MEŠ *a-na er-ru-šu-tú* 6 [*a-na* ^{md}*En-lil*-M]U-MU A *šá* ^{md}*Mu-ra-šu-u id-din* 7 [...] *lìb-bi* 4-*ú* ḪA.LA A.ŠÀ

(Rev.) 8 [...]-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SUR 9 [...] ^{m}SU-^{d}50 A *šá* ^{md}50-*ba-na* 10 [...] *šá* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* ^{md}50-KÁD A *šá* ^{m}I-^{d}MAŠ 11 [... A] *šá* ^{m}ARAD-*iá* ^{md}MAŠ-PAP A *šá* ^{m}DIN-*su*-^{d}ME.ME

12 [LÚ.ŠID ^{md}50-DIN]-*iṭ* A *šá* ^{m}NUMUN-*kit-ti*-GIŠ 13 [ITI.X] UD.4.KÁM MU.26.KÁM 14 [^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LU]GAL KUR.KUR

(Up. Ed.) 15 [1-*en* T]A.ÀM *šá-ṭa-ri* TI-*ú*

(Lo. Ed.) [NA$_4$.KIŠIB ^{m}...]-^{d}EN

11. (CBS 5205) Nippur 10/III/40 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 ^{m}MU-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-MU ^{md}*En-lil-it-tan-nu u* ŠEŠ.[MEŠ]-*šú* A.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}I-^{d}EN ^{m}*Ba-rik-Ìl-tam-meš* A *šá* 2 ^{m}*Ki-rib-tú*-^{d}EN ^{m}AD-*a-a-qa-ri* A *šá* ^{m}ZI-[*tì*] ^{m}MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*La-ba-ši u* LÚ *ki-na-at-ta-ti-šú-nu* 3 *gab-bi šá ina* URU *Ḫu-uṣ-ṣe-e-tú šá* ^{m}*Za-ru-*˹*ut*˺-tu_4 *ina ḫu-ud lib-bi-šú-nu a-na* ^{md}*En-lil*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-u* 4 *ki-a-am iq-bu-ú um-ma* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ K[A *šul-pu šá*] ^{m}*Ar-šá-mu* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ KA *šul-pu uz-ba-ri* 5 *šá* Í[D].^{d}UD.SAR.˹ŠE˺.GA ŠE.NUMUN KA *šul-p*[*u*] *šá* ^{m}KI-^{d}UTU-DIN ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ KA *šul-pu šá* LÚ.MÁ.LAḪ$_4$.MEŠ 6 ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ KA *šul-pu* ku(?) ud(?) da(?) am(?) *ḫu*(?) *šá ina ta-mir-tu*$_4$ *šá* ^{m}*Ḫu-ma-a-a u Ḫu-uṣ-ṣe-e-tú šá* ^{m}*Za-ru-ut-t*[u_4] 7 TA *mi-ṣìr šá* URU É [...] *a-di* G[Ú Í]D ^{m}*Ta-lim u a-di ka-as-lu šá* É ^{m}*Ki-ki-i* 8 ŠE.NUMUN KA *šul-pu* É [*rit*]-*ti šá* DUMU.[MEŠ] URU *šá Ḫ*[*u-u*]*ṣ-ṣe-e-tú šá* ^{m}*Za-ru-ut-tu*$_4$ 40 GU$_4$ [*um*]-*man-nu* 9 *šá* 10

9. P. 104 n. 1.
10. Pp. 51 n. 62, 68 n. 82, 104 n. 1.
11. Pp. 42 n. 21, *65*, 74, 75, 131 table 3, 136 table 5, 139 table 7, 141 table 8.

GIŠ.APIN *a-di ú-*[*nu-ti*]*-šú-nu* [*gam-ri*] *u ana* ŠE.NUMUN 1 ME 30 GUR ŠE.BAR 6 GUR 3 (PI) 2 BÁN ŠE.GIG.BA [10] 12 GUR ŠE.ʳZÍZ.ÀMʾ [... x] GUR ŠE.SUM.SAR.SIKIL *u* 70 GUR ŠE.BAR *ana ḫe-ru-tú* [*šá* ÍD.MEŠ] [11] [*a-na* GIŠ.BAR *adi* x.TA MU.AN.NA.M]EŠ *bi in-na-an-na-šim-ma ina* MU.AN.NA *ina* ITI.[GU_4] [12] ʳ1 LIM 3 ME GURʾ [ŠE.BAR 1 ME GUR ŠE.GI]G.BA [1] ME GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM PAP 1 LIM 5 ME EB[UR ...] [13] 2 GUR *saḫ-lí-e* [... x] GUR ŠE.SUM.SAR.SIKIL [...] [14] *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu* GAL-*u ina muḫ-ḫi* ÍD.^{d}3[0] [...] [15] *nid-dak-ku ár-ki* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *iš-me-*[*šú-nu-ti-ma* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ MU.MEŠ GU_4.MEŠ *ʾa* 40] [16] *a-di ú-nu-ti-šú-nu* TIL-*tì u ana* ŠE.NUMUN 1 ME(!) [30 GUR ŠE.BAR 6 GUR 3 (PI) 2 BÁN ŠE.GIG.BA 12 GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM] (Rev.) [17] 4 GUR ŠE.SUM.SIKIL 1 GUR ŠE.SUM.SAR *u* 70 GUR ŠE.BAR *ana ḫe-*[*ru-tú šá* ÍD.MEŠ *id-daš-šú-nu-ti-ma*] [18] *ina* MU.AN.NA *ina* ITI.GU_4 1 LIM 3 ME GUR ŠE.BAR 1 ME ŠE.GIG.BA [1 ME GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM PAP 1 LIM 5 ME GUR EBUR] [19] 2 GUR *saḫ-lí-e* 2 (PI) 3 BÁN Ú.EBUR.SAR 12 GUR ŠE.SUM.SAR 4 GUR [...] [20] *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu* GAL-*u ina muḫ-ḫi* ʳÍD ^{d}30 *u man-dat-tu*$_4$ 1-*en* GU_4 x UDU.NÍTA.NITA *u* 1 *x*ʾ [...] [21] *i-nam-din-*ʾ 1-*en* [*pu-ut* 2-*i ana* KAR *na*]-*šu-u šá qé-reb* KAR TA ITI.SIG_4 *šá* MU.[4]1. KÁM GIŠ.BAR [MU.MEŠ] [22] [*ina*] ʳIGI-*šú-nu*ʾ

[23] ʳLÚ.MU.KIN_7 ^{m}ARADʾ-[^{d}MAŠ A *šá* ^{md}]MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ* ^{md}MAŠ-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SU [24] ^{md}MAŠ-PAP *u* ^{md}MAŠ-*mu-tir-r*[*i*]-ŠU A.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU ^{md}*En-líl-ki-šìr* A *šá* ^{m}[ARAD-^{d}*En-líl*] [25] ^{m}MU-^{d}AMAR.UTU A *šá* ^{m}DIN-*su*-^{d}AMAR.UTU [^{m}]SU-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl-ba-na* ^{m}MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Tat-ta*[*n-nu*] [26] ^{m}A-*a* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-DIN-*su*-E ^{md}*E*[*n*]-*líl*-DU-A A *šá* ^{m}*Ka-ṣir* ^{md}EN-*it-tan-nu* A *šá* [27] ^{md}EN-DIN-*su* ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}MU-D[U] ^{m}*Ba-la-ṭu* A *šá* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* ^{m}ARAD-*iá* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU

[28] LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*Ta-qiš*-^{d}ME.ME A *šá* ^{m}MU-^{d}*En-líl* EN.LÍL.KI ITI.SI[G_4] UD.10.KÁM MU.40.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

12. (CBS 12841) Nippur 13/VIII/37 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] ^{md}AG-ŠEŠ-*it-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{md}*Na-na-a*-MU *ina ḫu-ud lìb-bi-šú a-na* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* [2] ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma* 4 GU_4.ḪI.A *um-man-ni* [3] *a-di ú-nu-ut-ti-šú-nu ga-mar a-na muḫ-ḫi* ŠE.NUMUN É *rit-ti-ia* [4] *šá ina muḫ-ḫi* ÍD *Ḫar-ri-Pi-qud u* ŠE.NUMUN É *rit-ti-iá šá ina* É(?) *Ḫa-ni-ki-i-ni* [5] *i-bi in-na-am-ma ina* MU.AN.NA 1 ME 50 GUR ŠE.BAR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu* [6] *šá ú-si-iš-tu*$_4$ *lud-dak-ka ár-ki* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *iš-me-e-šu-ma* [7] 4 GU_4.ḪI.A *um-man-ni a-di ú-nu-tú-šú-nu gam-ri a-na muḫ-ḫi* ŠE.NUMUN [8] É *rit-ti-šú šá ina muḫ-ḫi* ÍD *Ḫar-ri-Pi-qud u* ŠE.NUMUN É *rit-ti-šú* [9] *šá ina* É(?) *Ḫa-ni-*ʾ-ʳ*ki*ʾ*-ni id-da-áš-ši ina* MU.AN.[NA *ina* ITI].GU_4 [10] ŠE.BAR ʾ[*a* 1 ME 50] GUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá* ʳ*ú-si*ʾ-[*iš-t*]*u*$_4$ ^{m}[^{d}AG-ŠEŠ-*it-tan-nu*] [11] *ina* URU *Ḫa-a-a*-x [GÚ Í]D *Ḫar-ri-Pi-qud i-na*[*m-din* TA] ITI.SIG *šá* MU.37.KÁM [12] ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-*[*as-su* LUGAL G]IŠ.BAR *ina* IGI-[*šú pu-ut*] *e-ṭir šá* ŠE.BAR *ʾa* [13] [1 M]E 5[0 GUR GU_4.ḪI.A *ʾa*] 4 *um-*[*man-ni a-di ú*]*-nu-tú-šú-nu* [14] [... *n*]*a-ši*

(Rev.) [15] [LÚ.MU.KIN_7 ^{m}*Ni-na-ak-ka*] LÚ.DUMU.É *šá* ^{m}*Za-t*[*a-me-e*] [16] ʳ^{md}MAŠ-Aʾ-DU A *šá* ^{m}[...] ^{m}MU-^{d}AMAR.UTU A *šá* ^{md}AG-NU[MUN-DU] [17] ^{m}*Ú-bar* A *šá* ^{m}[^{d}*Bu-ne-n*]*e*-DÙ

^{m}MU-^{d}EN A *šá* ^{md}EN-AD-[ÙRU] 18 ^{m}ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU [A *ša* ...] ^{m}A-*a* A *šá* ^{m}*Si-lim*-DINGIR.MEŠ 19 ^{m}KAL-[*a* A *šá* ^{m}...]

20 LÚ.ŠID ^{md}MAŠ-*na-ṣir* A [*šá* ^{m}]ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* EN.LÍL.KI ITI.APIN UD.13.KÁM 21 MU. 37(!).KÁM [^{m}]*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Rev.) *x x* ^{md}AG-ŠEŠ-*it-tan-nu* / NA_4.KIŠIB ^{m}*Ni-din-tu*$_4$ A *šá* / ^{md}*Na-na-a*-MU *ku-um* NA_4.KIŠIB-*šú* [a]

(Traces of Aramaic docket in ink.)

(Up. Ed.) NA_4.KIŠIB ^{m}*Ú-bar* / A *šá* ^{md}*Bu-ne-ne*-DÙ // NA_4.KIŠIB ^{m}MU-^{d}EN / A *šá* ^{md}EN-AD-ÙRU [b]

(Lo. Ed.) [N]A_4.KIŠIB / [^{m}*Ni*]-*na-ak-ka* / [LÚ.DU]MU.É / [*šá* ^{m}*Za*]-*ta-me*-[*e*]

(Le. Ed.) NA_4.KIŠIB / ^{m}MU-^{d}AMAR.UTU A *šá* / ^{md}AG-NUMUN-DU

(Ri. Ed.) NA_4.KIŠIB / ^{m}DINGIR.MEŠ-*za-bad-du* / A *šá* ^{m}A-*a*

13. (CBS 5174 + 12893) —/III(?)/38 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1′ ⌜*x x*⌝ [...] 2′ *šá ina ma-ḫar*(!) *x* [...] 3′ 8 GUR GIG.BA *ù* ŠE.NUMUN *bi-*[*rit* ÍD.MEŠ *u* GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ *šá* URU LU]GAL-*a-ba-nu-u* [...] 4′ *ina mi-ṣa-ri-šú u* GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Sa-an-gi-*[*lu ... u* LÚ *ki-n*]*a-at-ta-ti-šú* URU [...] 5′ 6 GU_4 *um-man-ni a-di ú-nu-tú-šú-nu gam-ri* [*u ana* TUR.ŠE.NUMUN x] GUR ŠE.BAR 2 GUR SUM.SAR [x GUR SUM.SIKIL.SAR] 6′ 2 (PI) 3 BÁN *rak-ki-bi* SAR[a] 1 BÁN *zi-im-zi-im-mu* [SAR x BÁN *mi*]-*ir-gu* SAR *a-na* GIŠ.BAR *a-*[*di* 3.TA MU.AN.NA.MEŠ] 7′ *i-bi in-na-am-ma* GIŠ.BAR *šá* ÍD.UD.UD.[KI *ina*] MU.AN.NA 1 LIM 2 ME GUR ŠE.B[AR 70] GUR ŠE.GIG.BA 8′ 10 GUR ŠE.ZAG.ḪI.LI PAP 1 LIM 2 ME ⌜80 GUR⌝ EBUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá ú-si-*[*iš*]-tu_4 *lud-dak-ka* 9′ *u* GIŠ.BAR *šá bi-rit* ÍD.MEŠ *u* GIŠ.BAN.[MEŠ] *ša* URU LUGAL-*a-ba-nu-ú-a ina* MU.AN.NA 4 [ME] GUR ŠE.BAR 10′ 6 G[UR SU]M.SAR 8 GUR SUM.SIKIL.SAR 1 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN *rak-ki-bi* 5 BÁN *zi-im-zi-i*[*m*] 5 BÁN *mi-ir-g*[*u* SAR] 11′ 1 GUR [EBUR.S]AR PAP 4 ME ⌜16 GUR⌝ 4 (PI) 1 BÁN EBUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá ú-si-i*[*š-t*]u_4 *lud-dak-k*[*a*] 12′ *u ina* MU.AN.N[A x MA].NA KÙ.BABB[AR *ana* GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ] *šá* URU LUGAL-*a-ba-nu-ú u man-dat-*[*tu* ŠE.NUMUN].MEŠ [...] 13′ *šá* ÍD.[UD.U]D.KI [...] 1-*en* GU_4 [...] ⌜*x x*⌝ [... *u man-dat-tu*$_4$] 14′ *šá* ŠE.NUMUN *bi-rit* ⌜ÍD⌝.MEŠ *u* GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ *šá* [URU LUGAL-*a-ba-nu-ú* x DUG *dan-nu*] KAŠ *ù* [...] 15′ *lud-dak-ka* ⌜*ár*⌝-*ki* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *iš-me-šu-*[*ma*] ÍD.UD.UD.KI ŠE.NUMUN *bi-rit* Í[D.MEŠ *u*] 16′ ŠE.NUMUN *šá* GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ *šá* URU LUGAL-*a-ba-nu-ú i-na mi-ṣa-ri-ši-na* GU_4 *ú-nu-tú u* TUR.ŠE.NUMUN *ana* GIŠ.[BAR] (Rev.) 17′ *a-di* 3.[TA] MU.AN.NA.MEŠ *id-da-*

12. Pp. 129 table 2, 130.
[a] PBS 14 no. 883.
[b] PBS 14 no. 891.
13. Pp. 14 n. 53, 76, *131 n. 16*, 132 table 4, 141 table 8. Probably joins Ni 2841.
[a] Cf. No. 14:9, 12, and 23.

áš-ši ina MU.AN.NA 1 LIM 6 ME GUR ŠE.BAR ⌜70 GUR ŠE.⌝[GIG.BA ...] 18′ 10 GUR ŠE.ZAG.[ḪI].LI 6 GUR SUM.SAR 8 GUR S[UM.SIKIL.SAR] 1 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN [*rak-ki-bi* 5 BÁN *mi-ir-gu* SAR] 19′ 5 BÁN *zi-im-zi-im-mu* 1 GUR EBUR.SAR [PAP 1 LIM 6 ME 96 GUR 4 (PI) 1 BÁN *ana* GIŠ.BAR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu*] 20′ *šá ú-si-iš-tu*$_4$ *i-nam-din ina* MU.AN.NA [X MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *ana* GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ *šá* URU LUGAL-*a-ba-nu-ú i-nam-din*] 21′ *u man-dat-ti* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ MU.MEŠ *ina* MU.AN.[NA 1-*en* GU$_4$ X] UDU.NÍ[TA.NITA] *i-nam-din* 22′ TA ITI.SIG$_4$ MU.⌜38⌝.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-*[*taḫ*]*-šá-as-su* LUGAL GIŠ.BAR *a-d*[*i* 3.TA] MU.AN.NA.ME *ina* IGI-*šú* 23′ *e-lat* GIŠ.BAR.MEŠ [*šá*]*-ni-tu*$_4$ *šá* ^{md}*En-*[*líl*]-MU-MU *šá ina* É GIŠ.BAR M[U.M]EŠ *u* É *maš-ka-na-a-tú* 24′ *šá* ^{md}*En-*[*líl-*M]U-MU *šá ina lìb-bi* GIŠ.[BAR] *ina* IGI-*šú*

25′ LÚ *mu-kin-nu* ^{m}*Šá-*[*ta*]*-ba-ar-za-na-*' A *šá* ^{m}*x-*[... ^{m}]*Bi-ba-a u* ^{m}*Mi-nu-ú-*^{d}EN-*da-an* A.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}BE-MU 26′ ^{md}*A-num-*[NUMUN-M]U A *šá* ^{md}*A-num-*SIPA-*šú-nu* ^{m}[ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* A] *šá* ^{m}RU-*tì-*^{d}[MAŠ ^{m}]*Na-din* A *šá* ^{m}BA-*šá-a* 27′ ^{m}A-*a* A *šá* ^{m}[^{d}*En-líl*]-DIN-*su-*E ^{m}SU-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{m}[^{d}*En-lil-ba-na* ^{md}MAŠ-PAP A *šá* ^{md}]AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU 28′ ^{m}*Ba-la-ṭu* [A *šá* ^{m}EN]-*šú-nu* ^{m}K[A]L-*a* A *šá* ^{m}SUM-*n*[*a-a* ...] ^{m}*La-ba-ši* ⌜A *šá* ^{m}⌝*Na-din*

14. (CBS 4999) Nippur 25/VII/40 [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) 1 [^{m}*Ri-bat* A *šá* ^{md}EN-S]U LÚ.ARAD *šá* ^{md}*En-líl-*MU-MU *ina ḫu-ud lìb-bi-šú* ⌜*a-na*⌝ ^{md}*En-líl-*MU-MU EN-*šú* A *šá* 2 [^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú*] *ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma* ÍD [*Ú-ga-ri-*B]ÀD-^{d}*En-líl šá* TA ÍD *Ḫar-ri-Pi-qud* 3 [A.MEŠ *na*]*-šu-ú* 15 *u* 150 TA KÁ-*šú a-di ši-li-*[*iḫ-ti*]*-šú a-šar* A.MEŠ-*šú il-la-ku-*' 4 [ŠE.NUMUN.ME]Š KA *šul-pu šá* É GIŠ.GIGIR ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ *uz-*⌜*ba*⌝*-ri šá* LUGAL *šá ina muḫ-ḫi* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ É GIŠ.BAR.MEŠ 5 [*šá* ^{md}E]N-DÙ ^{m}ŠEŠ-*li-it-*' *u* ^{m}*Mu-še-zib-*^{d}EN *šá ina* URU É ^{m}*Šu-la-a* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ É GIŠ.BAR *šá* ^{m}EN-*a* 6 [*ù*] ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ É GIŠ.BAR *šá* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*ia-a-li-da u* LÚ *ki-na-at-ta-ti-*⟨*šú*⟩ *ina* URU *Pu-ṣa-a-a* 60 GU$_4$.ḪI.A *um-man-nu* 7 *a-di ú-nu-ti-šú-nu gam-ri ana* ŠE.NUMUN 2 ME 14 GUR ŠE.BAR 10 GUR GIG.BA 35 GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM 8 ⌜X⌝ GUR ŠE.GIŠ.Ì 5 GUR GÚ.GAL 3 GUR GÚ.TUR 1 GUR ŠE *duḫ-nu* 1 GUR 3 (PI) 1 BÁN SUM.SAR 2 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN SUM.SIKIL.SAR 9 [X] GUR SUM *rak-ki-bi* SAR[a] 1 BÁN 3 SILÀ *zi-im-zi-im* SAR 2 BÁN *mi-ir-gu* SAR 2 BÁN ŠE.NU.ḪA *a-na* GIŠ.BAR 10 [*a-d*]*i* 3.TA MU.AN.NA.MEŠ *bi-na-am-ma ina* MU.AN.NA 3 LIM 3 ME 50 GUR ŠE.BAR 1 ME GUR ŠE.GIG.BA 11 [3] ME GUR Š[E.ZÍZ].ÀM 30 GUR GÚ.GAL 20 GUR [GÚ].TUR 55 GUR ŠE *duḫ-nu* 1 ME 50 GUR ŠE.GIŠ.Ì 12 [5] GUR Š[E.ZAG.ḪI.LI] 2 (PI) 3′BÁN EBUR.SAR 5 GUR SUM.SAR 10 GUR SUM.SIKIL.SAR 5 [GUR SUM *rak-ki-b*]*i* SAR 13 [2 BÁN 3 SILÀ *zi-im-zi-im*] SAR 1 (PI) ⌜4 BÁN⌝ *mi-ir-g*[*u* SAR] 3 (PI) 2 BÁN ŠE.⌜NU⌝.ḪA PAP 4 LIM 1[9] GUR 3 PI 3 SILÀ 14 ⌜EBUR(?) *x*⌝ *e-lat* 20 GU[R] GAZI.SAR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá ú-si-iš-tu*$_4$ *lud-dak-ka* 15 5 ME ŠU^{II} *šá* GADA [2 GU$_4$.ḪI].A [20] UDU.NÍTA.NITA *man-*[*d*]*at-*[*tú l*]*ud-dak-ka ár-ki* ^{md}*En-líl-*MU-[MU *iš-m*]*e-e-šu-ma* 16 [ÍD] *Ú-ga-ri-*[BÀD-^{d}*En-líl*] ⌜TA KÁ-*šú*⌝ *a-di ši-li-i*[*ḫ-t*]*i-šú a-*

14. Pp. 132 table 4, 136 table 5, 139 table 7, 141 table 8. Duplicate of No. 15.

[a] Also in No. 13:6′ and 10′. Cf. Aramaic *rikpa*, dyer's weed (Löw *Flora*, III, 126ff.; Jastrow *Dict.*, 1480).

[b] Cf. LÚ.ENGAR-*ú-tu* indicating sharecropping tenancy, Durand, *TBER*, pl. 51 AO 17640:4 (= Joannès, *TEBR*, 74 no. 23), but indicating tenancy on terms of periodic assessments of rent; also Ni 518:5 (unpub. Murašû text).

šar A.MEŠ-[*šú i*]*l-la-ku-*ʾ [17] [...] ⌜*x x x x*⌝ [...] ⌜ŠE⌝.NUMUN.MEŠ [É] GIŠ.BAR *šá* ^{md}⌜EN-DÙ⌝ *u* LÚ *ki-na-*⌜*at-ti-šú*⌝ [18] *šá ina* URU [É] ^{m}*Šu-la-a* ŠE.NUMUN.[MEŠ É GIŠ.BAR *šá* ^{m}EN-*a u* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ É GIŠ.BAR] *šá* ^{m}[ŠEŠ-*i*]*a-a-li-*[*da*] ⌜*ina* URU⌝ [*Pu*]-*ṣa-a-a* [19] 60 GU_4.ḪI.A ⌜*um*⌝-*man-nu a-di ú-nu-*[*ti-šú-nu gam-ri*] *ù* ⟨TUR⟩.ŠE.NUMUN *ki ina šá-*[*ṭa-ri*] *šá-ṭar a-na* GIŠ.BAR (Lo. Ed.) [20] *a-di* 3.TA MU.AN.NA.M[EŠ *id-da-áš-šú ina*] MU.AN.NA *ina* ITI.GU_4 *u* ⌜ITI.X⌝ (Rev.) [21] [ŠE].BAR a_4 3 LIM 3 ME 50 GUR ŠE.GIG.BA *ʾa* 1 ME GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM *ʾa* 3 ME GUR GÚ.GAL *ʾa* 30 GUR [22] GÚ.TUR *ʾa* 20 GUR ŠE *duḫ-nu ʾa* 55 GUR ŠE.GIŠ.Ì *ʾa* 1 ME 50 GUR ŠE.ZAG.ḪI.LI *ʾa* 5 GUR [23] EBUR.SAR *ʾa* 2 (PI) 3 BÁN SUM.SAR *ʾa* 5 GUR SUM.SIKIL.SAR *ʾa* 10 GUR SUM *rak-ki-bi* SAR *ʾa* 3 GUR [24] *zi-im-zi-im* SAR ⟨*ʾa*⟩ 2(!) BÁN 3 SILÀ *mi-ir-gu* SAR *ʾa* 1 (PI) 4 BÁN ŠE.NU.ḪA *ʾa* 3 (PI) 2 BÁN PAP 4 LIM 19 GUR 3 PI 3 SILÀ [25] EBUR ŠE.BAR *u ṣaḫ-ḫa-ri e-lat* 20 GUR GAZI.SAR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá ú-si-iš-tu*$_4$ *i-nam-din* [26] *u ina* MU.AN.NA 5 ME ŠU^{II} *šá* GADA 2 GU_4.ḪI.A *ù* 20 UDU.NÍTA.NITA *man-dat-tu*$_4$ *i-nam-din* [27] TA ITI.BÁR MU.40.KÁM GIŠ.BAR MU.MEŠ *a-di* 3.TA MU.AN.NA.MEŠ *ina* IGI-*šú* 1-*en* TA.ÀM *šá-ṭar* TI-*ú*

[28] URU ^{md}30-EN-*šú-nu u* URU *Uš*(?)-⌜*x*⌝-*ta*(?)-*ra-*ʾ *ana dul-lu* LÚ.ENGAR-*ú-tú* [b] *ina* IGI ^{m}*Ri-bat* [29b] *dul-lu šá-nam-ma šá* ^{md}50-MU-MU *ul ip-pu-uš*

[29a] ⌜LÚ *mu-kin-nu* ^{m}*Lib*⌝-*luṭ* A *šá* ^{m}*La-ba-ši* [30] [^{m}ARAD-^{d}50 A *šá*] ^{m}RU-*tì*-^{d}MAŠ ^{m}A-*a* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-DIN-*su*-E ^{md}MAŠ-*na-ṣir* A *šá* [31] [... ^{m}]*Na-din* A *šá* ^{m}BA-*šá-a* ^{m}SU-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl-ba-na* ^{m}MU-MU A *šá* [32] [... ^{m}*Ba-la*]-*ṭu* A *šá* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* ^{m}ARAD-*ia* A *šá* ^{m}DÙG.GA-*iá* ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}SUM-*na-a*

[33] [LÚ.ŠID ^{md}MAŠ-*na-ṣir* A] *šá* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* EN.LÍL.KI ITI.DU_6 UD.25.KÁM MU.40.KÁM ^{m}*A*[*r-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Rev.) NA_4.KIŠIB ^{m}*Lib-luṭ* / A *šá* ^{m}*La-ba-ši* // NA_4.KIŠIB / ^{m}*Ri-bat* / LÚ.ARAD / ⌜*šá* ^{md}50⌝-MU-MU

15. (CBS 12998) [Nippur] [25/VII/40] Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] [^{m}*Ri-bat* LÚ.ARAD *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *ina ḫu-ud l*]*ìb-bi-šú a-na* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU EN-*šú* DUMU *šá* [2] [^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma* ÍD *Ú-ga-ri*-B]ÀD-^{d}*En-líl šá* TA ÍD *Ḫar-ri-Pi-qud* [3] [A.MEŠ *na-šu-ú* 15 *u* 150 TA KÁ-*šú a-di ši-li-iḫ-ti-šú*] *a-šar* A.MEŠ-*šú il-la-ku-*ʾ [4] [ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ KA *šul-pu šá* É GIŠ.GIGIR ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ *uz-ba-ri šá* LU]GAL *šá ina muḫ-ḫi* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ É GIŠ.BAR.MEŠ [5] [*šá* ^{md}EN-DÙ ^{m}ŠEŠ-*li-it-*ʾ *u* ^{m}*Mu-še-zib*-^{d}EN *šá ina* URU É ^{m}*Šu-la-a*] ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ É GIŠ.BAR *šá* ^{m}EN-*a* [6] [*u* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ É GIŠ.BAR *šá* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*ia-a-li-da u* LÚ *ki-na-at-ta-ti-šú ina* U]RU *Pu-ṣa-a-a* 60 GU_4.ḪI.A *um-man-nu* [7] [*a-di ú-nu-ti-šú-nu gam-ri ana* ŠE.NUMUN 2 ME 14 GUR ŠE.BAR 10 GUR ŠE.GIG.BA 35 GUR Š]E.ZÍZ.ÀM [8] [X GUR ŠE.GIŠ.Ì 5 GUR GÚ.GAL 3 GUR GÚ.TUR 1 GUR ŠE *duḫ-nu* 1 GUR 3 (PI) 1 BÁN SUM.SAR 2 GUR] 2 (PI) 3 BÁN SUM.SIKIL.SAR [9] [X GUR SUM *rak-ki-bi* SAR 1 BÁN 3 SÌLA *zi-im-zi-im* SAR 2 BÁN *mi-ir-gu* SAR 2 BÁN ŠE.NU.ḪA *a-na* GI]Š.BAR

15. Duplicate of No. 14.

(Rev.) 33 [LÚ.ŠID ... EN.LÍL.KI ITI.DU$_6$ UD.25.KÁM MU.40.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-ta*]*ḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

16. (CBS 5186) 20+[x]/VI/34 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 ^{m}ŠEŠ-*ia-l*[*i-da* A *šá* ...] ^{m}SILIM-E.KI A *šá* 2 ^{m}A-*a* ^{m}*Iš-ra-*[*a u* ...] ^{r}A$^{\neg}$.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ-MU 3 *ù* LÚ *ki-na-*^{r}*at-ta-ti-šú*$^{\neg}$ *šá ina* URU *Pu-ṣa-a-a* 4 *ina ḫu-ud lìb-*[*bi-šú-nu*] *a-na* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* 5 [*iq-bu-ú*] *um-ma* 2 GU$_4$ *um-*^{r}*ma*$^{\neg}$*-nu* 5 GUR ŠE.BAR *a-na* ŠE.[NUMUN] 6 [*ana* GIŠ.BAR] *a-di-i* 3.TA MU.A[N.NA] *i-bi in-na-áš-ši-ma* 7 [...] ^{r}*ni-ip-pu*$^{\neg}$-[*uš ina* MU.AN.NA] ^{r}50 GUR ŠE.BAR$^{\neg}$ 8 *ni-id-d*[*ak*]*-ka ár-ki* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *iš-mu-ši-nu-tú-ma* 9 GU$_4$ *'a* ^{r}2$^{\neg}$ [ŠE.BAR] a_4 5 GUR *a-na* GIŠ.BAR *id-da-áš-ši-nu-tú* 10 *ina* MU.AN.[NA *ina* ITI.GU$_4$ 5]0 GUR Š[E.BA]R GIŠ.BAR GU$_4$ *u* ŠE.BAR 11 *ina* GIŠ [*ma-ši-ḫu šá*] ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *ina* URU *Pu-ṣa-a-a* (Lo. Ed.) 12 [*i-nam-din-*$^{\prime}$ 1-*en*] *pu-*⟨*ut*⟩ 2-*i na-šu-ú* 13 [*šá qé-reb iṭ-ṭir* T]A ITI.BÁR *šá* MU.3[5.KÁM] 14 [GIŠ.BAR MU.MEŠ *ina* IGI]-*šú-nu*

(Rev.) 15 LÚ.MU.[KIN$_7$ ...]-*šú-nu* ^{m}ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU 16 A *šá* ^{m}*Bul-*[*luṭ-a* ...]-*x-mu-tir-ri*-ŠU 17 ^{m}*Ki-din* [...]-*mut* ^{m}*Ri-bat* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-MU 18 [...]-*nu* A *šá* ^{m}A-*a* ^{m}EN-^{r}*šú-nu* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl-x*$^{\neg}$ 19 [...] A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-*x*

20 LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*Ú-bar* A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}[...] ITI.KIN UD.20+[x.KÁM] 21 MU.[3]4.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-*[*taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Le. Ed.) *ṣu-*[*pur šá* ^{m}]ŠEŠ-*ia-li-*[*da*] / ^{m}[SILIM]-E.KI / *u* ^{m}[*Iš*]-*ra-a*

(Rev.) *šṭ*[*r s't*] *zy 'l 'ḫyl*[*d*] [... *šlmbbl w 'š*(?)]*rh* [a]

17. (CBS 12892) Nippur 30/III/31 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 ^{md}*En-líl-ma-a-ku-pi-tin* LÚ.ARAD *ša* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *ina ḫu-ud lìb-bi-šú* 2 *a-na* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}[*Mu*]*-ra-šu-ú iq-bi um-ma* 3 ŠE.NUMUN É GIŠ.BAN-*ka u* É *rit-*[*t*]*i-ka šá ina* URU É ^{m}*Mu-ra-nu u* ŠE.NUMUN *šá ina zi-im-ma-nu*[a] ÍD.LÚ.SAG *šá* A.MEŠ *ul-tu* 5 ÍD *Ḫar-ri-Pi-qu-du na-šá-a ul-tu* KÁ-*šú a-di ši-li-iḫ-ti-šú* 6 *a-šar* A.MEŠ-*šú il-la-ku-*$^{\prime}$ *u* ŠE.NUMUN É *rit-ti-ia* 7 ^{r}*šá ina* URU É ^{m}*Na*(?)$^{\neg}$-*ṭi-ri*[b] 12 GIŠ.APIN *šá* 2.MEŠ-*ú* GU$_4$.ḪI.A 8 [*šu-uḫ-ḫa-nu* 60 GUR ŠE.BAR 12 GUR] GIG.BA 1[2] GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM 4 GUR ŠE.GÚ.GAL 9 [2 GUR ŠE.GÚ.TUR 4 PI ŠE.GIŠ.Ì 1 PI *duḫ-nu* 3 G]UR SUM.SAR 4 GUR SUM.SIKIL.SAR 10 [*a-na* GIŠ.BAR *a-di* 3.TA MU.AN.NA.MEŠ *bi in-nam-ma ú-ki-il u ina* MU.AN.NA 1 LIM 2 ME] GUR ŠE.BAR 11 [50 GUR ŠE.GIG.BA 2 ME GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM 45 GUR ŠE].GÚ.GAL

16. Pp. 13 n. 47, 129 table 2, 136 table 5, 139 table 7.

[a] See Clay, "Aramaic Indorsements", 290 and 300, no. 3; PBS 2/1 pl. 116 no. 3; and Vattioni, *Augustinianum* 10 (1970), 511 no. 89.

17. Pp. 27 n. 105, 131 n. 15, 132 table 4, 139 table 7. Near-duplicate of BE 9 30 (12/V/32 Artaxerxes I).

[a] Cf. Zadok, *BiOr* 33 (1976), 6.

[b] Cf. BE 10 129:4; TuM 2-3 146:1 and 148:2; and No. 75:6′. BE 9 30:7 has URU É ^{m}*Mu-ra-nu*, apparently an inadvertent repetition of the place name in line 3.

(Rev.) 1′ [...] x 9 GU[R SU]M.SAR 2′ [... *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá ú-siš-t*]u_4 *šá* ^{md}50-MU-MU SUM-*in* 3′ ˹*ul-tu* ITI.BÁR˺ [MU].31.KÁM *a-di* 3.TA MU.AN.NA.MEŠ[c] GIŠ.BAR *ina* IGI-*šú* 4′ GU_4.ḪI.A *šá ina lìb-bi i-mut-tu*$_4$ *i-zaq-qap* MU.AN.NA *šá qí-bi* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *im-mid*[d]

5′ LÚ *mu-kin-nu* ^{m}*Ba-ni-iá* A *šá* ^{m}*Ba-rik*-DINGIR.MEŠ ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU A *šá* 6′ ^{md}MAŠ-SUR ^{md}MAŠ-*na-din*-MU A *šá* ^{mr}DIN˺-*su*-^{d}AMAR.UTU 7′ ^{m}*Ri-bat* A *šá* ^{m}*Ni-qud* ^{m}MU-MU [A *šá*] ^{m}*Ka-ṣir* ^{m}ARAD(!)-^{d}50 ⟨A⟩ *šá* 8′ ^{m}MU-^{d}*En-líl*

9′ ^{m}*A-qar-a* LÚ.ŠID A *šá* ^{m}*Na-din* [EN].LÍL.KI ITI.SIG_4 UD.30.KÁM 10′ MU.31.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Le. Ed.) [*ṣu*]-*pur* ^{md}50-*ma*-[*ku*]-*pi-tin*

18. (CBS 12938) 1/—/— [Artaxerxes I or Darius II]

(Obv.) 1 [...] A *šá* 2 [...] 3 [... *a-di*] 3.TA MU.AN.NA.MEŠ 4 [... U]RU É *Ba-ḫar-ri* 5 [...] *bi-nam-ma* 6 [*ár-ki* ^{md}*En*]-*líl*-MU-MU *iš-mu-šu-ma* 7 [...] *ina* URU É *Ba-ḫar-ri* 8 [...] *id-daš-šú u* ZÚ.LUM.MA 9 [...] *a-di* 3.TA MU.AN.NA.MEŠ 10 [... MU].AN.NA.MEŠ ŠE.NUMUN MU.MEŠ 11 [...] 4(?) KÙ.BABBAR *ku-um* 12 [...] *i-nam-din* 13 [... M]U.MEŠ *ina* IGI ^{md}50-AŠ-ÙRU(?) 14 [...] *na-áš-par*-[*ti* ...]

(Rev.) 1′ [...] *x* 2′ [...] *x na* 3′ [...] ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* 4′ [...] ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* 5′ [... ^{md}MAŠ-*m*]*u-tir-ri*-ŠU A *šá* 6′ [...] *x* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*É-gal-maḫ* A *šá* 7′ [... ^{m}SU]M-*na-a* ^{md}50-DU-A A *šá* 8′ [^{m}*Ka-ṣir* ...]

9′ [... U]D.1.KÁM 10′ [MU.X.KÁM ... LUGAL KUR].KUR

19. (CBS 12861) Nippur 1/III/38 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 ^{rm}*Taš-ti-bi*˺ *u* ^{m}*Li*[*b-luṭ*] A.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Šá*-KA-UR.DÚR ^{m}DINGIR.MEŠ-*puḫ-ḫir* 2 A *šá* ^{m}*Aq-ri-i*[*a* ^{m}*Tat*]-*tan-nu* A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-*ia* ^{md}EN-DIN-*su* 3 [*u*] ^{m}*Za-bu-du* A.MEŠ [*šá* ^{m}*Tat*]-*tan-nu ina ḫu-ud* [*l*]*ìb-bi-šú-nu a-na* 4 ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}[*Mu-r*]*a-šu-u ki-a-am iq-bu-ú um-*[*ma*] 5 ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Ú-na-a*[*t u*] ŠE.NUMUN *šá* ^{m}*Pa-*˹*ar*˺*-sa-ru-tú* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ 6 *šá* ^{m}*Pit-ri-ia e-lat* ŠE.[NUMUN] É *as-pa-as-tu*$_4$ *u* ŠE.NUMUN 7 [É] SUM.SAR 20 GU_4.MEŠ *u*[*m-man-n*]*u šá* 5.TA ˹GIŠ.APIN.MEŠ *er-bet-tu*$_4$˺ 8 *a-di ú-nu-ti-šú-nu* 5[8 GUR ŠE.BAR 3 GUR 3 (PI) 2 BÁN ŠE.GIG.BA] 9 10 GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM 1 GUR 1 (PI) 4 BÁN [ŠE.GÚ.GAL 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ŠE.GÚ.TUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ŠE.GIŠ.Ì] 10 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ŠE *duḫ-nu a-na* ŠE.NUMUN *a-na* [GIŠ.BAR *ana* 3.TA MU.AN.NA.MEŠ] 11 *i-bi in-*˹*na*˺*-an-na-šim-ma ina* MU.AN.N[A 6 ME GUR ŠE.BAR] 12 [3]0 GUR ŠE.GIG.BA 80 GUR ˹ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM 14 [GUR ŠE.GÚ.GAL] 13 8 GUR ŠE.GÚ.TUR 8 GUR ŠE.GIŠ.Ì 12 GUR ŠE [*duḫ-nu*] 14 10 GUR GAZI.SAR

[c] BE 9 30:25 has TA ITI SIG_4 *šá* MU.32.KÁM *adi* 3.TA MU.AN.NA.MEŠ.

[d] Cf. *alpī ša ina libbi imutti izaqqap*, BE 9 30:26 (also BE 9 29:22 f.) and *alpu ša ina libbi imutti ultu ramanišu ušallam ina šatti ša qībi* PN *immid*, BE 9 26:12 ff.

19. Pp. 131 table 3, *132*, 136 table 5, 139 table 7, 141 table 8.

PAP 7 ME 60-*šu* GUR 1 PI EBUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-š[i-ḫu]* [15] *šá ú-si-ir-tu*$_4$ *ina muḫ-ḫi maš-kát-tu*$_4$ *ni-dak-ka ár-[ki]* [16] ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *iš-me-šú-nu-tú-ma* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ MU.MEŠ GU$_4$.[MEŠ *'a*] [17] 20 *um-man*(!)*-nu šá* 5.TA GIŠ.APIN *er-bet-ti a-di ú-nu-ti-[šú-nu]* (Rev.) [18] *ù a-na* ŠE.NUMUN 58 GUR ŠE.BAR 3 GUR 3 (PI) 2 BÁN ŠE.GIG.BA [19] 10 GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM 1 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ŠE.GÚ.GAL 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ŠE.GÚ.TUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ŠE.GIŠ.Ì 2 (PI) 3 BÁN [ŠE *duḫ-nu*] [20] *a-na* GIŠ.BAR *a-d[i]* 3.TA MU.AN.NA.MEŠ *id-daš-šú-nu-tú* ^{m}*Lib-[luṭ]* [21] ^{m}*Taš-ti-bi* ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* ^{md}EN-DIN-*su u* ^{m}*Za-bu-du ina* [MU.AN.NA] [22] *ina*(!) ITI.GU$_4$ 6 ME GUR ŠE.BAR 30 GUR ŠE.GIG.BA 80 GUR [ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM] [23] 14 GUR ŠE.GÚ.GAL 8 GUR ŠE.GÚ.TUR 8 GUR ŠE.GIŠ.[Ì 10 GUR GAZI.SAR PAP 7 ME 60-*šu* GUR] [24] 1 PI Ú.EBUR.SAR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá ú-si-ir-tu*$_4$ *[i-nam-din-nu-']* [25] *ina muḫ-ḫi maš-kát-tu*$_4$ *ù* '2 ME ŠU^{II} *šá* GADA' *[ana man-dat-tu*$_4$*]* [26] *i-nam-din-nu-' pu-ut e-[ṭe-ru šá* GIŠ.BAR MU.MEŠ] [27] ^{m}*Taš-ti-bi u* ^{m}*Lib-luṭ [na-šu-ú* TA ITI.X *šá* MU.X.KÁM] [28] GIŠ.BAR *ina* IGI-*šú-nu*

LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ [...]-*x*-DU [29] ^{m}A-*a* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-DIN-*s[u*-E ... A *šá* ^{md}MA]Š-PAP [30] ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}MU-*a* ^{m}*Šu*(?)-*[la-a* ... A *šá]* ^{rm}*Tuk-kul-lu*$_4$' ^{m}*La-ba-ši* [31] A *šá* ^{m}*Na-din* ^{m}SU-*a* A *šá* ^{md}M[AŠ-MU] ^{m}MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Ka-ṣir* [32] ^{md}50-DU-A A *šá* ^{m}*Ka-ṣir*

LÚ.ŠID ^{md}UTU-*na-din*-NUMUN A *šá* [33] ^{md}*Bu-ne-ne*-DÙ EN.LÍL.KI ITI.SIG$_4$ UD.1.KÁM MU.38.KÁM [34] ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

me-e šá ṣi šá a-na ^{m}*Ú-na-at* (Up. Ed.) [35] *ina* ÍD *Kit-tú-ma-na u* [Í]D.SAL.ŠÁ.NA.A *ik-kaš-šid-du* [36] *i-šad-dad-du-ú*

20. (CBS 13023)

(Obv.) [1'] [...] É GIŠ.BAN [*šá* ...] [2'] [... ^{md}]*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* [^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú ana* ...] [3'] [... *ana*] LÚ.NU.GIŠ.SAR-*ú-tú a-n[a* ... MU.AN.NA.MEŠ] [4'] [... *i]d-din lìb-bi u ḫa-r[u-ut-tu*$_4$ *i-nam-ṣar a-ṣa-a-tú]* [5'] *[ina lìb-bi ú]-še-eṣ-ṣi dul-lu [ina šu-pa-lu* GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR DÙ-*uš]* [6'] *[ina u*$_4$*-m]u dul-lu ina šu-pa-lu* GI[Š.GIŠIMMAR *la i-te-pu-uš]* [7'] [...] *i-nam-din*

(Rev.) [8'] [LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{md}MAŠ]-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SU [...] [9'] [... ^{m}]KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}SUM-*na-[a* ...] [10'] [...]-^{d}AMAR.UTU A *šá* ^{m}DIN-*su-[*^{d}AMAR.UTU] [11'] [...-ŠE]Š-MU

(Rev.) ['*]rq*' [...]

21. (CBS 13042) 5/—/38 Artaxerxes I

(Rev.?) [1'] [...] *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-[MU ...] [2'] [...] UDU.NÍTA.NITA *šá man-dat-[tú* ...] [3'] [...] *a-na* ^{md}50-MU-MU [...]

[4'] [LÚ.ŠID] ^{md}UTU-*na-din*-NUMUN A *šá* ^{md}*Bu-ne-ne*-DÙ [5'] [...] UD.5.KÁM MU.38.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-[šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

[6'] [1-*en* TA].ÀM *šá-ṭar* TI-*u*

22. (CBS 12883) Nippur 10/XII/26 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 m*Bi-ba-a-nu* A *šá* m*Tad-din-nu šá ina* URU *Ik*(?)-[*x*]-*x*-*x*-*x* 2 *ina ḫu-ud lìb-bi-šú a-na* md*En-*ʳ*líl*ˀ-MU-MU A *šá* m*Mu-ra-šu-ú* 3 *ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma* 2 GU_4.ME *um-man-nu* 4 [*šá* GIŠ]ʳ.APIN *a*ˀ-*na* MU.AN.NA 1 ME ŠE.BAR GIŠ.BAR 5 [*i-bi in-na*]-*am-ma ina* MU.AN.NA *ina* ITI.GU_4 *šá* MU.27.KÁM 6 [1 M]E ŠE.BAR *ina* GIŠ.BAR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu-ka lud-dak-ka* 7 [*ár-k*]*i* md*En-líl*-MU-MU *iš-mu-šu-ma* GU_4.ME 2 8 [*um-man*]-*nu id-daš-šú ina* MU.AN.NA *ina* ITI.GU_4 *šá* MU.27.KÁM 9 [ŠE.BAR] ʾ*a* 1 ME ⟨*ina*⟩ GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá* md*En-líl*-MU-MU 10 *i-nam-din*

(Rev.) 11 [LÚ].MU.KIN_7 12 [m]d*EN-ši-man-ni* A *šá* m*Ni-din-tu*$_4$ 13 [m]MU-d*EN* A *šá* md*EN-*AD-ÙRU 14 mMU-d*En-líl* A *šá* mMU-MU 15 m*Ni-din-tu*$_4$-d*EN* A *šá* md*EN-*DIN-*iṭ* 16 m*EN-šú-nu* A *šá* md*En-líl*-DIN-*iṭ* 17 mI-d*MAŠ* A *šá* m*La-ba-ši*

18 LÚ.ŠID md*MAŠ-*PAP A *šá* m*Ri-bat* EN.LÍL.KI ITI.ŠE UD.10.KÁM 19 MU.26.KÁM mr*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su*ˀ LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Le. Ed.) NA_4.KIŠIB / m*Bi*(?)-⟨*ba*⟩(?)-*nu*

23. (CBS 4990) Til-Gabbara —/—/5 [Darius II]

(Obv.) 1 [...] *x* md*UTU-BA-šá* A *šá* 2 [...]-*ni* A *šá* md*EN-ŠEŠ-MU* md*AG-na-din-*ŠEŠ 3 [A *šá* ...]-d[*x*-*x*]-*x*-*x* m*Ḫi-in-*d*Na-na-a* A *šá* 4 [...] d*EN x x* [*x*] BA-*šá ina ḫu-ud lìb-bi-šú-nu a-na* 5 [m*Ri-bat* A *šá* m]d*EN-SU* LÚ.ARAD [*šá* m]*Ri-mut-*d*MAŠ* E-*ú* 6 [...] *x a-ḫa-meš* [*x*] *ṣab*(?) ta ak(?) ri *x x uz-bar-ra šá* LUGAL 7 [...] *ina* IGI m*Ri-mut-*[d*MAŠ*] *i-bi in-na-an-šim-ma ina* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ *šá*(?) URU(?) É *x x* 8 [...] 60-*šu* GUR ŠE.BAR [*ina* GIŠ *ma-š*]*i-ḫu-ka ni-*[*id-d*]*ak-*ʳ*ka*ˀ 9 [*ár-ki* m]*Ri-bat iš-mu-šu-nu-ti-ma* [*x x*] MEŠ 10 [...] *x ina* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ [...]-*ku-nu u* 11 [... *ina* GIŠ] *ma-ši-ḫu* 12 [...]

(Rev.) 1′ ʳLÚ.MU.KIN_7ˀ 2′ m*Ba-rik-*[...] ʳ*x-x*ˀ-d*Na-na-a* A *šá* 3′ md*EN-ú-*[... mEN-K]AR-dUTU A *šá* mdUTU-LUGAL-DIN-*iṭ* 4′ m*A-qu-*ʳ*bu*ˀ [A *šá* ...] *x x* 5′ md*x*-[...]-*ri*(?)-*ia*(?)-*a-šú x* A *šá* 6′ [...] *x*

7′ [LÚ.ŠID ...] *x* A *šá* m*x-*d*En-líl* URU DU_6-*Gab-bar-ra* 8′ [...] MU.5.KÁM 9′ [m*Da-ri-ia-a-muš* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Up. Ed.) *ṣu-pur-šú-nu*

24. (CBS 12986) —/X/— Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 m*Ḫa-ag-ga-a* A *šá* md*x*-[...] 2 m*Man-nu-ta-ni-*d*Ia-a-ma* A *šá* [...] 3 *ina ḫu-ud lìb-bi-šú-nu a-na* md*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* [m*Mu-ra-šu-u*] 4 *iq-bu-ú um-ma* 2 GU_4 *i-bi in-na-*

22. Pp. 128 n. 10, 129 table 2.
23. Pp. 24 n. 94, 42 n. 21.
24. Pp. 107 n. 14, 129 table 2.

ma 5 *dul-lu ana muḫ-ḫi ni-i-pu-uš ina* ŠE.NUMUN É *rit-ti-i-ni* 6 [*u ina* M]U 50 GUR ŠE.BAR *ni-id-dak-ka* 7 [*ár-ki* ^{md}*En-líl*-M]U-MU *i-šem-šu-ni-ti-ma* 8 [GU_4.ḪI.A *'a* 2] MU 4-*i-tu*$_4$ *šá*(?) *x x x* 9 [...] ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *ana muḫ-ḫi* [...] 10 [...] ⌜2 GU_4(?).MEŠ⌝ [...]

(Rev.) 1′ [...] 2′ [...] ^{m}MU-^{d}AMAR.UTU A *šá* 3′ [^{m}*Ú-bal-liṭ-su*]-^{d}AMAR.UTU ^{md}MAŠ-DÙ 4′ [... ^{m}*B*]*a-la-ṭu u* ^{m}[M]U-MU 5′ [A.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}EN]-*šú-nu* ^{md}ENŠADA-MU 6′ ⌜A *šá* ^{md}*En*⌝-*líl-ana*-KUR-*šú* ^{m}*Na-din* A *šá* 7′ ^{md}MAŠ-MU ^{m}*x*-DU A *ša* ^{md}MAŠ-PAP 8′ ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*É-gal-maḫ* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SU[R] (erasure)

9′ LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*Na-din* A *š*[*á* ^{m}*Ina*-GIŠ.GI_6-^{d}MAŠ ...] 10′ ITI.AB UD.[X.KÁM MU.X.KÁM] (Up. Ed.) 11′ ^{m}*Ar-taḫ*-[*šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

25. (CBS 12939)

(Obv.) 1′ [...] ⌜*x x*⌝ [... *ki-a-am iq-bu-ú*] 2′ *um-ma* A.MEŠ *ṣi-bit-tu*$_4$ *š*[*á* LUGAL *šá ina ... u* ŠE.NUMUN *uz-bar-ra šá ina muḫ-ḫi šá a-na* GIŠ.BAR] 3′ *la-pa-ni* ^{m}*Ta-at-tan-nu šá muḫ-ḫ*[*i* GIŠ.BAR *šá* ÍD ...] 4′ *kul-la-a-tú bi-in-na-an-na-šim-ma a-*[*na* GIŠ.BAR *i-na* MU.AN.NA] 5′ 8 ME GUR ŠE.BAR *e-lat* GIŠ.BAR *šá* ^{m}*Ta-at-tan-nu* [...] 6′ A *šá* ^{m}A-*a šá ina šá-ṭa-ri it-ti* ^{md}MAŠ-*na-din* [*šá-ṭir ni-id-dak-ka*] 7′ *ár-ki* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *iš-me-šú-nu-ti-ma* A.[MEŠ *ṣi-bit-tu*$_4$ *šá* LUGAL] 8′ *u* ŠE.NUMUN *uz-bar-ra šá ina muḫ-ḫi a-na* GIŠ.BAR *id-daš-*[*šú-nu-ti-ma ina* MU.AN.NA] 9′ 8 ME GUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá* ^{md}*E*[*n-líl*-MU-MU *a-na* GIŠ.BAR] 10′ *i-nam-din-*' GIŠ.BAR *u na-d*[*a-na-a-tú šá* ^{m}*Ta-at-tan-nu* ...] 11′ A *šá* ^{m}A-*a a-ki-i šá-ta-*[*ri šá it-ti* ^{md}MAŠ-*na-din šá-ṭir* ...] 12′ *e-lat* ŠE.BAR a_4 [8 ME GUR ...] 13′ *e-bu-ru* [...] 14′ *ana š*[*i-pir-ti*(?) ...]

(Rev.) 1″ LÚ.M[U.KIN$_7$ ...] 2″ ^{m}*Da-ri-par-*[*na-*' ...] 3″ ^{md}MAŠ-*mu-tir-ri-*[ŠU ...] 4″ ^{m}*Ti-ri-*'*-a-*[*ma* ...] 5″ ^{m}MU-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ* [...] 6″ ^{md}MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU A-*šú šá* [...]

(Rev.) NA_4.KIŠIB ^{m}*Ú-bar* [...]

26. (CBS 5261) Nippur —/—/[3]6 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 [...] A *šá* ^{m}*Ba-rik-ki*-DINGIR.MEŠ *u* ^{m}*Mi-in-ia-a-me-en* A *šá* [...] 2 [*u* ^{m}*Pi-li*]-*Ia-a-ma* A *šá* ^{m}*Še-li-im-mu ina ḫu-ud lib-b*[*i-šú-nu*] 3 [*a-na* ... A] *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú ki-a-am iq-bu-*[*ú*] 4 [*um-ma* ÍD *Ba-di*]-'*-at šá* ^{m}*Mar-duk-a ul-tu* KÁ-*šú a-*[*di*] 5 [*ši-li-iḫ-ti-šú*] *šá a-na* ÍD *Ba-di-*'*-at ik-kaš-ši-*[*du*] 6 [...] ÍD *šá* ^{m}*Na-al*(!)-*ti-i*-DINGIR.MEŠ [...] 7 [...] 76 GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM [...]

(Rev.) 1′ [LÚ.ŠID] ^{md}UTU-*na-din*-NUMUN A *šá* ^{md}*Bu-ne-ne*-DÙ EN.LÍL.KI ITI.[X] 2′ [UD.X.KÁM MU.3]6.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LU[GAL KUR.KUR]

25. Pp. 14 n. 53, *40 and n. 12*, *49*. Probably joins Ni 12905.
26. P. 40 n. 13.

27. (CBS 12894) Nippur 25/VII/40 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] (m*Ši-ṭa-*' A-*šú šá* md AG-*da-a-a-nu ina ḫu-ud lìb-bi-šú-*⟨⟨*nu*⟩⟩ *a-na* md*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá*) [2] (m*Mu-ra-šu-ú ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ *šá* LÚ *pa-*'*-ṣe-e-tú šá* LÚ.EN.LÍL.KI.MEŠ É *rit-ti-šú* ⟨⟨*šá*⟩⟩) [3] (*šá ina* URU *Ḫa-am-ba-na-a-a e-lat* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ É GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ *šá ina lìb-bi u e-lat*) [4] (ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ É *rit-ti* md AMAR.UTU-MU *u* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú šá ina* URU *Ḫa-am-ma-na-a-a*) [5] (*ina* IGI-*ia muš-šìr-ma a-na* ŠE.NUMUN 25 GUR ŠE.BAR 5 GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM) [6] (*šá la* GU_4 *u* LÚ.ENGAR *a-na* GIŠ.BAR *a-di* 3.TA MU.AN.NA.MEŠ *bi in-nam-ma*) [7] ([*ina*] MU.AN.NA *ina* ITI.GU_4 2 ME 50(!) GUR ŠE.BAR 50 GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM) [8] ([PAP 3] ME GUR EBUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu* [*šá ú-si-iš*]-tu_4 *lud-dak-ka*) [9] ([*ár-ki* md*En*]-*líl*-MU-MU [*iš*])-*me-šu-ma* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ LÚ *pa-*['-*ṣe-e-tú* '*a e-lat*] [10] [É *rit-ti* '*a šá ina* URU *Ḫa-am-ma-n*]*a-a-a u e-lat* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ É GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ-*š*[*ú ša ina lìb-bi*] [11] [*ina* IGI-*šú ú-maš-šìr-ma*] *ina* MU.AN.NA *ina* ITI.GU_4 2 ME 50 GUR ŠE.BAR 50 GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM [PAP 3 ME GUR] [12] [EBUR] *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá ú-si-iš-tu*$_4$ *i-nam-din* TA ITI.[X] [13] [*ša*] MU.40.KÁM m*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL *a-di* 3.TA MU.AN.NA.M[EŠ] [14] GIŠ.BAR *ina* IGI-*šú pu-ut la ḫa-ra-ru šá* m*Ḫar-ma-ḫi-*' LÚ.ARAD *šá* m*Ma-nu-uš-*[*ta*]-*nu* [15] *u man-ma šá-nam-ma šá a-na muḫ-ḫi* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ *u* ḪA.LA *me-e* KI md*En-líl*-MU-MU [16] *la i-ḫar-ru-ur* m*Ši-ṭa-*' A *šá* md AG-*da-a-a-nu na-ši*

(Rev.) [17] LÚ *mu-kin-nu* [18] m*Lib-luṭ* A-*šú šá* m*La-ba-ši* m ARAD-d*En-líl* A-*šú šá* m RU-*tì*-dMAŠ m*Ap-la-a* A-*šú šá* [19] md*En-líl*-DIN-*su*-E md MAŠ-*na-ṣir* A-*šú šá* md AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU m*Na-din* A-*šú šá* m BA-*šá-a* [20] m SU-d*En-líl* A-*šú šá* md*En-líl-ba-na* m MU-MU A-*šú šá* m*Tat-tan-nu* [21] [m*B*]*a-la-ṭu* A-*šú šá* m EN-*šú-nu* m ARAD-*ia* A-*šú šá* m DÙG.GA-*ia* [22] [m KAL]-*a* A-*šú šá* m SUM-*na-a* m*Im-bi-ia* A-*šú šá* m*Ki-din*

[23] (LÚ.ŠID md MAŠ-*na-ṣir* A-*šú šá* m ARAD-d*En-líl* EN.LÍL.KI ITI.DU_6 [UD].25.KÁM) [24] (*šá* MU.40.KÁM m*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR)

(Up. Ed.) (NA_4.KIŠIB m MU-MU / A *šá* m*Tat-tan-nu* // NA_4.KIŠIB m*Na-din* / A *šá* m BA-*šá-a*)

(Le. Ed.) (NA_4.KIŠIB / m ARAD-d*En-líl* / A *šá* m RU-*tì*-dMAŠ)

(Rev.) (*un-qu* m*Ši-ṭa-a* / A *šá* md AG-*da-a-a-nu*)

(Ri. Ed.) NA_4.KIŠIB / m*Im-bi-ia* A *šá* / m*Ki-din*[a]

28. (CBS 12960) Nippur —/—/37 [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) [1] m*Ia-a-ḫu-lu-ni* LÚ.ARAD *šá* md*En-líl*-MU-MU *ina ḫu-ud lìb-b*[*i-šú a-na* md*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá*] [2] m*Mu-ra-šu-ú ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma* [ÍD] d*En-líl* [...] [3] 15 *u* 150 TA KÁ-*šú a-di* ÍD *ši-li-*[*iḫ-ti-šú a*]-*šar* [A.MEŠ-*šú il-la-ku-*' *u* X GU_4.ḪI.A] [4] *um-man-ni a-di ú-nu-tú-šú-nu gam-ri* [*u a-na* ŠE.NUMUN 3 ME 30 GUR ŠE.BAR ...] [5] 5 GUR GÚ.GAL 2 GUR GÚ.TUR 4 GUR [... *i-bi in-nam-ma*] [6] *ina* MU.AN.NA 5 LIM 3 ME GUR ŠE.[BAR ...] [7] 5 GUR

27. Pp. 14 n. 53, 91 n. 81, *142*. Joins TuM 2-3 145. Text supplied from TuM 2-3 145 is included in parentheses.

[a] PBS 14 no. 941.

ŠE.ZAG.ḪI.LI 1 (PI) 4 BÁN Ú.EB[UR.SAR ... PAP ...] [8] [E]BUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá ú-si-*[*iš*]-*tu*$_4$ *lud-*[*dak-ka ár-ki* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *iš-me-šú-ma*] [9] ÍD ^{d}*En-líl* TA KÁ *ma-as-ni-qí*[a] *šá* [... 15 *u* 150 TA KÁ-*šú a-di ši-li-iḫ-ti-šú*] [10] *a-šar* A.MEŠ-*šú il-la-ku-*ʾ X GU$_4$.ḪI.A *umman-ni a-di ú-nu-tú-šu-nu gam-ri u*] [11] *a-na* ŠE.NUMUN 3 ME 30 [GUR ŠE.BAR X GUR ŠE.GIG].BA 30 [...] [12] 3 GUR ŠE.GIŠ.Ì [... *id-daš-šú-ma ina* MU.A]N.NA [...] [13] 5 LIM [3 ME GUR ŠE.BAR ...] [14] X [...] [15] [...] [16] [TA ITI].SIG$_4$ *šá* MU.[37.KÁM GIŠ.BAR MU.MEŠ *ina* IGI-*šú a-na man-dat-tu*$_4$] [17] *ina* MU.AN.NA 20 UDU.NÍTA.NITA [...] [18] *ina* MU.AN.NA 37.KÁM 2 ME GUR ŠE.[...]

(Rev.) [19] LÚ *mu-kin-nu* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* [A *šá* ...] [20] ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-[SUR] ^{m}MU-MU A *šá* [... ^{md}UTU-DIN-*iṭ* A *šá*] [21] ^{m}*Ti-ri-ia-a-ma* [^{m}*Na*]-*din* A *šá* ^{m}BA-*šá-a* ^{m}SU-[...] [22] ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* [^{m}SUM-*na*]-*a* ^{m}I-^{d}MAŠ A *šá* ^{md}*En-*[*líl*-MU-DU] [23] ^{m}*Ši-ṭa-*ʾ A [*šá* ^{md}]AG-*da-a-a-nu* ^{m}MU-^{d}AMAR.UTU [A *šá* ^{m}DIN-*su-*^{d}AMAR.UTU]

[24] LÚ.ŠID ^{md}MAŠ-*na-ṣir* A *šá* ^{m}[ARAD]-^{d}*En-líl* EN.LÍL.KI ITI.[X UD.X.KÁM MU.37.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Rev.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{m}*Ia-a-ḫu-l*[*u-nu*] / LÚ.ARAD *šá* / ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-[MU] // NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{md}[UTU]-DIN-*iṭ* A *šá* / [^{m}*T*]*i-ri-ia-a-ma*

29. (CBS 12993) Nippur 28/VII/[39] Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] [^{md}*Ad-du-ra-am-mu*] A *šá* ^{m}*Na-bu-un-du ina ḫu-ud lìb-bi-*[*šú a-na*] [2] [^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU] A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú ki-a-am iq-bi* [*um-ma*] [3] [ÍD *Di-ra-a-t*]*u*$_4$ 15 *u* 150 TA KÁ-*šú a-di ši-li-iḫ-ti-*[*šú*] [4][*a-šar* A.MEŠ-*šú il-la-ku*]-ʾ[a] *muš-šìr-ma ina* IGI-*iá e-lat uz-ba-r*[*i šá* LUGAL][b] [5] [*ina* MU.AN.NA 7 ME GUR ŠE.B]AR 30 GUR ŠE.GIG.BA 70 GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.À[M] [6] [PAP 8 ME GUR EBUR *ina* GIŠ *ma*]-*ši-ḫu šá ú-si-iš-tu*$_4$ *lud-da*[*k-ka*] [7] [*ár-ki* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *iš-me-e*]-*šu-ma* ÍD *Di-ra-a-*[*tu*$_4$ 15 *u* 150]

(Rev.) [1′] [LÚ.ŠID ...]-*x* EN.LÍL.KI ITI.DU$_6$ UD.28.KÁM [2′] [MU.39.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-t*]*aḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Rev.) *un-qu* ^{md}*A*[*d-du-ra-am-mu*] / A *šá* ^{m}*Na-bu-u*[*n-du*][c]

30. (CBS 13037) Nippur 20/—/[31] Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] [...] *u* ^{mr}*Ki*(?) *du*(?) *x x* LÚ.ARAD^{1}.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU [2] [*i-na ḫu-ud lìb-bi-šú-n*]*u a-na* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* [3] [*ki-a-am iq-bu*]-*ú um-ma* ÍD.^{d}EN *šá* ÍD *Sa-ḫ*[*i-ri* MU-*šú*][a]

28. Pp. 136 table 5, 139 table 7.

[a] *masniqu*: *mapris* form from *sanāqu*, hence "narrows (of a canal)"?

29. Near-duplicate of BE 9 67.

[a] BE 9 67 adds *bīt rittika u bīt maškanātiki ša ina libbi.*

[b] BE 67:4 has *elat uzbari ša šarri ina panija mušširma.*

[c] BE 9 67 has the same caption but lacks the accompanying seal impression.

30. [a] Cf. No. 2:3 and 8.

(Rev.) 1′ [...] 30 GUR SUM.SIKIL.ʳSAR 1 ME 20 GURˀ [...] 2′ [... *a-na* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU]-MU *i-nam-din-*ˀ 1 *pu-ut šá-ni-i na-šu-ú* 3′ [TA ITI.X *šá*] MU.31.KÁM *a-di* 3.TA MU.AN.NA.MEŠ GIŠ.BAR ʳ*ina* IGI-*šú-nu*ˀ

4′ [LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ... ^{m}*B*]*a-ni-iá u* ^{md}AG-DIN-*su* A.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Ba-rik*-DINGIR.MEŠ (Up. Ed.) 5′ [...]-*qud* ^{md}MAŠ-*na-din*-MU A *šá* ^{m}DIN-*su*-^{d}ŠÚ ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU 6′ [...]-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Ka-ṣir* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}MAŠ A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ*

7′ [LÚ.ŠID ...]-*x* A *šá* ^{m}ʳARAD-^{d}ME.MEˀ EN.LÍL.KI ITI.[X] UD.20.KÁM 8′ [MU.31].KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

31. (CBS 12974)

(Obv.) 1′ [...] ʳ*x* ^{md}EN *šá x x x*ˀ 2′ ʳA.ŠÀ.MEŠ-*šú*ˀ *šá ina* URU *Gaba-li-ni u ina* URU DU$_6$-*Ḫur-du* 3′ *šá ina muḫ-ḫi* ÍD.^{d}30 *šá a-na pa-làḫ* LUGAL *ina* IGI-*ka* 4′ *bi in-nam-ma lu-kil* LUGAL *ina muḫ-ḫi lu-pal-lìḫ ù* EBUR 5′ ŠE.BAR *u* ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá ina lìb-bi a-na ra-man-ni-ia ku-um* (Rev.) 6′ *pal-làḫ* LUGAL *lu-uš*[a] *ár-ki* ^{md}*En-líl-ḫa-tin u* ^{md}MAŠ-MU 7′ *a-na a-ḫa-meš iš-mu-ú* ŠE.NUMUN *šá ina muḫ-ḫi* ÍD *Ḫar-ri-Pi-qu-du* 8′ ^{md}*En-líl-ḫa-tin uk-te-til u* ŠE.NUMUN *šá ina muḫ-ḫi* ÍD.^{d}30 9′ ^{md}MAŠ-MU *uk-te-til* 10′ [... *r*]*a*(?)-*šu-tú šá ina muḫ-ḫi* ʳ*a x*ˀ [*x*] *x a tú*

(Le. Ed.) [...] *x x x*

32. (CBS 12937)

(Obv.) 1′ [...] *ina* URU *Ḫu-uṣ-ṣe-*[*e-ti šá* ...] 2′ [...]-*qu-du ina* URU *Ḫu-uṣ-ṣe-e-*[*ti šá* ...] 3′ [...]-*a-bi u ina* URU *Ḫa-áš-b*[*a-a* ...] 4′ [...] *šá* LÚ *šu-šá-né-e šá nak-ka*[*n-du* ...] 5′ [...] a_4 GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ *šá ina* URU.MEŠ M[U.MEŠ ...] 6′ [...] MU.MEŠ *e-lat* URU É *Da-a-a-n*[*a-tu*$_4$ ...] 7′ [...] ʳ*x x x x*ˀ [...]

(Rev.) 1″ [...] *x x* 2″ [...] KAŠ(?) a_4 3″ [...] 1-*en* TA.ÀM *šá-ṭar* TI-*ú*

4″ [...] ^{md}EN-*ú-ṣur-šú* LÚ.DI.KUD *šá ina* IGI ^{m}*Gu-bar-ri* 5″ [...] A *šá* ^{m}*Pa-ar-nak-ku* LÚ.A.BAL 6″ [...] ^{md}EN-LUGAL-ÙRU A *šá* ^{m}*Mar-duk-a* 7″ [^{m}*Šab-ba-ta-a-a u* ^{m}*Mi-in-ia*]-*mi-e-nu* A.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}EN-AD-ÙRU 8″ [... ^{m}*Zi-im-ma-a*] A *šá* ^{md}EN-SUR ^{m}*Ni-din-t*[u_4]

(Ri. Ed.) ^{m}*Zi-im-ma-*[*a*] / A *šá* ^{md}EN-[SUR]

33. (CBS 13018) ʹ—/—/1 [Darius II]

(Obv.) 1′ [...] ʳ*x x x x x*ˀ 2′ [...] *x x x* iš lu ri ip *ár-k*[*i*] 3′ [...] *iš-me-šú-ú* 2 GU$_4$.ḪI.A *um-man-ni it-ti* 4′ [*ú-nu-ú-t*]*u-šú-nu i-daš-šú* ŠE.BAR a_4 10 GUR ŠE.GIG.BA a_4 1 GUR 5′ [*a-*

31. P. *61*. [a] Cf. BE 9 57:5.
32. P. 77.

n]a ŠE.NUMUN *i-daš-šú pu-ut* ŠE.NUMUN *ù* GU_4.ḪI.A MU.MEŠ 6′ [...] ⌜*na-ši* ITI.KIN MU.1.KÁM ^{m}*x x x x x x x*⌝

(Rev.) 1″ [...]-*x-x-x-*⌜ A *šá* ^{m}[...] 2″ [...] A *šá* ^{md}EN-SUR ^{md}UTU-*a-a x* [...] *x* 3″ [...] *x*

(Rev.) *šṭr* [...]

34. (BM 12957) Nippur 4/VII/7 Darius II

(Obv.) 1 ⅓ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *ku-um* ZÚ.LUM.MA ZAG.LU A.ŠÀ *šá* MU.7.KÁM 2 ^{m}*Da-ri-ia-a-muš* LUGAL *šá* ŠE.NUMUN *zaq-pu šá* ^{m}*Ḫa-na-ni-*⌜*Ia-*⌜*a-ma*⌝ 3 LÚ *si-pi-ri* A *šá* ^{m}A-*a šá ina* URU É ^{m}*Mu-ra-nu ina* GÚ 4 ÍD *Ḫar-ri-Pi-qu-du šá ina* IGI ^{m}*Ri-mut-*^{d}MAŠ A *šá* 5 ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* KÙ.BABBAR *'a* ⅓ MA.NA *ku-um* ZÚ.LUM.MA ZAG.LU 6 A.ŠÀ.MEŠ MU.7.KÁM ^{m}*Da-ri-ia-a-muš* LUGAL ^{m}*Gu-uk-ka-*[⌜] 7 LÚ.ARAD *šá* ^{m}*Ba-ge-e-šú* A *šá* ^{m}*Ḫa-na-ni-*⌜*Ia-a-ma* 8 *ina* ŠU^{II} ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* ^{m}MU-MU ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú-nu ù* ^{m}*Ki-dil-*^{d}*En-líl* LÚ *si-pi-r*[*i*] 9 *šá* ^{m}*Ri-mut-*^{d}MAŠ *ma-ḫir e-ṭir ú-šá-a*[*z-za*]*-az-ma* 10 ^{rm}*Gu-uk*⌝*-ka-*⌜ *it-ti* ^{m}*Ba-ge-e-šú* [*a-na*] ^{m}*Ri-mut-*[^{d}MAŠ] 11 [*i-nam*]*-din*

(Rev.) 12 LÚ.MU.KIN_7 ^{m}*La-ba-ši* A *šá* ^{m}DÙ-*a* ^{md}EN-*da-nu* A *šá* ^{md}EN-DIN-*su* 13 ^{md}*En-líl-*MU-*lil-bir* A *šá* ^{m}*Na-din* ^{md}MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU A *šá* 14 ^{md}*En-líl-*MU-DÙ ^{m}*Ḫar-ba-ta-nu* A *šá* ^{m}*Zu-um-bu* 15 ^{md}*En-líl-*MU A *šá* ^{m}MU-MU ^{m}ARAD-*ia* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU 16 ^{m}*Ba-la-ṭu* A *šá* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* ^{m}*Man-nu-dan-ni-*⌜*Ia-a-ma* 17 A *šá* ^{m}*Šir-ka-*⌜

18 LÚ.ŠID ^{md}MAŠ-AD-ÙRU A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl-*MU-MU EN.LÍL.KI ITI.DU_6 UD.4.KÁM 19 MU.7.KÁM ^{m}*Da-ri-ia-a-muš* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Rev.) *ṣu-pur* ^{m}*Gu-uk-ka-*⌜

(Lo. Ed.) *u*[*n-qu*] / ⌜^{md}EN-*da-nu*⌝ / A *šá* ^{md}EN-DIN-*su* // *un-qu* / ^{md}*En-líl-*MU-*lil-bir* / A *šá* ^{m}*Na-din* // ^{m}*Man-nu-dan-ni-*⌜*Ia-a-ma* / [A *šá* ^{m}*Šir*]*-ka-*⌜

(Le. Ed.) NA_4.KIŠIB / ^{m}*La-ba-ši* / A *šá* ^{m}*Ib-na-a*

35. (CBS 5240) 17/I/33 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 [... KÙ.BAB]BAR *qa-lu-ú* GIŠ.BAR A.[ŠÀ ...] 2 [*šá ina* U]RU *Ḫu-uṣ-ṣe-e-t*[*i šá* ...] 3 [*šá* M]U.33.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-tak-a-su* LUGAL 4 ^{m}*Mun-na-tú* DUMU *šá* ^{m}*Ú-ma-*⌜*pi-ri-ia* 5 *ina qa-at* ^{m}*Ba-ar-rik-*DINGIR.MEŠ DUMU *šá* 6 ^{m}*Ra-ḫi-im-*DINGIR.MEŠ *ma-ḫi-ir e-ṭir* 7 *pu-ut la pa-qa-ri šá* ŠE.NUMUN *šu-a-tì* 8 ^{m}*Mun-na-tú na-ši*

(Rev.) 9 LÚ *mu-kin-nu* ^{m}DÙG.GA-*šá-lam-*⟨⟨*ma*⟩⟩*-mu* DUMU *sá* 10 ^{m}*Pa-ra-gu-šú* ^{md}EN-AD-ÙRU DUMU *šá* 11 ^{m}KAR-^{d}EN ^{m}*Ú-dar-na-*⌜ A-*šú šá* 12 ^{m}*Ra-ḫi-im-*DINGIR.MEŠ ^{md}AG-*ú-še-zib* 13 ⌜*x-x-x*⌝*-šú*(?) *šá* ^{m}*Še-rak-ak-ka* 14 [^{m}*Ni-din*]*-tu*$_4$-^{d}EN A-*šú šá* ^{md}EN-*ib-ni*

34. Pp. 11 n. 33, 20 n. 80, 147 n. 59, 148 n. 64.
35. P. 13 n. 47.

15 [...]-*x* LÚ.ŠID A-*šú šá* ^{md}EN-*re-man-ni* 16 [...]-*x* ITI.BÁR UD.17.KÁM 17 [MU.33.KÁ]M ^{m}*Ar-tak-a-su* [LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Lo. Ed.) *un-qu* / ^{m}*Mun-na-tú*

(Le. Ed.) *ṣu-pur* / ^{m}*Mun-na-tú*

(Up. Ed.) (traces of Aramaic, incised and in ink)

(Ri. Ed.) *zy pryʿ zy*
(Lo. Ed.) *šnt* =– III[a]

36. (CBS 5145) 6/—/40 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 [$\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA KÙ] ⌜.BABBAR 1-*en dan-nu*⌝ [KAŠ] *ma-lu-ú* ⌜DÙG.GA 5 BÁN⌝ [*qé-me*] 2 [*a-na* GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ] *šá* MU.40.[KÁM *šá* ^{m}]⌜*Ar*⌝-*taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL 3 [*ana* GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{m}]^{d}UTU-*na-ṣir ù* ^{m}*Šá-la-ma-nu* DUMU.MEŠ 4 [*šá* ^{m}*Ú-ra*]-*za-*ʾ *u* GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{md}*Na-na-a*-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Ba-ga-*⌜ʾ⌝-*da-a-tú*⌝ 5 [GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú*]-*nu* A *šá* ⌜^{md}EN⌝-*a-su-ú-a* GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{m}*Ḫi-is-da-nu* 6 [A *šá*] ⌜^{m}*x-x*⌝-*ad*(?)-*a-ḫu šá ina* IGI ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* 7 [KÙ.BABBAR] ʾ*a* $\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA *dan-nu* 1-*en šá* KAŠ *qé-me* 5 BÁN GIŠ.BAR 8 A.ŠÀ [MU].MEŠ ^{md}UTU-PAP ^{m}*Šá-la-ma-nu* ^{md}*Na-na-a*-MU 9 *u* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú-nu ina* ŠU^{II} ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-u* 10 *maḫ-ru-*ʾ *e-ṭir-ru-*ʾ

(Rev.) 11 LÚ *mu-kin-nu* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{m}RU-*tì-*^{d}MAŠ ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SU 12 ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}SUM-*na-a* 13 ^{md}*En-líl*-DU-A A *šá* ^{m}*Ka-ṣir* 14 ^{md}*En-líl*-ŠEŠ-*it-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu*

15 LÚ.ŠID ^{md}MAŠ-AD-ÙRU A *šá* ⌜^{md}*En-*⌝[*líl*-MU-MU ... ITI.X] 16 UD.6.KÁM MU.40.KÁ[M ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Lo. Ed.) NA_4.KIŠIB / ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}SUM-*na-a*

(Le. Ed.) NA_4.KIŠIB ^{m}ARAD-^{d}50 A *šá* ^{m}RU-*tì-*^{d}MAŠ

37. (CBS 5153) Nippur 18/VII/41 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ *gam-ri šá* [MU.4]1.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL 2 *šá* GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* A *šá* ^{m}*Ni-d*[*in-tu*$_4$ *u*] ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* A *šá* 3 ^{m}*Da-di-iá šá ina* IGI ^{m}*Ri-mut-*^{d}MAŠ A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-*[*ú*] 4 ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* A *šá* ^{m}*Ni-din-tu*$_4$ *u* ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{m}*Da-di-iá* 5 LÚ *Ar-ú-ma-a-a* GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ MU.MEŠ *ina* ŠU^{II} ^{m}*Ri-mut-*^{d}MAŠ 6 A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú ma-ḫir e-ṭir*

[a] See Clay, "Aramaic Indorsements", 298 and 315, no. 47; PBS 2/1 pl. 122 no. 47; and Vattioni, *Augustinianum* 10 (1970), 513 no. 104.

36. P. 147 nn. 59 and 61.

37. Pp. 13 n. 47, 72, 117 n. 28.

(Rev.) 7 LÚ *mu-kin-nu* 8 ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}MU-*a* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* A *šá* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* 9 ^{md}*En-líl*-DIN-*iṭ* A *šá* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* A *šá* 10 ^{m}A-*a* ^{m}MU-MU A *šá* ^{md}AG-MU ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* A *šá* 11 ^{m}MU-^{d}*En-líl*

12 LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*Ta-qiš-*^{d}ME.[ME A *šá* ^{m}MU-^{d}*En-líl*] ⌜EN.LÍL.KI⌝ 13 ITI.DU$_6$ UD.18.KÁM MU.4[1.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ*]-*šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Up. Ed.) *ṣu-pur-šú-nu*

(Obv.) *štr ʾḥwšn / zy pryʿ* [*s*]*ʾt ʾrqʾ* [a]

38. (CBS 5148) Nippur 3+[x]/VIII/40 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 ⌜6⌝ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ *šá* ITI.ŠU *šá* MU.40.KÁM 2 ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL *šá* GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{md}EN-*it-tan-nu* 3 A *šá* ^{m}*Te-ma-*ʾ LÚ *Sa-pa-ar-da-a-a šá ina* URU 4 É ^{m}*Ta-*[*ba-lu-la*]-*a-a šá ina* IGI ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* 5 ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* KÙ.BABBAR *ʾa* 6 GÍN GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ MU.MEŠ 6 [...] *x* ^{m}*Ḫu-ma-ni-ḫi-ia-a-*ʾ 7 A *šá* ^{md}EN-*it-tan-nu ina* ⌜ŠU^{II} ^{md}*En-líl*⌝-MU-MU A *šá* 8 ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú ma-ḫi-ir e-ṭir*

(Rev.) 9 LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{m}RU-*tì-*^{d}MAŠ ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU 10 A *šá* ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* ^{m}*Na-din* A *šá* ^{m}BA-*šá-a* 11 ^{m}ŠEŠ-*nu-úr-ri-*ʾ A *šá* ^{m}DIN-*su-*^{d}AMAR.UTU 12 ^{m}SU-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl-ba-na* ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}SUM-*na-a* 13 ^{m}ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Bul-luṭ-a*

14 LÚ.ŠID ^{md}[...]-MU EN.LÍL.KI ITI.APIN 15 UD.3+[x.KÁM MU.40.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ*]-⌜*šá*⌝-[*as*]-⌜*su* LUGAL⌝ KUR.KUR

(Obv.) [NA$_4$.KIŠIB] / ^{m}*Na-din* / A *šá* ^{m}BA-*šá-a*

(Lo. Ed.) *ṣu-pur* ^{m}*Ḫu-ma-ni-*ʾ-*ia-*ʾ

(Le. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* / A *šá* ^{m}RU-*tì-*^{d}MAŠ

39. (CBS 4996)

(Obv.) 1′ [... ZÚ.LU]M.MA GIŠ.BAR A.[ŠÀ ...] 2′ PAP 16 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ *šá* ^{m}[*Ba-ga-*ʾ-*i-na* A] 3′ *šá* ^{m}*Zi-ma-ak-ka-*ʾ *mi-šil* 1-*en* DUG *d*[*an-nu* KAŠ] 4′ 1-*en ni-qu-ú* 5 BÁN *qé-me* 1 PI *na-aṣ-ṣa-bu* 5′ ^{m}*Ba-ga-zu-uš-tu*$_4$ *ina* ŠU^{II} ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU 6′ A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú maḫ-ru-*ʾ *e-ṭir-*ʾ

(Rev.) 7′ LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ 8′ ^{m}MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Ka-ṣir* ^{m}[...] 9′ A.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-MU ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-*[*líl*(?) ...]

10′ LÚ.ŠID ^{m}[...]

[a] See Clay, "Aramaic Indorsements", 292 and 303f., no. 11; PBS 2/1 pl. 117 no. 11; and Vattioni, *Augustinianum* 10 (1970), 507 no. 72.

38. Pp. 146 n. 59, 147 n. 61.

(Obv.) *ṣu-pur* / ^{m}*Ba-ga-zu-uš-tu*$_4$

40. (BM 13160) Nippur 25/VII/40 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ŠÁM ZÚ.LUM.[MA ...] [2] *šá ina* URU DU$_6$-*ḫur-du ana* GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{m}*Du-gu-um*-[*x*...]-*x* [3] *šá ina* URU *Gaba-li-i-ni šá ina* IGI ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* [4] ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* KÙ.BABBAR *'a* 2 MA.NA ŠÁM ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá* ITI.DU$_6$ [5] *šá* MU.40.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL ^{md}AG-DIN-*su* A *šá* ^{md}EN-*it-tan-nu* [6] LÚ *paq-du šá* É ^{m}KI-^{d}UTU-DIN *ina* ŠU^{II} [7] ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú ma-ḫi-ir e-ṭir* [8] *ú-šá-az-za-am-ma* ^{md}AG-DIN-*su* KI ^{m}*Ḫu-ú-ru* [9]LÚ *šak-nu šá* LÚ.SIRAŠ.MEŠ *a-na* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* [10] ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú i-nam-din*

(Rev.) [11] LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{m}RU-*tì*-^{d}MAŠ ^{md}50-MU-MU [12] A *šá* ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}SUM-*na-a* ^{m}SU-^{d}*En-líl* [13] A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl-ba-na* ^{md}MAŠ-*na-ṣir u* ^{md}MAŠ-AD-ÙRU DUMU.MEŠ [14] *šá* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* ^{m}*Ḫa-ba-ṣa-a* A *šá* ^{m}*Ni-din-tu*$_4$-^{d}EN [15] ^{m}*Ta-qiš*-^{d}ME.ME A *šá* ^{m}MU-^{d}50 ^{m}*La-ba-ši* A *šá* ^{m}A-*a*

[16] LÚ.ŠID ^{md}MAŠ-AD-ÙRU A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU EN.LÍL.KI ITI.DU$_6$ UD.25.KÁM [17] MU. 40.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Lo. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB ^{r}^{m}ARAD^{1}-[^{d}*En-líl*]

(Le. Ed.) *un-qu* ^{md}AG-DIN-*su*

41. (CBS 12922) Nippur —/II/36 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [2] [30 GUR ŠE.BAR] EBUR *šá* LUGAL *šá* MU.36.KÁM (Up. Ed.) [1] [*in*]*a* GIŠ.BAR ^{r}ŠE.NUMUN^{1} ^{d}EN X (Obv.) [2] *šá ina* IGI [3] [^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU] A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú a-ki-i ši-pir-ti* [4] [*šá* ^{m}*Mi-it-re*]-*e-na-*$^{?}$ *šá muḫ-ḫi* GIŠ.BAR *šá* ÍD.^{d}30 [5] [A *šá* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU]-MU *šá* ^{m}MU-MU LÚ *sip*$_4$-*ri* A *šá* ^{md}EN-*it-tan-nu* [6] [*a-na* ^{md}]*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* [7] [*iš-ši* ŠE.BAR] *a*$_4$ 30 GUR ^{md}AG-*it-tan-nu* [8] [A *šá* ...]-*x-im ina* ŠU^{II} ^{m}EN-*šú-*⟨*nu*⟩ A *šá* ^{m}*Man-nu-ki-i-*^{d}*Na-na-a* [9] [...] *u* ^{md}*En-líl*-KÁD A *šá* [10] [... LÚ *uš*]-*ti-ia-a-ma-nu šá* ^{md}50-MU-MU [11] [*ma-ḫi-ru-*$^{?}$ *e-ṭir-*$^{?}$ *ú-šá-az*]-*za-az-ma* ŠE.BAR *'a* 30 GUR [12] [^{md}AG-*it-tan*]-*nu it-ti* ^{m}*Mi-it-re-e-na-*$^{?}$ [13] [*a-na* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU] A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* SU[M-*in*]

(Rev.) [15] [LÚ.MU.KI]N$_7$ [14] [^{md}M]AŠ-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SU [16] [...]-*su-tú* ^{m}SU-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{md}[*En-líl-ba-na*] [17] [^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá*] ^{m}SUM-*na-a* ^{m}*Im-bi-ia* A *šá* [18] [^{m}*Ki-din* ^{m}*B*]*a-la-ṭu* A *šá* ^{mr}EN-*šú-nu*^{1}

[19] [LÚ.ŠID ^{m}DIN]-*su*-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-BA-*šá* EN.LÍL.KI ITI.GU$_4$ [20] [UD.x].KÁM MU.36.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUG[AL KUR].KUR

(Up. Ed.) *ṣu-pur* ^{md}AG-*it-tan-nu* / *ku-um* NA$_4$.KIŠIB-*šú*

40. Pp. 11 n. 33, 73, 95, 147 nn. 59 and 61, 148 n. 64.
41. Pp. 22, 38 and n. 6, 39 n. 10, 42 n. 23, 50 n. 57.

(Rev.) [*š*]*ṭr śʾrn kʳrʾn* [=–] *zy yhyb* / [*sʾ*]*t mtryn lnbwʾtn*

42. (L-29-565) Nippur 18/VI/6 Darius II

(Obv.) [1] 6 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA ZAG.LU A.ŠÀ *šá* GIŠ.BAN [2] *šá* [m]ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* LÚ *Gi-mir-ra-a-a* [3] É *maš-ka-nu šá* [m]*Ri-mut-*[d]MAŠ A *šá* [4] [m]*Mu-ra-šu-ú ina muḫ-ḫi* [md]EN-DIN-*su* ⟨A *šá*(?)⟩ [5] [m]ŠEŠ-*šú-nu ina* ITI.DU$_6$ MU.6.KÁM [6] ZÚ.LUM.MA *ʾa* 6 GUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu* [7] *šá* [m]*Ri-mut-*[d]MAŠ KI 1 GUR *tu-ḫal-lu*$_4$ [8] *lìb-bi man-ga-ga u bil-tu*$_4$ *šá ḫu-ṣa-bi* [9] *ina-an-din*

(Rev.) [10] LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ [11] [m]BA-*šá-a* A *šá* [m]MU-MU [m]*Ina*-SÙḪ-SUR A *šá* [12] [md]MAŠ-DA [md]*En-líl-*ʳMU A *šá*ˀ [m]MU-MU [13] [m]*Ìl-tam-meš-ra-ḫi-*ʾ A *šá* [m]*Ḫa-an-da-šú-an-na*

[14] LÚ.ŠID [md]MAŠ-MU-BA-*šá* A *šá* [m]KAL-*a* EN.LÍL.KI [15] ITI.KIN UD.18.KÁM MU.6.KÁM [m]*Da-dar-muš* (Up. Ed.) [16] LUGAL KUR.KUR

43. (CBS 12862) Nippur 19/—/24 [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) [1′] [...] ʳÍD.ˀ[UD.KIB.NUN.KI.EN.LÍL.KI 15 *u* 150 ...] [2′] [*šá ina p*]*a-ni* [md]*En-líl-ḫa-tin* ʳA *šá* [mˀ][*Mu*]-ʳ*ra-šu*ˀ-*ú* LÚ.DU[MU.É.MEŠ-*šú*] [3′] [LÚ].ENGAR.MEŠ-*šú u* LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ-⟨*šú*⟩ [md]EN-KÁM *šá muḫ-ḫi* G[IŠ.BAR] [4′] *šá* ÍD.[d]30 A *šá* [m]*Na-ti-na-*ʾ *u* [m]*Ri-bat* A *šá* [m][...] [5′] LÚ *qal-la šá* [m]*Tat-tan-nu* LÚ.IGI+DUB *ina* ŠU [II] [md]*En-l*[*íl-ḫa-tin*] [6′] A *šá* [m]*Mu-ra-šu-ú maḫ-ru-*ʾ *e-ṭir-*ʾ *ú-šá-*[*az-za-az-*ʾ*-ma*] [7′] [ŠE].BAR a_4 2 ME GUR GU$_4$ a_4 1-*en šá* SIPA-*i-ti* [...] [8′] [UDU].ḪI.A *ʾa* 10 *šá* SIPA-*i-tu*$_4$ GIŠ.BAR *šá* ÍD.⟨⟨MAŠ⟩⟩.UD.KIB.NUN.KI.[EN.LÍL.KI] [9′] [15 *u*] 150 *u* ŠE.BAR *u ṣaḫ-ḫa-ri gab-bi gam-ri šá ina* GÍ[D.DA *šá-ṭir*] [10′] [...] ʳ*x x šá* MU.24.KÁMˀ [...]

(Rev.) [1″] [...] [2″] [...] A *šá* [m]*Ba-ni-a-a* ʳ[m]*Šu*ˀ-[...]

[3″] [md]30-KAR-*ir* LÚ.ŠID A *šá* [md]*En-líl-mu-tak-kil* E[N.LÍL.KI ITI.X] [4″] UD.20.1-LAL.KÁM MU.24.KÁM [[m]*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Rev.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB [m][dEN-KÁM] / *šá muḫ-ḫi* [GIŠ.BAR] / *šá* ÍD.[d30] [a]

(Le. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠ[IB ...] / LÚ.[...]

44. (BM 13252) Nippur 1/VIII/40 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ *šá* ITI.DU$_6$ *šá* MU.40.KÁM [2] [m]*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL *šá* GIŠ.BAN *ma-la* ḪA.LA ⟨⟨*šá*⟩⟩ [3] *šá* [m]*Za-bi-in* A *šá* [m]*Nu-ma-i-na-*ʾ *šá ina* URU [m]*Ḫa-da-la-*ʾ *šá ina* IGI [4] [md]*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* [m]*Mu-ra-šu-ú* KÙ.BABBAR *ʾa* [5] 5 GÍN GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ MU.MEŠ *šá* MU.40.KÁM [6] [m]*Za-bi-in ina* ŠU [II] [md]*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* [m]*Mu-ra-šu-ú* [7] *ma-ḫi-ir e-ṭir*

42. Pp. 74, 106 n. 12.
43. Pp. 38 and n. 6, 40, 46. [a] PBS 14 no. 923.
44. P. 11 n. 33.

(Rev.) [8] LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ [md]*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* [m]*Tat-tan-nu* [m]*Na-din* A *šá* [m]BA-*šá-a* [9] [m]KAL-*a* A *šá* [m]SUM-*na-a* [m]SU-[d]*En-líl* A *šá* [md]*En-líl-ba-na* [10] [m]ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A *šá* [m]*Bul-luṭ-a* [m]MU-MU A *šá* [11] [m]GIŠ.GI$_6$-[d]MAŠ

[12] LÚ.ŠID [md]MAŠ-AD-ÙRU A *šá* [md]*En-líl*-MU-MU EN.LÍL.KI ITI.APIN [13] UD.1.KÁM *šá* MU.40.KÁM [m]*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Lo. Ed.) *ṣu-pur* [m]*Za-bi-in*

(Le. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / [md]50-MU-MU / A *šá* [m]*Tat-tan-nu*

45. (CBS 5239) Nippur 20+[x]/VII/34 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] [14] GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ⌜BABBAR-*ú*⌝ [...] [2] [*ina* GIŠ.BAR] A.⌜ŠÀ⌝ *šá* ITI.DU$_6$ MU.⌜34.KÁM⌝ [*šá* GIŠ.BAN] [3] [*šá*] [m]*Ba-ni-ia* ⌜*šá ina* IGI *šá*⌝ [m]*Mu-ra-nu* [4] [A *šá*] [m]MU-[d]EN KÙ.BABBAR *'a* 14 GÍN ⟨*ina*⟩ *na-*⟨*áš*⟩*-pa-áš-tu*$_4$ [5] *šá* [m]*Ba-ni-ia* [m]*Da-di-ia u* [m]*Áḫ-ia-tal-lu* [6] *ina* ŠU^{II} [m]*Mu-ra-nu ma-ḫi-ir-'* *e-ṭir*(!)*-'* [7] *ú-šá-*⌜*az*⌝*-za-az-zu*(!)*-'* ⟨KÙ.BABBAR *'a*⟩ 14 GÍN [8] ⌜*a-na*(!) [m]⌝*Mu-ra-nu* KI [m]*Ba-ni-ia* [9] *i-nam-din-'*

(Rev.) [10] LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ [m]EN-*šú-nu* A *šá* [m]*Pu-uḫ*(!)*-ḫu-ru* [11] [md]EN-DIN-*su u* [md]EN-*e-ṭè-ru* [12] A.MEŠ *šá* [md]*Na-na-a*-MU

[13] LÚ.ŠID [md]MAŠ-⌜*x-x* A *šá* [m] *x-x-x*⌝ [...] [14] ⌜EN.LÍL.KI ITI.⌝[X U]D.20+[X.KÁM MU. 34.KÁM] [15] [[m]*Ar-tak*]-*šat*-[*su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

46. (CBS 12965) Nippur 9/V/29 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [2] 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-*ú ina* 2½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR (Up. Ed.) [1] *u ki-is-sat* (Obv.) [2] GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ (Up. Ed.) [1] *šá* ŠE.NUMUN *zaq-pu u* KA *šul-pu* (Obv.) [2] *šá* [m]A-*a* A *šá* [m][...] [3] [m]ŠEŠ-MU A *šá* [md]*Na-na-a*-MU [m]*Ú-kit-tú u* [m]GIŠ.G[I$_6$-...] [4] *šá* ITI.DU$_6$ *šá* MU.29.KÁM *u* ITI.GU$_4$ *šá* MU.30.KÁM [m]*Ar-*[*taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL] [5] *šá ina* IGI [f]*Naq-qí-tu*$_4$ DUMU.SAL-*su šá* [m]*Mu-ra-š*[*u-u*] [6] [m]*Za-bad-du* LÚ.GAR-*nu šá* EN.NUN.KÁ.MEŠ A *šá* [md]EN-[...] [7] *ina* ŠU^{II} [f]*Naq-qí-tu*$_4$ DUMU.SAL-*su šá* [m]*Mu-r*[*a-šu-u*] [8] ⌜*ma-ḫir e-ṭir*⌝ [...]

(Rev.) [1′] [m][...] [2′] [md]EN-*it-tan-nu* A *šá* [m][...] [3′] [md]MAŠ-SUR A *šá* [m]MU-[d]AG [m]ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* A *šá* [m]*Bi-ba-*[*nu*] [4′] [m]ŠEŠ-MU A *šá* [md]*Na-na-a*-MU [md]50-DÙ A *šá* [m]*N*[*a-din*]

[5′] [LÚ].ŠID [md]50-DIN-*iṭ* A *šá* [m]NUMUN-*kit-ti*-GIŠ EN.LÍL.KI [6′] ITI.NE UD.9.KÁM MU.29.KÁM [m]*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-s*[*u*] [7′] LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Le. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / [md]50-*it-tan-nu* / LÚ *pa-qud*

45. P. 147 n. 59.
46. Pp. 20 n. 79, 75, 85, 147 nn. 59 and 61. See *JCS* 28 (1976), 196ff.

47. UM 83-31-1 Nippur 28/VIII/6 Darius II

(Obv.) [1] 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ *gam-ri* [2] *šá* MU.6.KÁM ^{m}*Da-ri-ia-a-muš* ˹LUGAL˺ [3] *šá* A.ŠÀ *šá* ^{m}*Da-ru-uk-ku-ar-*[*x*]-*x* [4] *šá ina* URU ÍD *Šap-pu-ut-tu*$_4$ *šá* ˹LÚ(?) *x x x*˺ [5] ^{m}*Ba-ga-*ʾ*-da-a-tú* A *šá* ^{m}*Ka-ka*(!) [6] *ina* ŠU^{II} ^{m}*Ri-mut-*^{d}MAŠ A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* [7] *maḫir e-ṭir*

(Rev.) [8] LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{md}MAŠ-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Ri-bat* [9] ^{md}MAŠ-*ga-mil* A *šá* ^{m}*Ḫaš-da-a-a* [10] ^{m}*Si-lim-*DINGIR.MEŠ A *šá* ^{m}*La-ba-ši* [11] ^{m}*Ki-din* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-A-MU

[12] LÚ.ŠID ^{md}*En-líl-na-din-*MU A ⟨*šá* ^{m}⟩KAL-*a* [13] EN.LÍL.KI ITI.APIN UD.28.KÁM [14] MU. 6.KÁM ^{m}*Da-ri-ia-a-muš* [15] LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Lo. Ed.) *ṣu-pur-šú*

48. (CBS 12950) —/—/19 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1′] [...] ˹*x x*˺ [...] [2′] [... GIŠ.BAR *šá* Š]E.NUMUN ^{d}EN *šá* MU.19.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-*˹*taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL˺ [3′] [*šá ina* IGI ^{md}*En-líl-*MU-M]U A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* [4′] [... x] GUR 1 (PI) 2 BÁN 4 SILÀ ŠE.GÚ.GAL a_4 [5′] [...] ŠE.GÚ.TUR 2 GUR 1 BÁN 4 SILÀ [6′] [...] 1 BÁN 4 SILÀ ^{m}*I-na-*ʾ*-du-uš* [7′] [... *šá* ^{m}*A*]*r-ta-am-ba-ru* LÚ *ma-še-ni* [8′] [*ina* ŠU^{II} ...]-*ṣir* ^{md}MAŠ-*ga-mil* A-*šú šá* [9′] [... A-*šú*] *šá* ^{md}IM-*ra-am-mu* [10′] [LÚ ... *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*]-MU-MU *ma-ḫi-ir* ˹*e-ṭir*˺ (Lo. Ed.) [11′] [...] *u* ^{md}*En-líl-*MU-MU [12′] [...]-MU-MU [13′] [...] *i-nam-din* (Rev.) [14′] [...]-ʾ *ina gi-iṭ-ṭu* [15′] [...] *u* ^{md}EN-MU-MU [16′] [...]-*x-ta*

LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ [17′] [...]-*x-ú-šá-al-lam* [18′] [... A]-*šú šá* ^{m}*Ba-ni-ia* [19′] [...]-*ta* ^{md}*Na-na-a-*DIN-*iṭ x* DUMU-*šú* [20′] [...] ^{md}EN-*ba-rak-ku* A *šá* ^{md}EN-*it-tan-nu* [21′] [...]-*x-ga-x-ma* ^{md}EN-MU

49. (CBS 12978) [x]+4/—/31 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] ˹x GÍN KÙ.BABBAR(?)˺ [x G]UR ZÚ.LUM.MA 1 (PI) 5 BÁN *qé-me* [2] ˹1-*en* DUG˺ *dan-nu* 1-*en* [*ma-lu*]-*ú* GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ *šá* MU.31.KÁM *šá* ^{m}MU-rdAG(?)˺ [...] [3] [*u* ^{md}E]N-*it-tan-n*[*u* ...]-*šú-nu šá* KI 1-*en* GIŠ.BAN-*šú* [4] [^{m}]MU-^{d}AG A [*šá* ...]-SUR *u* ^{md}EN-*it-tan-nu* A *šá* [5] ^{m}*Iš*(?)-[...]-˹ʾ˺ *ina* ŠU^{II} ^{md}50-MU-MU [6] A *šá* ^{m}[*Mu*]-˹*ra*˺-*šu-u ma-ḫar-*ʾ *e-ṭir-*ʾ

(Rev.) [1′] [...] *u* ^{m}*Si-lim-*DINGIR.MEŠ A.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Ka-ṣir* [...] A *šá* ^{m}MU-MU(?) [2′] ^{md}[...-M]U A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-še-zib* ^{m}[^{d}EN]-DIN-*su* [3′] [A] *šá* ^{m}*Ni-din-x* [...] ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* [4′] [^{m}*A*]-*na-pa-a-ni-x* [...]-*ma-an* [5′] [^{m}]^{d}EN-MU A *šá* [...]

[6′] [L]Ú.ŠID ^{m}*Ni-din-*[*tu*$_4$-^{d}UTU A *šá* ^{md}*Bu*]-*ne-ne-*DÙ [7′] [... ITI.X UD.X]+4.KÁM MU. 31.KÁM [8′] [^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LU]GAL KUR.KUR

(Le. Ed.) [...] ^{m}MU-[^{d}AG] // [... ^{m}]^{d}EN-*i*[*t-tan-nu*]

47. Pp. 146 n. 59, 147 n. 61.
48. Pp. 19 n. 75, 42 n. 23, *45*, 46.

50. (CBS 5215) —/—/— Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1′ ⌜*x x x x*⌝ [... *i*]*l-ki* ⌜*gam-ri*⌝ 2′ m*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL 3′ *šá* LÚ.BAN *šá* mARAD-d50 A *šá* m⌜*x-x*⌝*-ir u* EN LÚ.BAN.MEŠ-*šú* 4′ *gab-bi* md*AG-re-man-ni* [LÚ] *de-ku-ú* 5′ A *šá* m*Mar-duk-a* ⌜*x x*⌝[...] ⌜*šá* m*Bu-na*⌝*-nu* 6′ LÚ *šak-nu šá* LÚ *šu*-[...]-*šú*-⌜*x*⌝*-tú* 7′ *ina* ŠUII md*En-líl-ḫa-tin* [A *šá* m*Mu-ra-š*]*u-u* 8′ *ma-ḫir e-ṭir ú*-[*šá-az-za-az-ma*] 9′ *il-ki-šú-nu gam-ri* KI [m]*Bu-na-nu* 10′ *a-na* md*En-líl-ḫa-tin* SUM-*in*

(Rev.) 11′ LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ md*En-líl*-MU-[... A *šá*] ⌜m*Bul*⌝*-luṭ* 12′ mARAD-dMAŠ A *šá* m*I*-[*qu-bu* ...] 13′ mARAD-dMAŠ A *šá* mSU-d*En-líl* mSILIM-E.KI 14′ A *šá* md*En-líl*-[...]-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-PAP 15′ m*Bul-luṭ-a* A *šá* m*N*[*a-din*] mEN-*šú-nu* A *šá* mA-*a* 16′ mdMAŠ-PAP A *šá* md*En-líl*-MU-DÙ md*En-líl*-SU

17′ LÚ.ŠID md*En-líl*-DIN-*iṭ* [A] *šá* mNUMUN-*kit-ti*-GIŠ

(Le. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / md*AG-re-man-ni*

51. (CBS 12505) —/—/[x]+5 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *il-k*[*i qé-me bar-ra*] 2 *u mim-ma na-da-na-a-tú* [*šá* É LUGAL] 3 ⌜*šá* MU.x⌝+5.KÁM m*Ar-taḫ*-[*šá-as-su* LUGAL] 4 [*šá ina muḫ*]-*ḫi* GIŠ.BAN TIL-*tì* [...] 5 [...] *šá* LÚ *ki-zu-ú* MEŠ [...]

(Rev.) 1′ m[...] 2′ m*x*-[...] 3′ m*L*[*a*-...] 4′ LÚ.ŠID md[...]

(Up. Ed.) *un-qa* mBA-[*šá-a*] / A *šá* mdBE-DIN-[*iṭ*]

(Le. Ed.) *un-qa* md[...] / A *šá* mdBE-DIN-*su* // [*un-qa* ...] / A *šá* md*En-líl*-KÁD // [*un-qa* ...] / A *šá* m[...]

52. (CBS 13005)

(Obv.) 1′ [... *šá* LÚ *ḫa-aṭ-ri šá*] LÚ *šu-šá-né* MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ 2′ [LÚ *šak-nu-tu šá ina* IGI m*Ri-m*]*ut*-dMAŠ A *šá* 3′ [m*Mu-ra-šu-ú* ...] *il-ki* TIL.MEŠ *šá* MU.[x].KÁM 4′ [...].MEŠ mdAG-*na-tan-nu* 5′ [... *ma*]-*ḫir e-ṭir* (Rev.) 6′ [...] A *šá* mdEN-*na-tan-nu* [...] 7′ [... LÚ] *šak-nu šá* LÚ *šu-šá-né* MEŠ DUMU.[MEŠ ...]

9′ [... md]EN-ŠEŠ-MU LÚ.DI.KU$_5$ *šá* KUR *Ta*[*m-tim* ...] 10′ [... md]EN-*it-tan-nu* LÚ *us-tar-ba-ri* 11′ [...] *x x x x x* [...]

(Lo. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / [mdEN-ŠEŠ]-MU / LÚ.DI.KU$_5$ / *šá* KUR *Tam-tim*

50. Pp. 77, 83 n. 59.
51. Pp. 74, 107 n. 14, 149 n. 68.
52. Pp. 63 n. 51, 77.

53. (CBS 12997) Nippur

(Obv.) [1] [... KÙ.BABBAR *il-ki bar-r]i qé-me šá* LUGAL [2] [*u mim-ma na-da-na-a-tú šá* É] LUGAL [3] [*ana muḫ-ḫi* ...] A [4] [... *i*]*-na na-áš-par-tu*$_4$ [5] [... ^{md}*Na-na*]*-a*-MU LÚ *šak-nu šá* ^{md}EN-*it-tan-nu* [6] [... *k*]*u-ṣur-šú* LÚ.DUMU.É *šá* ^{md}EN-*bul-liṭ-su* [7] [... *-n*]*a-ti-*' *u* ^{m}⟨*Ba*⟩*-rik-ki-*^{d}EN [8] [... *ina* ŠU^{II}] ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-u* (Lo. Ed.) [9] [*maḫ-ru*]-' KAR-*ru-*' [10] [... *ú-šá-az-za*]*-am-ma* KI ^{md}*Na-na-a*-MU [11] [... *a-na*] ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *ina-an-din-*'

(Rev.) [12] [LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ...]*-šá* A *šá* ^{m}*Na-ṣir* [13] [...]-MU ^{md}UTU-SUR [14] [...]*-šu-ú* ^{m}*Ri-bat* ^{m}BA-*šá* [15] [... ^{m}*L*]*a-ba-ši* ^{m}*Si-lim*-DINGIR.MEŠ A *šá* [16] [... ^{m}ARAD]-^{d}*É-gal-maḫ* A *šá x x*

[17] [LÚ.ŠID ...]-^{d}MAŠ EN.LÍL.KI [18] [ITI.X UD.X.KÁM MU.X].KÁM [19] [... LUGAL KUR].KUR

54. (CBS 13048) Nippur —/—/38 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] *il-ki gam-*[*ri bar-ra qé-me šá* LUGAL LÚ.ERÍN *šá* LUGAL] [2] *ù mim-ma na-d*[*a-na-a-tú šá* É LUGAL TA ITI.BÁR *šá*] [3] MU.38.KÁM *a-di* [ITI.ŠE *šá* MU.38.KÁM ...] [4] *šá* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ *zaq-*[*pu u* KA *šul-pu* ...] [5] *šá ina* URU *Ban-né-e-*[*šu* É GIŠ.BAN *šá* ...] [6] ^{m}*Man-nu-ki-i-*^{d}[... *šá* LÚ *ḫa-aṭ-ri šá*] [7] LÚ.EN.NUN.KÁ.MEŠ [...] [8] [^{m}]*Man-nu-ki-i-*^{d}[...]

(Rev.) [1′] [...] ^{rmd}*En-líl*^{1} [...] [2′] ^{m}*Ú-bar* A *šá* ^{m}*Na-din* [...] [3′] A *šá* ^{md}30-*ik-ṣur* [...] [4′] A *šá* ^{m}RU-*tì* ^{m}*Tat-*[*tan-nu* ...]

[5′] LÚ.ŠID ^{m}ARAD-^{d}[...] [6′] EN.LÍL.KI ITI.[X UD.X.KÁM MU.38.KÁM] [7′] ^{m}*Ar-tak-šá-as-*[*su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Up. Ed.) [*u*]*n-qu* / [^{m}*M*]*an-nu-ki-i-* / [...] ^{d}X-'

55. (CBS 12961) Nippur 13/XII/40 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] 17(!) MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *qa-lu-ú il-ki* TIL.MEŠ *qé-me šá* LUGAL *ba-ar-ra u mim-ma na-da-*^{r}*na-a-tú*^{1} [2] *šá* É LUGAL *šá* TA ITI.BÁR *šá* MU.40.KÁM *a-di qí-it* ITI.ŠE *šá* MU.40.KÁM [3] *šá* GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{md}EN-NUMUN-DÙ A *šá* ^{m}AN.ŠÁR-MU *šá* GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{m}*Ḫa-ma-ṭa-*' A *šá* ^{md}30-MU [4] *šá* GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{m}*Ia-a-da-ḫu-*^{d}AG A *šá* ^{m}*Ba-rik-*^{r}*ki-Ìl*^{1}*-tam-meš šá* GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{m}*Nap-sa-an* A *šá* [5] ^{m}*Na-ad-bi-ia šá* GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{m}*Ia-a-da-ḫ*[*u-*^{d}A]G A *šá* ^{md}AG-*ḫa-qa-bi* [6] PAP 6.TA GIŠ.BAN *šá ina* URU *I-bu-le-e šá* GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{md}EN-KAR-*ir* A *šá* ^{md}AG-*na-din* [7] *šá* GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{m}*Mar-duk-a* A *šá* ^{m}A-*a šá* GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{m}*Mar-duk-a* A *šá* ^{md}EN-DIN-*iṭ* [8] *šá* GIŠ.BAN ^{m}*A-qu-bu* A *šá* ^{m}*Ḫa-ra-an-na* PAP.4.TA GIŠ.BAN *šá* [*ina* URU *Šap-pu-ut-tú*] [9] *ù* 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *šá mi-šil* GIŠ.BAN *šá* ^{m}KAL-*a* A ^{r}*šá* ^{m}*Liq-ú-*ŠEŠ^{1}-[*ú-a*] [10] ^{r}*šá*^{1} *ina* URU DU_6-^{r}*Ḫur-du* PAP 9½ GIŠ^{1}.[BAN.MEŠ ...] (ten lines missing) (Rev.) [21] ^{m}*Ur-ki-ki ú-*[*mar-*

54. Pp. 73, 75.
55. Pp. 14 n. 53, 46, 91 nn. 82 and 84, 149 n. 68. Duplicate of BE 9 82. Joins Ni 2851.
[a] No seal impressions accompany these captions; cf. No. 3 and BE 9 67.

raq-ma ana ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *i-nam-din*] ^{22} *e-lat* 8 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *šá* ^{m}*A-*[*mur-ki-ki la*-IGI LÚ.EN.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN.MEŠ-*šú is-si-ir*]

^{23} LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{24} ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SU ^{md}MAŠ-PAP A *šá* ^{md}AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU ^{25} ^{m}*Ba-ri-ki* A *šá* ^{m}BA-*šá-a* ^{m}*Re-man-nu-*^{d}EN A *šá* ^{m}GIŠ.GI$_6$-*a-a* ^{26} ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}MU-DU ^{md}*En-líl-it-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{m}*Lu-ú-id-ia* ^{27} ^{m}A-*a* A *šá* ^{md}EN-AD-ÙRU ^{md}*En-líl*-DU-A A *šá* ^{m}*Ka-ṣir* ^{28} ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{md}*A-num*-NUMUN-GIŠ ^{md}*En-líl*-ŠEŠ-MU A *šá* ^{md}50-DIN-*iṭ*

^{29} LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*Ú-bar* A *šá* ^{m}*Na-din* EN.LÍL.KI ITI.ŠE UD.13.KÁM MU.40.KÁM ^{30} ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Up. Ed.) *un-qu* ^{m}*Re-man-nu-*^{d}EN / A *šá* ^{m}GIŠ.GI$_6$-*a-a*^{a} // NA$_4$.KIŠIB ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU / A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SU ^{a}

(Le. Ed.) NA$_4$KIŠIB / ^{m}ḪA.LA-^{d}AG / LÚ *da-a-ta-ba-ra* / *šá* ^{m}*Ar-ta-re-* / *e-mu*^{a}

56. (CBS 13043 + 13070) —/—/20 + [x] [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) $^{1'}$ ⌜2 MA.NA⌝ [KÙ.BABBAR ...] $^{2'}$ URU É LÚ.X [...] $^{3'}$ *ina* IGI ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-M[U ...] $^{4'}$ LÚ.ARAD *šá* ^{m}*Ar-ia-*⌜*pa-m*[*a*(?) ...] $^{5'}$ *šá* ^{m}*Ma-nu-uš-ta-nu šá* ^{m}*Ba-*[...] $^{6'}$ [... ^{m}*Ma-n*]*u-uš-ta-nu* [...] *x* [...] $^{7'}$ ⌜LÚ(?) *x x*⌝ [...] $^{8'}$ *šá* ^{m}*Ar-ia-*⌜*pa-ma*(?) ...] $^{9'}$ A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-*[*u* ...] $^{10'}$ *ú-ša-az-za-*[*az-ma* ...] $^{11'}$ ^{m}*Ar-i*[*a-*⌜*pa-ma*(?) ...] (Lo. Ed.) $^{12'}$ *u* ^{m}*Ú-na-*[*at* ...] $^{13'}$ KÙ.BABBAR ⌜*a* 2 M[A.NA ...]

(Rev.) $^{15'}$ LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-*[*líl* A *šá* ^{m}RU-*tì-*^{d}MAŠ] $^{14'}$ ^{m}*Ìl-tam-meš-*[...] $^{16'}$ A *šá* ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* ^{m}[...] $^{17'}$ A *šá* ^{m}*x-x-x* [...] $^{18'}$ ^{m}*Ba-rik-ki* A *šá* ^{m}[...] $^{19'}$ ^{m}*Si-lim*-DINGIR.MEŠ *u* ^{m}ŠEŠ-MU [...] $^{20'}$ ^{m}DINGIR.⌜MEŠ⌝-*za-bad-du* A *šá* ^{m}A-[*a* ...] $^{21'}$ ^{m}*Man-ki-i*[*a* ...]

$^{22'}$ LÚ.ŠID ^{md}[...] $^{23'}$ ⌜MU.20⌝ + [X.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Le. Ed.) ^{m}ARAD-^{d} 50 / A *šá* ^{m}RU-*tì-*^{d}MAŠ

57. (CBS 5168)

(Obv.) $^{1'}$ ⌜*x x x*⌝ [...] $^{2'}$ [...] ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A-[*šú šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú*] $^{3'}$ ⌜^{m}*Bi-ṣa-a*⌝ ŠE.BAR a_4 2 ME GUR *ú-š*[*á-az-za-az-ma*] $^{4'}$ KI ^{md}EN-*ú-še-zib a-na* ^{md}*En-líl*-M[U-MU] $^{5'}$ A-*šú šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú i-nam-din*

(Rev.) $^{6'}$ LÚ.MU.⟨⟨KIN⟩⟩.KIN$_7$ ^{md}EN-*e-ṭè-ru* A-*sú šá* ^{m}GI-^{d}EN $^{7'}$ ^{md}EN-MU-MU A-*šú šá* ^{m}*Mar-duk-a* $^{8'}$ ^{md}EN-MU *u* ^{m}*Di*(?)-*as*(?)-*da-nu* DUMU.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}MU-ÙRU $^{9'}$ ^{md}*En-líl*-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU DUMU *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-I $^{10'}$ ^{md}EN-BA-*šá* A-*šú šá* ^{m}GI-^{d}EN ^{m}*x-x-x-x* $^{11'}$ A-*šú šá* ^{md}MAŠ-DIN-⌜*iṭ*⌝

$^{12'}$ [LÚ.ŠID ...] *x-x-x* DUMU *šá* ^{md}*En-líl-it*(?)-[*tan*(?)-*nu*(?)] $^{13'}$ [...]-*x-e* ITI.[...]

(Obv.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{m}*Bi-ṣa-a*

56. Pp. 91 n. 81, 147 n. 59.

58. (CBS 6132) [Nippur] 11/—/29 [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) [1] 1 ME GUR ZÚ.L[UM.MA ...] [2] *šá* [d]*En-líl ina qí-bi šá* [md]r*En-líl*ˀ-[MU-MU A *šá*] [3] [m]*Mu-ra-šu-ú* [m]ARAD-[d]*En-líl* [A *šá*] [4] [m]RU-*tì*-[d]MAŠ [m]A-*a* A *šá* [m]*Ib*-[...]-*bi-iá*[a] [5] [*i*]*na* ŠU[II] [m]ŠEŠ.MEŠ-GUR LÚ *qal-la šá* [md][...] [6] *ina* EN.LÍL.KI *ina* KÁ *ka-lak-ku maḫ-r*[*u-*ˀ] [7] KAR-ˀ

(Rev.) [8] LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ [md]50-*it-tan-nu* LÚ *pa-qud* [*šá*] [9] EN.LÍL.KI A *šá* [md]50-*ana*-KUR-*šú* [m]A-*a* A *šá* [10] [md]MAŠ-MU [m]*Šul-lum* A *šá* [m]*Na-din* [11] [m]*La-qip* A *šá* [md]MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ* [m]DIN A [*šá*] [12] [m]*Du-um-muq*

[13] LÚ.ŠID [m]A-*a* A *šá* [md]KÁ-B[A-*šá* EN.LÍL.KI ITI.X] [14] UD.11.KÁM MU.ʳ29.KÁMˀ [[m]*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su*] [15] [LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Obv.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / [m]ARAD-[d]50

(Rev.) *ʾḥtr zy tmrn / krn* 100[b]

59. (CBS 5195) —/X/— [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) [1] [4 LIM G]UR Š[E.BAR *šá* [m]*Ma-nu-uš-ta-nu* L]Ú.DUMU.É [2] [*ina m*]*uḫ-ḫi* [md][*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* [m]*Mu-ra*]-ʳ*šu-ú a*ˀ-*ki ši-pir-tu*$_4$ [3] [*šá*] [m]*Ma-nu-u*[*š-ta-n*]*u* LÚ.DUMU.[É ŠE].BAR *ʾa* 4 LIM GUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu tar-ṣi ina* KÁ *ka-lak-ki* [4] [[m]*P*]*a-mu-*[*ú-nu*] LÚ.ARAD *šá* [m]*Ma-*[*nu-u*]*š-ta-nu ina* ŠU[II] [md]*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* [5] [[m]*Mu*]*-ra-šu-ú ma-ḫi-ir ú-šá-*[*az*]*-za-*[*a*]*z-ma* ŠE.BAR *ʾa* 4 LIM GUR [6] ʳ[m]*Pa-mu*ˀ-[*ú-nu*] KI [m]*Ma-nu-uš-*[*ta*]*-nu a-na* [md]*En-líl*-MU-MU [7] *i-nam-din* ʳ*e*ˀ-*lat* ʳ1 LIMˀ GUR ŠE.[BAR *šá*] *a-ki ši-pir-tu*$_4$ IGI-*tu*$_4$ [8] *šá* [m]*Ma-nu-uš-ta-nu šá* [m]*Pa-mu-ú-nu ina* ŠU[II] [md]*En-líl*-MU-MU *maḫ-ri*

(Rev.) [9] LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ [m]ARAD-[d]*En-*[*líl* ... A] *šá* [md]ENŠADA-GÁL-*ši* [10] [md]*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* [m]*Tat-*[*tan-nu* [m]ARAD-*i*]*a* A *šá* [m]*Ki-rib-tú* [m]KAL-*a* A *šá* [md]*En-líl*-MU-DU [11] [m]DIN A *šá* [m]EN-*šú-nu* [m][*Ta*]*t-tan-n*[*u* A *šá*] [md]*Na-na-a*-MU [md]UTU-ŠEŠ-MU A *šá* [12] [m]MU-[d]AG LÚ *si-pi-ri* MEŠ *šá* É [L]Ú.IGI+DUB *šá šú-nu* ŠE.BAR *ʾa* 4 LIM GUR [13] *ina* ŠU[II] [m]MU-MU A *šá* [m]EN-*šú-nu* [md]*En-lí*[*l-x*]*-ši*-DINGIR *u* [m]*Ba-as-si-ia* LÚ.ARAD *šá* [md]*En-líl*-MU-MU [14] LÚ *uš-ta-*ˀ*-ma-*[*nu*] MEŠ *šá* [md]*En-lí*[*l*-MU-MU *i*]*m-du-du-*ˀ [15] [md]*En-líl*-DIN-*iṭ* A *šá* [m]*Mu-š*[*e-*... [m]AD-*r*]*a-am* A *šá* [md]EN-A[D(!)-ÙRU] [16] [m]*Bi-b*[*a-a* A *šá* ...]*-a-tú* [m]*Al-la-*ʳ*x-a-na*(?)ˀ [...] [17] [...]-MU-MU A *šá* [... [m]*M*]*u-šal-lim-*[d]EN *x x x* [18] [... *d*]*a-ti* [...] A *šá* [md]EN-SUR [md]3[0]-*ba-na* A *šá* [19] [[md]30-DIN-*iṭ* ...]-[d]EN(?) [...]-*it-tan-nu* [m]*Šu*(!)*-lum-a* A *šá* [m]EN-*šú-nu*

[20] [LÚ.ŠID ...]-*x-a* ITI.AB [21] [... [m]*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LU]GAL KUR.KUR

(Obv.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB [md][*En-líl*]-MU-MU / A *šá* [m]*Tat-*[*tan-nu*] // NA$_4$.KIŠIB / [m]*Pa-mu-ú-nu* / LÚ.ARA[D *šá* [m]*M*]*a-nu-uš-ta-nu*

58. P. 13 n. 47.

[a] Conclusion of line on reverse.

[b] See Clay, "Aramaic Indorsements", 290 and 299, no. 2; PBS 2/1 pl. 116 no. 2; and Vattioni, *Augustinianum* 10 (1970), 503 no. 47.

59. Pp. *47* and n. 45, 91 n. 81, *92*, 107 n. 14, *159 n. 5*.

(Le. Ed.) NA_4.KIŠIB / ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* / ^{m}RU-*tì*-^{d}MAŠ

(Lo. Ed.) NA_4.KIŠIB / ^{m}*Tat-[tan-nu]* / LÚ *s[i-pi-ri]* / *šá* ⌜É⌝ [LÚ.IGI+DUB] // NA_4.KIŠIB / ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU / LÚ *si-pi-ri* / *šá* É LÚ.IGI+DUB

60. (CBS 13033) 2/VI/41 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 ½ ⌜MA.NA⌝ 8 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ina* GIŠ.BAR A.ŠÀ.MEŠ *šá* URU *I-du-m[a ...]* 2 ⌜^{md}*x*⌝-*za-ak-ku-un-né-e šá* MU.41.K[ÁM ...] 3 [...] GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *il-ki šá* ⌜^{m}*Ni-din*⌝-[...]

(Rev.) 1′ [...] *x* [...] 2′ ^{md}MAŠ-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Ri-bat* ^{m}[...]

3′ LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*Ta-qiš-*^{d}ME.ME A *šá* ^{m}MU-^{d}[*En-líl ...*] 4′ ITI.⌜KIN⌝ UD.2.KÁM MU.41.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-[su]* 5′ LUGAL KUR.KUR

61. (CBS 5248)

(Obv.) 1′ [...] ⌜*x x*⌝ [...] 2′ KÙ.BABBAR ⌜*šá ina qí*⌝-*bi šá* ^{md}[...]-DIN *ana muḫ-ḫi* 3′ É *maš-kan* MEŠ *šá ina* URU ⌜É⌝ ^{md}AG-*ga-mil* URU [...] 4′ URU LÚ.MÁ.LAḪ$_4$.MEŠ U[RU É] LÚ.SAG *šá a-na* 5′ ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* LÚ [*šak-nu šá*] LÚ *šu-šá-né-e šá* É 6′ *Ḫa-ma-ta-[a-a ana]* ⌜*muḫ-ḫi*⌝ ^{md}50-*ḫa-tin* SUM-*na*

(Rev.) 8′ LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{md}MAŠ-MU A *šá* ^{md}[...]-SUR 7′ ^{m}A-*a* A *šá* ^{md}50-DIN-*su*-E ^{m}[... A *šá*] ^{m}*Ba-rik*-DINGIR.MEŠ 9′ ^{md}MAŠ-DÙ A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SU 10′ ^{m}ARAD-^{d}MAŠ A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ* ^{m}*Ni-din-tú-*^{d}50 A *šá* 11′ ^{md}50-*ba-na* ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}SUM-*na-a* 12′ ^{m}MU-^{d}50 A *šá* ^{m}DIN ^{md}MAŠ-AD-ÙRU A *šá* 13′ ^{md}[...]-DIN ^{m}ŠEŠ-MU A [*šá* ^{m}MU]-^{d}50 [...]

(Le. Ed.) *ṣ[u-pur ...]*

62. (CBS 5156) Nippur —/VII/[28] Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 ⌜48⌝ GUR 2 PI ŠE.BAR *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* 2 ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú šá ina* ŠU^{II} ^{m}*Mu-ra-nu* A *šá* 3 ^{m}MU-^{d}EN *ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{m}*Šá-a-te-en-na-*ʾ A *šá* 4 ^{md}AG-*bul-liṭ-su ina* ITI.GU_4 *šá* MU.29.KÁM 5 ŠE.BAR *ʾa* 48 GUR 2 PI *ina* EN.LÍL.KI *ina* GIŠ.BÁN 6 *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-nu ina* KÁ *ka-lak-ku* SUM-*in* 7 ⌜*e*⌝-*lat ra-šu-tú šá ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{m}*Mu-še-zib* ŠEŠ-*šú* 8 [A.Š]À-*šú* É GIŠ.BAN-*šú šá* GÚ ÍD *Šal-la šá ina x x x* 9 [*ma-la*] ḪA.LA-*šú šá* KI ^{m}*Mu-še-*[*zib ... maš*]-⌜*ka-nu šá*⌝ 10 [^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU] ⌜*x x x*⌝ [...]

(Rev.) 1′ [LÚ.MU]⌜.KIN$_7$ ^{m}⌝[... A *šá*] 2′ ^{md}50-*ana*-KUR ^{m}*La-*[...] 3′ ^{m}*Za-bi-na* A *šá* ^{m}*Ši-it-re-en-na-*⌜ʾ⌝ [... A *šá*] 4′ ^{m}*Ur-ra-za-*ʾ ^{m}*Mu-še-zib* A *šá* ^{md}AG-*bul-liṭ-su* 5′ ^{m}*Šá-áḫ-ia-a-tal*(!)-*la-*ʾ A *šá* ^{m}*Da-ḫi-za*(!)-*ak-ka-*ʾ 6′ ^{md}EN-*e-ṭè-ru* A *šá* ^{md}*Na-na-a*-MU 7′ ^{md}EN-A-ÙRU A *šá* ^{md}EN-*bul-liṭ-su* 8′ [...]-*iṭ* A *šá* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu*

60. P. 117 n. 28.
61. Pp. 75, 76, 107 n. 13.

9′ [LÚ.ŠID ...] ʳA *šá* ^{md}30-DU-Aˀ EN.LÍL.KI ITI.DU_6 10′ [UD.X.KÁM] ʳMUˀ.[28.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá*]-*as-siš* 11′ ʳLUGALˀ KUR.KUR

63. (CBS 12873) Nippur 17/VIII/29 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 9 M[E GU]R 91 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA 43 GUR 2 (PI) 2 BÁN ŠE.BAR 2 *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú ina muḫ-ḫi* 3 ^{md}EN-S[UR *u*] ^{m}ŠEŠ-*im-mi-e* DUMU.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Ba-rik*-[DINGIR].MEŠ 4 *u* ^{md}*Za-ba*$_4$-*ba*$_4$-MU-MU A *šá* ^{md}*Za-ba*$_4$-*ba*$_4$-KÁM 5 *u* LÚ.EN BAN-*šú-nu gab-bi ina* ITI.GU_4 *šá* MU.30.KÁM 6 ŠE.BAR *ʾa* 43 [GU]R *ina* ITI.ʳDU_6ˀ *šá* MU.30.KÁM ʳZÚ.LUM.MAˀ [*ʾa*] 7 9 ME GUR 9[1 GUR] *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá* ^{md}*En-l*[*íl*-MU-MU] 8 *i-nam-din*-[*nu*-ʾ A].ŠÀ-*šú-nu zaq-p*[*u u* KA *šul-pu*] ʳ*šá ina* URU É ^{md}30ˀ-KÁM 9 *maš-ka-nu* ŠE.BAR ʳʾaˀ [43 GUR] ZÚ.LUM.MA *ʾa* 9 ME 91 GUR 10 *ina* IGI ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU [LÚ].TUK-*ú šá-nam-ma ana muḫ-ḫi u*[*l i*]-*šal-ṭu* 11 *a-di* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU LÚ.TUK-*su in-ni*-KAR

(Rev.) 12 LÚ *mu-kin-nu* 13 ^{m}SU-*a* LÚ *paq-du šá* EN.LÍL.KI A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-MU 14 ^{md}*En-líl-it-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl-ana*-KUR-*šú* ^{m}*Ri-bat* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-MU 15 ^{md}[MAŠ-SU]R A *šá* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* ^{m}SU-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{m}*Šá*-KA-UR.DÚR 16 ^{md}UTU-DIN-*iṭ* A *šá* ^{m}MU-MU ʳ^{md}MAŠ-AD-ÙRU A *šá* ^{md}ˀ[...] 17 [^{m}]*Ú-bal-liṭ-su*-^{d}ME.ME A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-DÙ ^{m}[...] 18 [A] *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-*ga-mil* ^{m}[...] A *šá* ^{md}UTU-SUR

19 LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*Na-din* [A *šá* ^{m}GIŠ.GI_6-^{d}MAŠ EN.LÍ]L.KI ITI.APIN UD.17.KÁM 20 MU.29.KÁM ^{m}[*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LU]GAL KUR.KUR

(Lo. Ed.) *štr blʳʾṭˀr w ʾḥwm*[*y*] *bry* (Up. Ed.) [*b*]*rk*ʳˀˀ*l dṣ*(?) (Le. Ed.) *ṣbbšw*[*ʾ*]*dn zy rʳšˀwʳhˀm*(?)

64. (CBS 12983) [Nippur] 17/[VII]/41 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 24 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A [*šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-u*] 2 *ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{md}UTU-*it-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{m}*Da-l*[*a-ta-ni-*ʾ] 3 *ina* ITI.DU_6 MU.41.KÁM ZÚ.LUM.MA ⟨*ʾa*⟩ 24 [GUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu*] 4 *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *ina* URU LÚ *Ma-la-ḫa-n*[*u i-nam-din*] 5 A.ŠÀ-*šú* É.GIŠ.BAN-*šú maš-ka-nu* ZÚ.[LUM.MA *ʾa*] 6 24 GUR *ina* IGI ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU LÚ.TUK-[*ú šá-nam-ma*] 7 *a-na muḫ-ḫi ul i-šal-laṭ a-di* ^{md}*En*-[*líl*-MU-MU] 8 *ra-šu-su i-šal-lim*

(Rev.) 9 LÚ.MU.KIN_7 ^{m}A-*a* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-DIN-*su*-[E ...] 10 A *šá* ^{m}*Na-ṣir* ^{md}MAŠ-PAP A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-[^{d}*En-líl*] 11 ^{md}*Gu-la*-MU-GIŠ A *šá* ^{m}*Tuk*-[*kul-lu*$_4$] 12 ^{m}*Ú-bar* A *šá* ^{m}*Na-din*

13 LÚ.ŠID ^{md}MAŠ-*ga-mil* A *šá* ^{m}*Du-um-mu*[*q* EN.LÍL.KI ITI.DU_6] 14 UD.17.KÁM MU.41.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as*-[*su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

63. P. 74.
64. Pp. 75, *106 n. 11*, 117 n. 28, 121 n. 41.

65. (CBS 4987) 20/VI/41 [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) [1] [x] ME GUR Z[Ú.LUM.MA *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá*] [2] [^{m}*Mu-ra*]-*šu-u ina muḫ-ḫi* [...] [3] [*x x x*] *x* ^{d}EN LÚ *šu*(!)-*šá-nu* [...] [4] [*ina* ITI.DU$_6$ *šá*] MU.41.KÁM ZÚ.LUM.[MA ʾ*a* X ME GUR] [5] [*ina* GIŠ *ma-ši*]-*ḫu šá En-líl*-MU-MU [...] [6] [*i-nam-din*] A.ŠÀ-ʳ*šú zaq*ˀ-*pu u* KA *šul-pu* É GIŠ.BAN-*šú* [7] [GÚ Í]D *Za-b*[*a*(?)- ... *i*]-*na* IGI ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU [8] [LÚ.TUK-*ú*] *šá-na*[*m-ma ana*] *muḫ-ḫi ul i-šal-laṭ a-di* [9] [^{md}*En*]-*líl*-MU-MU LÚ.TUK-*us-su* KAR-*ru*

(Rev.) [10] LÚ *mu-kin-nu* [11] [^{m}]KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}MU-*a* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* A *šá* [12] ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* ^{md}*En-líl*-DIN-*iṭ* A *šá* [13] ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú-nu*

[14] LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*Ta-qiš*-^{d}ME.ME A *šá* [^{m}MU-^{d}*En-líl* ...] [15] ITI.KIN UD.ʳ20ˀ.[KÁM MU.41.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Ri. Ed.) NA$_4$.KI[ŠIB ...] / A *šá* ^{m}[...]

(Lo. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB ^{m}*Ga-da-*ʳ*al*ˀ-*ia*

66. (CBS 5516) Nippur —/VII/41 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] [3 ME 20 G]UR ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU [A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú*] [2] [*ina muḫ-ḫi*] ^{m}MU-MU A *šá* ^{md}*A-num*-DIN-*iṭ u* LÚ.ʳENˀ.MEŠ GIŠ.ʳBAN-*šú*ˀ [3] [*šá* LÚ *ḫa-a*]*ṭ-ri šá* LÚ.DUMU.BÀD.AN.KI-*a-a šá ina* URU *šá Ma-aq-qu-tu* [4] [*šá ina*] GÚ ÍD *Ḫar-ri-Pi-qu-du ina* ITI.DU$_6$ *šá* MU.41.KÁM [5] [ZÚ.L]UM.MA a_4 3 ME 20 GUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu* GAL-*u* [6] [*šá* ^{md}*En-líl*]-MU-MU *ina ḫa-ṣa-ri* SUM-*nu-*ʾ A.ŠÀ-*šú-nu* É.GIŠ.BAN-*šú-nu* [7] [*zaq-pu u* KA *šul-pu šá*] *ina* URU *šá Ma-aq-tu-tu* [8] [*šá* GÚ ÍD *Ḫar-r*]*i-Pi-qu-du maš-ka-nu* ZÚ.LUM.MA a_4 [9] 3 ME 20 GUR *ina* IGI ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU LÚ.TUK-*ú šá-nam-ma* [10] *ana muḫ-ḫi ul i-šal-laṭ a-di* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU LÚ.TUK-*su* [11] *in-ni-ṭi-ir* ZÚ.LUM.MA ŠÁM KÙ.BABBAR *šá ana il-ki qé-me* [12] *šá* LUGAL *ba-ra u mim-ma na-da-na-a-tú šá* É LUGAL [13] *šá ina muḫ-ḫi-šú-nu u* GIŠ.BAN-*šú-nu* SUM-*nu* 1-*en pu-ut* 2-*i* (Lo. Ed.) [14] *ana e-ṭir na-šu-u šá qé-reb iṭ-ṭir*

(Rev.) [15] LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{m}RU-*tì*-^{d}MAŠ ^{m}*Na-din* [A *šá*] [16] ^{m}BA(!)-*šá-a* ^{m}A-*a* A-*ša* ^{md}*En-líl*-ʳDINˀ-*su*-E ^{m}A-*a* [17] A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-MU ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-PA[P ...] [18] ʳ*x*ˀ ^{m}I-^{d}*En-líl* [...] ʳA *šá* ^{m}*Kiˀ-din*

[19] [LÚ.ŠID] ^{m}*Šu-la-a* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-PAP EN.LÍL.KI ITI.DU$_6$ [20] [UD.X.KÁM MU].41.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* [LUGAL KUR.KUR]

67. (CBS 4986) Nippur 17/VII/41 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] [x]+1 LIM GUR Z[Ú.L]UM.MA ʳ40 GUR ŠE.BAR *šá*ˀ ^{md}*En*-[*líl*-MU-M]U [2] [A *šá*] ^{m}*Mu-ra*-[*šu-u*] *ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{m}ʳ*x-x-x*ˀ-*pa-ḫa-ar*(!)-*ru-ú* [3] [*u*] ^{md}*A-nu*[*m-*

65. P. 117 n. 28.
66. Pp. 75, 105 n. 6, 117 n. 28.
67. Pp. 117 n. 28, 118 n. 35.

... *ina*] ˹ITI.DU$_6$(!) ZÚ.LUM.MA˺ *'a* [X LI]M GUR [4] *u ina* IT[I.G]U$_4$ MU.42.KÁM ŠE.˹BAR *a*$_4$ 40˺ GUR [5] *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-M[U-MU *ina* URU É ^{m}*Za-bi*]-*ni* [6] *i-n*[*a*]*m-din* A.ŠÀ-*šú zaq-pu u* ˹KA˺ [*šul-pu*] [7] É GIŠ.BAN-*šú šá ina* URU É ^{m}*Za-bi-ni* [8] *maš-ka-nu ina* IGI ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-M[U LÚ.TUK]-*ú šá-n*[*am-ma*] [9] [*ana*] *muḫ-ḫi ul i-šal-laṭ* [*a*]-*di* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU [10] [LÚ.TU]K-*us-su in-niṭ-ṭi-ru* 1-*en pu-*[*ut* 2-*i*] [11] [*na-ši š*]*á qé-reb iṭ-ṭir*

(Rev.) [12] [LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{md}*En*]-*líl-ki-šìr* A *šá* ^{m}[ARAD-^{d}*En-líl*] [13] [^{m}SU-^{d}*En-líl*] A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl-ba-n*[*a* ...] [14] [A *ša*] ˹^{md}EN(!)˺-*na-ṣir* ^{md}ME.ME-MU-GI[Š A *šá* ^{m}*Tuk-kul-lu*$_4$] [15] ^{md}MAŠ-*na-ṣir* A *šá* ^{md}AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-[MU]

[16] LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{m}*Ú-bar* EN.LÍL.KI [17] ITI.DU$_6$ UD.17.KÁM MU.41.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-siš* [18] LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Le. Ed.) [*ṣu-pur*] ^{m}*Tat-*[*ta*]*n-nu* / *u* ^{md}*A-n*[*um-* ...]-*x*

68. (CBS 12979) —/IV/— [Artaxerxes I or Darius II]

(Obv.) [1] [...] A *šá* [2] [...]-*ia* A *šá* [3] [...] ^{md}EN-SUR [4] [... ^{md}*E*]*n-líl*-ŠES-*x* A *šá* [5] [... *u* EN GIŠ.BAN-*šú*]-*nu gab-bi šá ḫa-aṭ-ri* [6] [...] ITI.DU$_6$ [7] [...] 7 GUR 1 PI *ina* GIŠ *ma-*[*ši-ḫu* ...] *u* [8] [...] *ma-la* A [*x*] [9] [...] *na-šu-ú* [10] [... *zaq*]-*pu* É GIŠ.[B]AN-*šú-nu* [11] [...]-*ta ma-la*

(Rev.) [1′] [...] ˹*x x*˺ [...] [2′] [... ^{m}SU-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá*] ^{md}*En-líl-ba-na* [3′] [... ^{md}*En-líl-it-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{md}]KAL.KAL-MU [4′] [... ^{md}]*En-líl*-DU-A [5′] [...]-*šú-nu* A.MEŠ [6′] [...] *x* ^{d}UTU

[7′] [...] *x* ITI.ŠU [8′] [...] LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Up. Ed.) [NA$_4$].KIŠIB / [^{m}]^{d}50-MU-*x* / A *šá* ^{m}*Ki-din*

(Ri. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{rmd}50-MU-MU˺ / [...] / [...]-*x-nu*

69. (CBS 5206) Nippur 17/—/41 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] [X] GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* [2] ^{rm}*Mu-ra-šu*˺-*ú ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{m}*Gu-ra-*' [3] [A *šá* ^{m}*Li-nu*]-*uḫ-lìb-bi*-DINGIR.MEŠ *ina* ITI.DU$_6$ *šá* MU.41.KÁM [4] [ZÚ.LUM.MA *'a* X GU]R *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU [5] [... ^{m}*Gu-ra*]-˹' *i-nam*˺-*din* A.ŠÀ-*šú* [6] [É GIŠ.BAN *šá ina* URU] *Ḫa-tal-lu-ú-a* [7] [*maš-ka-nu ina* IGI ^{md}]*En-líl*-MU-MU LÚ.TUK-*ú* [8] [*šá-nam-ma ana m*]*uḫ-ḫi ul i-šal-laṭ* [9] [*a-di* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU LÚ *ra*]-*šu-us-s*[*u*] [10] [*iṭ-ṭir*]

(Rev.) [11] [LÚ *mu-kin-nu* ... ^{m}]A-*a* A *šá* [12] [...] A *šá* ^{m}*Ki-din* [13] [...] ^{rm}BA-*šá*˺ ^{m}*Na-din* A *šá* [14] [...]

[15] [LÚ.ŠI]D ^{md}MAŠ-*ga-mil* A *šá* ^{m}*Du-um-muq* EN.LÍL.KI [16] [ITI.X U]D.17.KÁM MU.41.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as* LUGAL KUR.KUR

69. P. 117 n. 28.

70. (CBS 12874) 3/—/[29] [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) [1] 3 ME 58 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá* ^{m}[^{d}*En-líl*-MU-MU] [2] A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{m}A-*a* ^{m}LÚ-^{d}*E*[*n-líl*] [3] *u* ^{m}SÙḪ-SUR DUMU.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-DA ^{m}*Ki-din* A [*šá* ...] [4] ^{mr}*Ba*(?)-*la*(?)-*ṭu*(?)$^{\neg}$ A *šá* ^{m}*Nu-úr-e-a u* ^{m}MU-DU A *šá* ^{m}[...] [5] *ina* ITI.DU$_6$ *šá* MU.29.KÁM ZÚ.LUM.MA 3 ME 58(!) GUR [6] *ina* GIŠ [*ma-ši-ḫu*] *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU [7] *ina ḫa-*[*ṣa*]-*ri i-nam-din-nu-*$^{\prime}$ [8] $^{\lceil}$1-*en*$^{\rceil}$ *pu-ut* $^{\lceil}$*šá-ni*$^{\rceil}$-*i na-šu-ú šá qé-reb iṭ-ṭir* [9] [A.ŠÀ]-*šú-nu zaq-*^{r}*pi*$^{\rceil}$ GÚ ÍD *Ú-šap-pi-*^{d}UTU [10] [*maš*]-*ka-nu ina* IGI ^{md}[*En*]-*líl*-MU-MU *a-di* ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá*(!) ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-$^{\lceil}$MU$^{\rceil}$ [11] [*in-niṭ-ṭir-*$^{\prime}$ LÚ] *re-šu-ú šá-nam-ma a-na muḫ-ḫi* (Lo. Ed.) [12] [*ul i-šal-laṭ*]

(Rev.) [13] [LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$] $^{\lceil m}$*Ina*-GIŠ.GI$_6$-^{d}EN$^{\rceil}$ A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SUR ^{m}DU-A A *šá* ⟨⟨^{m}⟩⟩ [14] [^{md}*En*]-*líl*-MU ^{md}KAL.KAL-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Ú-bal-liṭ-su* [...] [15] [...]-*šú-nu* ^{m}MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Ka-ṣir* ^{m}*Ḫa-tin* [16] [A *šá* ... ^{m}S]U-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{m}MU-^{d}*En-líl* [17] ^{m}MU-^{d}[...] A *šá* ^{m}[*Ú-bal*]-*liṭ-su*-^{d}UTU(?) [18] ^{md}30-SUR A *šá* ^{md}EN-*mu*-[*tak*]-*kil* [19] ^{m}MU-MU $^{\lceil}$A *šá* ^{m}BA-*šá-a*$^{\rceil}$ ^{m}*x*-[*x*]-*x-ši* A *šá* ^{m}*Na-din* [20] ^{mr}*x-x-x*$^{\rceil}$ A *šá* ^{m}A-*a* ^{m}AR[AD-...]-*x-x*

[21] LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*Na-din* [A *šá* ^{m}]*x*-^{d}*Dil-bat* [... ITI.X] [22] UD.3.KÁM *šá* MU.[29.K]ÁM ^{m}*A*[*r-taḫ-šá-as-su*] [23] LUGAL KUR.[KUR]

(Le. Ed.) *ṣu-pur* ^{m}A-*a* ^{m}LÚ-^{d}*En-líl* / ^{m}SÙḪ-SUR ^{m}*Ki-din* ^{m}*Ba*(?)-*la*(?)-*ṭu*(?) / *u* ^{m}MU-DU

71. (CBS 12962) —/—/29 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] [39 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU DUMU *šá*] [2] [^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú a-na muḫ-ḫi*] $^{\lceil m}$MU-MU$^{\rceil}$ DUMU *šá* [3] [... *ù* ^{m}]^{d}MAŠ-SUR DUMU *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ* [4] [*ina* ITI.DU$_6$ *šá* MU].29.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-*⟨*as*⟩*-su* LUGAL [5] [ZÚ.LUM.MA *'a*] 39 GUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu* [6] [*šá* ^{md}*En-lí*]*l*-MU-MU *ina* URU *Gaba-li-ni* [7] [*i-nam-din-*$^{\prime}$] 1-*en pu-ut šá-ni-i a-na* KAR [8] [*na-ši šá qé*]-*reb iṭ-ṭir ul-tu* ŠE.NUMUN [9] [...] $^{\lceil}$*šá*$^{\rceil}$ *ina* URU *Gaba-li-ni* [10] [... LÚ]^{r}.TUK-*ú šá-nam-*$^{\rceil}$[*ma*] [11] [*ana muḫ-ḫi ul i-šal-laṭ*]

(Rev.) [12] [LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ...]-*x-x-u* [13] [...]-MU ^{m}SU-*a* [14] [...]-*x* DUMU *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-MU ^{m}*Na-din* [15] [...]-^{d}*En-líl* DUMU.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Du-uk-x*-[(...)] [16] [...] *šá* ^{md}IM-*ra-am* ^{m}*Ba-la-ṭu* [17] [... DU]MU.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-DIN-*iṭ*

[18] [LÚ.ŠID ...]-*x*

72. (CBS 12963) Addiaja [5]/[V]/34 [Artaxerxes I][a]

(Obv.) [1] [10 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá* ^{md}*En-l*]*íl*-MU-MU A *šá* [2] [^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú ina muḫ*]-*ḫi* ^{md}*Na-na-a*-MU [3] [A *šá* ...]-*tan-nu* A *šá* [4] [...] ^{m}*Lu-ú-ḫu-ú* A *šá* [5] [... ^{m}]*Ni-din-tu*$_4$-*ia* A *šá*

72. P. 24 n. 94.

[a] Date restored from No. 74 and BE 9 36-38, all texts of the same type, drafted at the same place and before the same witnesses, on two consecutive days. BE 9 36 and No. 74 name the same scribe as this text.

6 [... *u*] EN BAN-*šú gab-bi ina* ITI.DU$_6$ 7 [*šá* MU.34].KÁM ZÚ.LUM.MA *'a* 10 GUR 8 [*ina* GIŠ *ma-ši*]-*ḫu šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU

(Rev.) 1′ [LÚ *mu-kin-nu* ^{m}]*La-ba-nu* A *šá* ^{m}*Ra-ḫi-*[*im*-DINGIR.MEŠ] 2′ [^{md}EN-SUR A *šá*] ^{m}*I-da-ri-*⟨*nu*⟩-DINGIR ^{md}EN-*a-s*[*u-ú-a*] 3′ [A *šá* ^{md}AG-ŠEŠ]-*it-tan-nu* ^{m}DIN-*a* A *šá* 4′ [^{m}ARAD-^{d}*Mu*]*l-la-e-šú* ^{m}*Ú-bar* A *šá* 5′ [^{md}AG-DIN-*su* ^{m}KI]-^{d}UTU-DIN A *šá* 6′ [^{m}*Ḫaš-da-a-a*]

7′ [LÚ.ŠID ^{md}MAŠ-SUR A *šá* ^{m}MU]-MU URU *Ad-di-ia-a-a* 8′ [ITI.NE UD.5.KÁM] MU.34.KÁM 9′ [^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su*] LUGAL KUR.KUR

73. (CBS 13034) Nippur

(Obv.) 1 [44 GUR 3 BÁN ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá* ^{md}50-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-u*] 2 [*ina muḫ-ḫi* ...] ^{r}md^{1} [...] 3 *ina* ITI.[DU$_6$ ZÚ.LUM.MA *'a*] 44 [GUR 3 BÁN] 4 *ina* GIŠ *ma-š*[*i-ḫu šá* ^{m}]^{d}50-MU-MU 5 *ina ḫa-ṣa-ri ina* URU *Ga-li-ia* 6 *i-nam-din* ŠE.NUMUN *zaq-pu u* KA *šul-pu* 7 É GIŠ.BAN-*šú maš-ka-nu* ZÚ.LUM.MA *'a* 8 44 GUR 3 BÁN *ina* IGI ^{md}50-MU-MU 9 LÚ.TUK-*ú šá-nam-ma ana muḫ-ḫi* (Lo. Ed.) 10 *ul i-šal-laṭ a-di* ^{md}50-MU-MU 11 *in-ni-ṭir*

(Rev.) 12 LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{m}*Na-din* A *šá* ^{m}KAL-*a* 13 ^{m}ARAD-^{d}50 A *šá* ^{m}MU-^{d}50 14 ^{m}ZÁLAG-KUR-^{d}50 A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}ME.ME 15 ^{md}*En-líl*-ŠEŠ-MU A *šá* ⟨^{m}A-*a*⟩

16 LÚ.ŠID ^{md}UTU-*na-din*-NUMUN A *šá* 17 [^{md}*Bu-ne-ne*-DÙ] EN.LÍL.KI 18 [...]

74. (CBS 12964) [Addiaja] 5/[V]/[34] Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 [X GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA] *šá* ^{m}[^{d}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá*] 2 [^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú*] *ina m*[*uḫ-ḫi* ...] 3 [...]-DINGIR.MEŠ *x* [...] 4 [...] A *šá* ^{md}EN-*x*-[...] 5 [...]-*x u* EN.BAN-*šú*-[*nu gab-bi ina* ITI.DU$_6$] 6 [*šá*] MU.34.KÁM ZÚ.LUM.MA ['*a* X GUR] 7 *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *ina* URU [*Ad-di-ia-a-a*] 8 *i-nam-din-nu-*' A.ŠÀ-[*šú-nu zaq-pi* ...] 9 É.BAN-*šú-nu maš-ka-nu* [(...)] 10 *ina* IGI ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU LÚ.[TUK-*ú*] 11 *šá-nam-mu ana muḫ-ḫi ul* [*i-šal-laṭ*]

(Rev.) 12 LÚ *mu-kin-nu* ^{m}*La-ba-ni-*' [A *šá* ^{m}*Ra-ḫi-im*-DINGIR.MEŠ] 13 ^{md}EN-SUR A *šá* ^{m}*I-da-ri-*[*nu*-DINGIR.MEŠ] 14 ^{md}EN-*a-su-ú-a* A *šá* [^{md}AG-ŠEŠ-*it-tan-nu*] 15 ^{m}DIN A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-⟨^{d}⟩*Mul-*[*la-e-šú*] 16 ^{m}*Ú-bar* A *šá* ^{md}AG-DIN-*su* ^{m}KI-[^{d}UTU-DIN] 17 [A *šá* ^{m}*Ḫaš*]-*da-a-a*

18 [LÚ.ŠID] ^{md}MAŠ-SUR A *šá* ^{m}MU-MU [URU *Ad-di-ia-a-a*] 19 [ITI.NE UD].5.KÁM *šá* MU.[34.KÁM] 20 [^{m}*Ar-t*]*aḫ-šá-as-*[*su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Le. Ed.) *ṣu-pur* / [*A*]-*qu-bu* / [*u*(?) ^{m}]^{d}GAŠAN(?)-*ú-ṣal-la*

75. (CBS 12971)

(Obv.) 1′ [...] ^{r}A *šá* ^{m}*x-x*^{1} 2′ ^{rmd}AG-*ú-še-zib*^{1} A *šá* ^{m}*Ni-din-tú-*^{dr}AG?^{1} *u* ^{mdr}AG?^{1}-*ra-*^{r}*am*^{1}-*mu* 3′ A *šá* ^{m}SUM-*na-a ina* ITI.DU$_6$ *šá* M[U.X]+2.KÁM ZÚ.LUM.MA *'a* 4′ 50 GUR *ina* GIŠ

74. P. 24 n. 94; 263 No. 72 note a.
75. P. 74.

ma-ši-[ḫu] tar-ṣi šá ʳᵐ*Ri-bat ina muḫ-ḫiˀ* 5′ ÍD.LÚ.UD.SAR.ŠE.GA *i-nam-din* [...] 6′ *zaq-pu* GÚ ÍD.LÚ.UD.ʳSAR.⟨ŠE⟩.GA(?) *a a x x x xˀ* [...] *gab-bi* 7′ *šá ina* URU É *Na-ṭi*(!)*-ir maš-ka-nu* ZÚ.LUM.MA a_4 8′ 50 GUR *ina* IGI ᵐ*Ri-bat* LÚ.TUK-*ú šá-nam-ma a-na* 9′ ʳ*muḫ*ˀ*-ḫi ul i-šal-laṭ* ʳ*a-di*ˀ ᵐ*Ri-bat ra-šu-ut-su* (Lo. Ed.) 10′ *in-niṭ-ṭi-ir*

(Rev.) 11′ LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ᵐᵈMAŠ-*mu*-GUR-ŠU A *šá* ᵐᵈAG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU 12′ ᵐᵈEN-*it-tan-nu* A *šá* ᵐᵈEN-DIN-*su* ᵐ*Si-lim*-DINGIR.MEŠ A *šá* 13′ ᵐMU-MU ᵐᵈMAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU A *šá* ᵐᵈ*En-líl*-MU-DÙ 14′ ᵐ*Ú-bar* A *šá* ᵐ*La-ba-ši* ᵐ*Ḫaš-da-a-a* A *šá* 15′ [...]-ᵈ*En-líl*

(Le. Ed.) NA$_4$.[KIŠIB] / ᵐ[...] / A *šá* ᵐ[...]

(Rev.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ᵐᵈEN-*it-ta*[*n-nu*] / A *šá* ᵐᵈEN-DIN-*su* // NA$_4$.[KIŠIB] / ʳᵐ*Si-lim*-DINGIRˀ.MEŠ / A *šá* ᵐMU-MU

76. (CBS 12966)

(Obv.) 1′ ʳEN GIŠˀ.[BAN ...] 2′ ʳ*u* ᵐᵈMAŠ-SUR A *šáˀ* [... *šá* LÚ *ḫa-aṭ-ri šá* LÚ *šu-šá-né* MEŠ] 3′ *šá* É *Ḫa-ma-ta-a-a* [...] 4′ ZÚ.LUM.MA *ʾa* 2 LIM 4 ME 40 GUR *ina* GIŠ [*ma-ši-ḫu*] 5′ [*šá* ᵐ]ᵈ*En-líl*-MU-MU *ina ḫa-ṣa-ri ina-an-din-ʾ* 6′ A.ŠÀ-*šú-nu* É GIŠ.BAN-*šú-nu zaq-pu u* KÁ *šul-pu* 7′ [*šá*] *ina* URU É *Ga-la-la-a-nu maš-ka-nu* 8′ ʳZÚˀ.LUM.MA *ʾa* 2 LIM 4 ME 40 GUR *ina* [IGI] 9′ [ᵐᵈ*En*]-*líl*-MU-M[U LÚ].TUK-*ú šá-nam-ma ana muḫ-ḫi* (Lo. Ed.) 10′ [*ul i-šal-laṭ a-di* ᵐᵈ*En*]-ʳ*líl*-MU-MUˀ LÚ.ʳTUKˀ-*su* 11′ [*in-niṭ-ṭir* ZÚ.LUM.MA Š]ÁM KÙ.BABBAR *šá a-na il-k*[*i*] 12′ [*qé-me šá* LUGAL *bar-ra u mim-ma*] *na-da-na-a-tú* (Rev.) 13′ *šá* É LU[GAL *šá ana muḫ*]-*ḫi-šú-nu u* GIŠ.BAN-*šú-nu* SUM-*nu* 14′ 1-*en pu-ut* ⟨2-*i*⟩ *a-na e-ṭir na-šu-u šá qé-reb iṭ-ṭir*

15′ LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ᵐARAD-ᵈ*En-líl* A *šá* ᵐRU-*tì*-ᵈMAŠ ᵐ*Na-din* A *šá* 16′ ᵐBA-*šá-a* ᵐA-*a* A *šá* ᵐᵈ*En-líl*-DIN-*su*-E ᵐ*Iq-qar-ia* 17′ A *šá* ᵐ*Ki-din* ᵐA-*a* A [*šá* ... A *šá*] 18′ ᵐEN-*šú-nu* ᵐ*x* [...]

77. (CBS 12940 + 12972) Nippur 5/V/33 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 60-*šu* GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá* ᵐᵈ*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ᵐ*Mu-ra-šu-u* 2 *ina muḫ-ḫi* ᵐAD-*ra-am* A *šá* ᵐᵈEN-AD-ÙRU 3 [ᵐ*M*]*u-še-zib*-ᵈEN A *šá* ᵐAN.ŠÁR-*ta-ri-bi* 4 [*u* ᵐᵈEN]-*e-ṭè-ru* A *šá* ᵐ*Ga-ag-gu-ú* 5 [*ina*] ITI.DU$_6$ *šá* MU.33.KÁM ZÚ.LUM.MA *ʾa* 6 60-*šu* GUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá* ᵐᵈ*En-líl*-MU-MU *ina ḫa-ṣa-ri* 7 *ina* URU É ᵐ*Ba-re-na-ʾ i-nam-din-nu-ʾ* 8 1-*en pu-ut* 2-*i a-na e-ṭir šá* ZÚ.LUM.MA *ʾa* 9 60-*šu* GUR *na-šu-ú š*[*á q*]*é-reb iṭ-ṭir* A.ŠÀ-*šú*-[*nu*] 10 *zaq-pu ma-la* ḪA.LA-*šú-nu* [*ga*]*b-bi šá ina* URU É ᵐ*Ba-re*-[*na-ʾ*] 11 *maš-ka-nu* ZÚ.LUM.MA *ʾa* 60-*šu* GUR *ina* IGI 12 ᵐᵈ*En-líl*-MU-MU LÚ.TUK-*ú šá-nam-ma ana* [*muḫ-ḫi*] 13 *ul i-šal-laṭ a-di* ᵐᵈ*En-líl*-MU-MU [LÚ.TUK-*su*] 14 *in-ni*-[*ṭir*]

(Rev.) 15 [LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ...] 16 [... A] *šá* ᵐ*Bul-lu*[*ṭ-a*] 17 [... A *šá*] ᵐ*Na-din* ᵐᵈMAŠ-[...] 18 [... ᵐᵈ*En*]-*líl*-MU A *šá* ᵐ*Li-nu-uḫ*-[*lìb-bi*-DINGIR.MEŠ] 19 [...]-MU A *šá* ᵐA-*a*

76. Pp. 76, 105 n. 6.

20 LÚ.Š[ID ^{md}UTU]-*na-din*-NUMUN A *šá* ^{md}*Bu-ne-ne*-DÙ EN.LÍL.KI 21 ITI.NE UD.5.KÁM MU.33.KÁM 22 ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Le. Ed.) [*ṣu-pur* ^{m}AD]-*ra-am* / *u* ^{rmd}EN^{1}-*e-ṭè-ru*

78. (CBS 12879) Nippur 7/VII/41 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 5+[x GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá* ^{md}*En*]-*líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* 2 [*ina muḫ-ḫi* ...] A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-DIN-*iṭ* 3 [... *ina* IT]I.DU$_6$ MU.41.KÁM 4 [ZÚ.LUM.MA *'a* ^{r}x GUR^{1} *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu* 5 [*šá* ^{md}*En-líl*]-MU-MU *ina* U[RU] *Ḫi-in-da-na-a-a* 6 [*i-nam-d*]*i-nu-'* A.ŠÀ-*šú-nu zaq-pu u* KA *šul-pu* 7 É GIŠ.BAN-*šú*-[*nu*] *ina* URU *Ḫi-in-da-na*-[*a-a*] 8 *maš-ka-nu* ZÚ.LUM.MA ^{r}*a*$_4$^{1} [x GUR] 9 *ina* IGI ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU LÚ.[TUK-*ú šá-nam-ma*] 10 *a-na muḫ-ḫi ul i-ša*[*l-laṭ adi* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU] 11 *ra-šu-us-su in*-[*ni-iṭ-ṭir*]

(Rev.) 12 LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{md}MAŠ-MU A *šá* ^{m}[^{d}MAŠ-SU (...)] 13 ^{m}SU-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-[*ba-na* (...)] 14 ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}SUM-*na-a* [(...)] 15 ^{m}*Ta-qiš*-^{d}*Gu-la* A [*šá* ^{m}MU-^{d}*En-líl* (...)] 16 ^{m}*Na-din* A *šá* ^{m}*Ina*-GIŠ.GI$_6$-[^{d}MAŠ]

17 LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* A [*šá*] ^{m}*Ú-bar* EN.LÍL.KI 18 ITI.DU$_6$ UD.7.KÁM [MU.4]1.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* 19 LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Up. Ed.) [*ṣu-pur* ...]-*x-šú*(?)

79. (CBS 12989+13051) Nippur —/—/39 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 [50] GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá* ^{m}*Ri*-[*mut*-^{d}MAŠ A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú*] 2 [*ina m*]*uḫ-ḫi* ^{md}*En-líl-ḫa-tin ù* [^{m}*En-líl-e-ṭir* A.MEŠ *šá*] 3 ^{m}*Zab-di-ia ina* ITI.DU$_6$ MU.40.K[ÁM ZÚ.LUM.MA *'a* 50 GUR] 4 *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá* ^{m}*Ri-mut*-^{d}[MAŠ] 5 *ina ḫa-ṣa-ri i-nam-din-'* A.ŠÀ-*šú*-[*nu zaq-pu u* KA *šul-pu*] 6 É GIŠ.BAN-*šú-nu šá ina* URU.GIŠ.BAN [...] 7 *maš-ka-nu* ZÚ.LUM.MA a_4 50 GUR *ina* [IGI ^{m}*Ri-mut*-^{d}MAŠ] 8 LÚ.TUK-*ú šá-nam-ma ina muḫ-ḫi ul i-šal-ṭ*[*u a-di*] 9 ^{m}*Ri-mut*-^{d}MAŠ LÚ.TUK-*su i*[*n-ni-ṭi-ru*] 10 1-*en pu-ut šá-ni-i na-ši šá qé-reb* ZÚ.LUM.[MA *'a* 50 GUR] 11 *iṭ*-[*ṭir*]

(Rev.) 12 LÚ *mu-kin-nu* ^{m}ARAD-*ia u* ^{m}*La-ba-ši* A.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Ú*-[*bar*] 13 ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}MU-*a* ^{md}MAŠ-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Na*-[*din*] 14 ^{m}ARAD-^{d}MAŠ A *šá* ^{m}I-^{d}MAŠ ^{m}MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Ni*-[...] 15 ^{md}30-*na-din*-ŠEŠ A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}KÁ 16 ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{m}*Ni-din-tu*$_4$ ^{md}*x* [...] 17 A *šá* ^{m}*Šá*-KA-UR.DÚR

18 [LÚ.ŠID ^{m}]*Na-din* A *šá* ^{m}GIŠ.GI$_6$-^{d}MAŠ EN.LÍL.[KI ITI.X] 19 [UD.X.KÁM MU.3]9.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as*-[*su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Lo. Ed.) [*š*]*ṭr 'll'ṭr*

78. P. 117 n. 28.

80. (CBS 4994) 13/—/— [Artaxerxes I or Darius II]

(Obv.) 1 12½ MA.NA [KÙ.BABBAR *šá* md*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* m*Mu-ra-šu-u*] 2 *ina muḫ-ḫi* m*Ḫi-in-nu-*[...] 3 *šá* mKI-dAG-DIN *ul-tu* [...] 4 *ina bi-rit x* [... 1]2½ MA.N[A ...] 5 SUM-*nu-*' A.ŠÀ-*šú zaq-pu u* KA *šul-pu* É rGIŠ.BAN(!)¬-[*šú*] 6 *u* É *bi-rit-šú-nu šá* GÚ *Nam-gar*-BÀD-d*En-líl u* ÍD d*En-líl* 7 *šá ina* URU *Pu-ṣa-a-a ù ina a-šar šá-nam-ma maš-ka-*⟨⟨*maš*⟩⟩*-nu* 8 [KÚ].BABBAR *'a* 1[2½ M]A.NA *ina* IGI md*En-líl*-MU-MU TUK-*ú šá-nam-ma* 9 [*a-n*]*a muḫ-ḫi* A.ŠÀ MU.MEŠ *ul i-šal-ṭu a-di* 10 [md*En-líl*-MU-MU *ra-šu*]*-su i-šal-lim* 11 [1-*en pu-ut* 2]*-i a-na* KAR *na-šu-ú šá qé-reb* 12 *iṭ-ṭir*

(Rev.) 13 [LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ mAR]AD-d*En-líl* A-*šú šá* mRU-*tì*-dMAŠ ⟨⟨A *šá*⟩⟩ mdENŠADA-GÁL-*ši* 14 rA-*šú šá*¬ m*Tat-tan-nu* mSU-d*En-líl* 15 A-*šú šá* md*E*[*n-líl*]*-ba-na* m*Na-din* A-*šú šá* mBA-*šá-a* 16 md*En-líl*-D[U-A A-*šú šá*] m*Ka-ṣir* mKAL-*a* A *šá* 17 mSUM-*na*-[*a*]

18 LÚ.ŠID md[...] 19 UD13.KÁM *šá* [MU ...]

(Lo. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / m*Na-din* / A *šá* mBA-*šá-a*

(Le. Ed.) [NA$_4$].KIŠIB / mARAD-d50

(Up. Ed.) (traces of seal caption)

81. (CBS 13040)

(Obv.) 1′ [...] *x* 2′ [...] *ina* UD.UD.KI 3′ [... *n*]*a-šu-ú šá qé-reb* 4′ [...] É GIŠ.BAN-*šú-nu* 5′ [...] *šá ina* UD.UD.KI *maš-kan-nu* 6′ [...] md*En-líl*-MU-MU LÚ.TUK-*ú* 7′ [*šá-nam-ma ul i-ša*]*l-laṭ*(!) *a-di-i* md*En-líl*-MU-MU 8′ [LÚ.TUK-*su in-niṭ-ṭí*]*-ru*

9′ [*ina* IGI mEN-*šú-nu* m*Ú-mar-da-a-tú*] *u* m*Iš-ta-bu-za-nu* 10′ [LÚ.DI.KU$_5$.MEŠ *šá* ÍD].d30

11′ [LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ... md*En-líl*-MU]*-lil-bir* 12′ [... mARAD-d*É-gal-m*]*aḫ* 13′ [...] A.MEŠ 14′ [...] *x*

82. (CBS 12863) [Nippur] 24/VIII/— [Artaxerxes I or Darius II]

(Obv.) 1′ [...] *šá ina* URU É m*DÙ-ia* 2′ [*šá* LÚ *ḫa*]-rat-ri *šá*¬ LÚ *si-pi-re-e maš-ka-nu* ZÚ.LUM.MA a_4 2 LIM GUR 3′ [*ina* IGI] md50-MU-MU LÚ.TUK-*ú šá-nam-ma ina muḫ-ḫi ul i-šal-ṭu* 4′ rA-*di*¬ md50-MU-MU *re-šu-us-su in-ni-ṭi-ru* 5′ KÙ.BABBAR *ina* ŠÁM ZÚ.LUM.MA[a] *šá a-na il-ki qé-me šá* LUGAL *ba-ar-ri* 6′ *u mim-ma na-da-*⟨*na*⟩*-a-tú šá* É LUGAL *ana muḫ-ḫi-šú* SUM-*na*

(Rev.) 7′ LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ 8′ m*Na-din* A-*šú šá* mBA-*šá-a* m*Ap-la-a* A-*šú šá* md50-DIN-*su*-E 9′ mEN-*šú-nu* A-*šú šá* mdMAŠ-PAP mdMAŠ-PAP A-*šú šá* mdAG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU 10′ mMU-MU A-*šú*

82. Pp. 76, 105 n. 6.

[a] Scribal error for ZÚ.LUM.MA ŠÁM KÙ.BABBAR; see Cardascia *Murašû*, 40.

šá ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* ^{m}SU-^{d}*En-líl* A-*šú šá* ^{md}50-*ba-na* $^{11'}$ ^{m}KAL-*a* A-*šú šá* ^{m}SUM-*na-a* ^{m}*Ba-la-ṭu* A-*šú šá* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu*

$^{12'}$ [... EN.LÍL].^{r}KI ITI.APIN^{1} UD.24.KÁM $^{13'}$ [MU.X.KÁM ... LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Lo. Ed.) *ṣu-pur* ^{m}MU-^{d}EN A *šá* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-EN-DINGIR.M[EŠ]

83. (CBS 12852) Nippur —/—/38 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) ^{1} [10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *qa-lu-ú šá*] ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU ^{2} [A *šá* ^{m}*Mu*]-^{r}*ra-šu-u*^{1} *ina* [*muḫ*]-*ḫi* ^{md}EN-*ú-ṣur-šú* ^{3} A *šá* ^{m}[...]-SUR *a-di* UD.10.KÁM *šá* IT[I.X] ^{4} *šá* MU.38.KÁM KÙ.BABBAR a_4 10 MA.NA ^{r}*qa-lu-ú*^{1} ^{5} *i-gam-mar-ma i-nam-*[*din*]

(Rev.) ^{6} LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{m}*Na-din* A *šá* ^{m}BA-*šá-a* ^{7} ^{md}MAŠ-*mu*-GUR-ŠU A *šá* ^{md}AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU ^{8} ^{md}MAŠ-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-DIN A *šá* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* ^{9} ^{md}MAŠ-PAP A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* ^{m}*Ri-bat* A *šá* ^{10} [^{m}]^{d}MAŠ-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-DIN ^{md}*En-líl-it-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{11} [^{m}]^{d}*En-líl*-BA-*šá* ^{m}*Ki-din* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-A-MU ^{12} [...] A *šá* ^{m}*I*-BA-*a* ^{md}MAŠ-*ga-mil* A *šá* ^{m}*Ḫaš-da-a-a* ^{13} [...]-*x-ma-a*

^{14} [LÚ.ŠID ^{md}UTU-*na-din*-NUMUN A *šá* ^{md}*B*]*u-ne-ne*-DÙ EN.LÍL.KI ^{15} [ITI.X UD.X.KÁM MU.38.K]ÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* ^{16} LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Le. Ed.) [*ṣu*]-^{r}*pur* ^{md}EN^{1}-*ú-ṣur-šú*

84. (CBS 13029)

(Obv.) $^{1'}$ [...] *ma x* $^{2'}$ [ŠE.BAR *'a* X GUR *l*]*ib-bu-ú ni-is-ḫi* [*šá* KUR] $^{3'}$ [*ina* EN].LÍL.KI *ina* KÁ *ka-*^{r}*lak*^{1}-⟨*ki*⟩ $^{4'}$ [*i-nam-din*]-*nu-*$^{'}$ 1-*en pu-ut šá-ni-i a-na* $^{5'}$ *e-ṭir na-šu-ú šá qé-reb iṭ-ṭir*

(Rev.) $^{6'}$ LÚ *mu-kin-nu* $^{7'}$ ^{m}ARAD-^{d}50 A *šá* ^{m}RU-*tú*-^{d}MAŠ ^{m}A-*a* A *šá* ^{md}50-DIN-*su*-E $^{8'}$ ^{m}SU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-MU ^{md}*Na-na-*⟨*a*⟩-KÁM ⟨⟨DUMU *šá*⟩⟩ $^{9'}$ A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-MU ^{md}MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ* A *šá* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* $^{10'}$ ^{md}50-MU-MU A *šá* ^{md}*Na-na-a*-MU

85. (CBS 12875) Nippur [x]+2/—/37 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) ^{1} 2 ME GUR ŠE.BAR *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{2} ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{m}[^{d}U]TU-BA-*šá* ^{3} A *šá* ^{m}ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU [*ina*] ITI.G[U$_4$] ^{4} *šá* MU.37.KÁM ^{r}ŠE^{1}.BAR ^{r}*'a* 2^{1} ME GUR ^{5} [*ina*] GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu* ^{r}*tar*^{1}-*ṣi* [*šá* ^{md}5]0-MU-MU ^{6} [*ina* EN].LÍL.KI *ina* KÁ *ka-l*[*ak-ku*] ^{7} *i-*[*nam-di*]*n pu-ut e-ṭir* ^{8} *šá* ŠE.BAR *'a* 2 [ME] GUR ^{m}*Im-bi-ia* ^{9} A *šá* ^{m}*Ki-din na-ši*

(Rev.) ^{11} LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{10} ^{m}A-[*a* A *šá* ^{m}]^{d}KÁ-BA-*šá* ^{11} ^{md}[...]-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Ka-ṣir* ^{12} ^{md}*En-líl-it-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{m}A-*a* ^{13} ^{md}*En-líl-it-t*[*an-nu* A *šá* ...] A *šá* ^{14} ^{m}*Lu*(!)-*ú-i-*[*di-ia* ...] ^{r}*x x*^{1} ^{15} ^{r}A *šá*^{1} ^{md}*N*[*a-na-a*]-MU

^{16} LÚ.ŠID ^{md}[... A *šá*] ^{md}*Bu-ne-ne*-DÙ ^{17} EN.LÍL.KI [ITI.X] UD.[X]+2.KÁM ^{18} MU.37.[KÁM ^{m}*A*]*r-*^{r}*taḫ*^{1}-*šá-as-su*

(Le. Ed.) *ṣu-pur* / ^{m}*Im-bi-iá*

86. (CBS 12924) 10 + [x]/—/— Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] [10 GUR ŠE.BAR *šá* ^{m}*Ti-ri*]-*ka-a-mu* [2] [LÚ.DUMU.É *šá* ^{md}*En-lil*-MU]-MU *ina muḫ-ḫi* [3] [^{md}*Ia-a-ḫu-u-na*]-*tan-nu* A *šá* [4] [^{m}*Ia-a-di-iḫ-Ia-a-ma ina*] ITI.GU$_4$ [5] [MU.X.KÁM ŠE.BAR] *'a* 10 GUR [6] [...] *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu* [7] [*šá* ^{m}*Ti*]-*ri-ka-a-mu ina* URU *Ḫi-du-ia-a* [8] [*i-nam*]-*din*

(Rev.) [9] [LÚ].MU.KIN$_7$ ^{md}MAŠ-MU A *šá* [10] [^{md}MAŠ-SU] ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{md}50-I [11] [...] A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}50 [12] [...] ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* A *šá* [13] [...]

[14] [LÚ.ŠID ^{md}30-*na-din*-Š]EŠ A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}KÁ [15] [... ITI.X UD.X.] + 10.KÁM [16] [MU.X.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ*]-*šá-as* [17] [LU]GAL KUR.KUR

(Lo. Ed.) *ṣu-pur* / ^{md}*Ia-a-ḫu-u-na*-[*tan-na*]

(Obv.) *yḥwntn* (Ri. Ed.) [*ś*]*'rn krn* –[a]

87. (CBS 12946) Nippur —/—/31 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] [25 G]UR ZÚ.LU[M.MA ZAG.LU A.ŠÀ] [2] [*šá* GIŠ].BAN *šá* ^{md}EN-AD-ÙRU [É *maš-ka-nu šá ... A šá*] [3] ^{m}*Mu-ra*-*šu-u* [*ina muḫ*]-*ḫi* ^{m}[...] [4] A *šá* ^{m}*Si-lim*-DINGIR.MEŠ [*ina* I]TI.DU$_6$ *šá* MU.31.KÁM [5] Z[Ú.LUM].MA *'a* 25 GUR [6] *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu šá* ^{md}EN-AD-ÙRU [7] KI 1 GUR *tu-ḫal-lum lìb-bi man-ga-ga* [8] *u bil-tu*$_4$ *šá* GIŠ *ḫu-ṣab i-nam-din*

(Rev.) [9] LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{m}ARAD-*ia* A *šá* ^{m}*Bul-luṭ* [10] ^{m}*Ri-bat* A *šá* ^{md}30-[...] [11] ^{md}MAŠ-SUR A *šá* ^{m}DAN-[...]

[12] LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*x-x-x-x* [...] [13] [E]N.LÍL.KI ITI.[X UD.X.KÁM MU.31.KÁM] [14] [^{m}*A*]*r-taḫ*-[*šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

88. (CBS 12951) Nippur —/—/32 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] 15 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *qa-lu-ú šá* ^{md}*En-lil*-[MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-u*] [2] *ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{md}EN-*ú-še-zib* [(...)] [3] A *šá* ^{md}UTU-LUGAL-ÙRU UD.2.KÁ[M *šá* ITI.X *šá* MU. 32.KÁM *šá*] [4] ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUG[AL KÙ.BABBAR *'a* 15 MA.NA] [5] *i-nam-din ana a-dan-ni-šú* KÙ.BABBAR [*'a*] [6] 15 MA.NA *la it-tan-nu* [7] [*a-na*] *muḫ-ḫi ma-né-e* 2 GÍN [8] [ḪAR.RA *i-rab-bi*]

(Rev.) [1′] [LU *mu-kin-n*]*u* [m]^{d}*É*-[*a*-...] [2′] [...] A *šá* ^{m}MU-^{d}AG ^{m}*x*-[...] [3′] [^{md}MAŠ]-*na-din*-MU A *šá* ^{m}DIN-*su*-[^{d}AMAR.UTU] [4′] ^{md}LUGAL.MARAD.DA-PAP A *šá* ^{m}*Ṣil-l*[*a-a-a*] [5′] ^{md}EN-DÙ A *šá* ^{md}UTU-LUGAL-ÙRU

[6′] LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*La-ba-ši* [A *šá* ^{m}DIN] ^{r}EN.LÍL.KI^{1} [ITI.X UD.X.KÁM] [7′] MU.32.KÁM ^{m}*Ar*-[*taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

86. Pp. 13 n. 47, 21 n. 87, 107 n. 14.

[a] See Clay, "Aramaic Indorsements", 292 and 304, no. 13; PBS 2/1 pl. 118 no. 13; Vattioni, *Augustianum* 10 (1970), 503 no. 48.

89. (CBS 13024) Sin-bēlšunu —/—/— Darius II

(Obv.) [1] 2 ME 60-*šu* GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá* [m][...] [2] *ina muḫ-ḫi* [rm]*Za-bad*[1]*-Ia-a-ma* A *šá* [m][...] [3] [m]*x* [...] *x x* [...]

(Rev.) [1′] [...] *x x x* [...] [2′] 30(?) *x*

LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ [m]*Na-aḫ-m*[*a-nu* ...] [3′] [m]*Šir-ka-*[2] A *šá* [md]UTU-SUR [4′] [md]*En-líl*-MU A *šá* [md]50-KÁD

(Up. Ed.) [5′] LÚ.ŠID [m]KI-[d]MAŠ-IGI[II]-*iá* A *šá* [[m]ARAD-[d]*Gu-la*] [6′] URU [d]30-EN-*šú-nu* ITI.[X UD.X.KÁM MU.X.KÁM] [7′] [m]*Da-r*[*i-ia-a-muš* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Up. Ed.) *un-qu* [m]*Za-bad-Ia-*[*a-ma*]

90. (CBS 5146) Nippur 12/VIII/39 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] [UD.10.K]ÁM *šá* ITI.GAN MU.39.KÁM [m]*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL [2] [[m]*Ši-ṭ*][a-][3] A *šá* [md]AG-*da-a-a-nu* 5 ME GIŠ *ta-pa-lu* [3] *šá* 18 *ina* 1 KÙŠ *ár-ki i-ḫe-ep-pe-e-ma ana* [md]50-MU-MU A *šá* [4] [m]*Mu-ra-šu-ú ú-kal-lam a-na* UD.10.KÁM *šá* ITI.GAN [5] GIŠ *ta-pa-lu* [3]*a* 5 ME *la iḫ-te-pu-ú-*[3]*-i-ma* [6] *a-na* [md]*En-líl*-MU-MU *la uk-tal-lim* 1 ME *im-ma-ḫi-iṣ*[a] [7] *ù* 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *i-nam-din*

(Rev.) [8] LÚ *mu-kin-nu* [m]ARAD-[d]*En-líl* A *šá* [m][...] [9] [m]A-*a* A *šá* [md]*En-líl*-DIN-*su*-E [m][... A *šá*] [10] [m]*Tat-tan-nu* [m]KAL-*a* A *šá* [m]MU-DU [m][... A *šá*] [11] [md]MAŠ-PAP [md]ME.ME-MU-GIŠ A *šá* [m]*Tuk-*[*kul-lu*$_4$]

[12] [LÚ.ŠID ...]-[d]EN [EN].LÍL.KI ITI.APIN UD.12.KÁM [13] [MU.39.KÁM [m]*A*]*r-taḫ-*[r]*šá-as*[1]*-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Up. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / [m]*Ši-ṭa-*[3] / A *šá* [md]AG-*da-a-a-nu*

91. (CBS 5213) Til-Gabbara [28]/—/5 [Darius II]

(Obv.) [1] [ŠE.NUMUN *z*]*aq-pu* É [...] É GIŠ.BAN *šá* [m]*Ri-mut-*[[d]MAŠ] [2] DUMU *šá* [m]*Mu-ra-šu-ú* [*ina* URU DU$_6$-*G*]*ab-bar-ra* É *rit-ti* [3] *šá* [md]MAŠ-AD-Ù[RU A *šá* ...]-MU [m]ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* A *šá* [4] [... *r*]*i-ip-qu a-di* [5] UD.1.KÁM *šá* ITI.NE M[U.6.KÁ]M *a-di* [6] UD.1.KÁM *šá* [r]ITI.NE[1] *ri-ip-qu la ig-da-ma*[*r-ru*]-*ú* [7] 1 ME *ina ni-*IT-*pu*[a] *im-ma-aḫ-*[r]*ḫi-ṣu*[1]*-ú* [8] *zi-iq-ni u* SAG.DU *ib-ba-aq-qí-nu-ú*[b] [9] *ina* É *ki-lu* [m]*Ri-bat* A *šá* [md]EN-SU LÚ.ARAD [10] *šá* [m]*Ri-mut-*[d]MAŠ *i-na-aṣ-ṣar-šú-nu-tú*

89. P. 24 n. 94.

90. [a] Cf. No. 91:7.

91. P. 27 n. 105.

[a] *ni*-IT-*pu*: perhaps an error for **nikpu* (from *nakāpu*) or **niqpu* (from Aramaic *nqp*). Cf. No. 90:6.

[b] Plutarch, *Moralia* 173D: Artaxerxes I ordered that members of the ruling class (ἡγεμονικοί) were not to be flogged on their bodies or to have the hair plucked from their heads as punishments for offenses; instead, they were to remove their cloaks and these were to be flogged, and they were to take off their

(Rev.) [11] LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{md}EN-DÙ A *šá* ^{m}A-*a* ^{m}*A-qu-bu* A *šá* [12] ^{m}*Da-ab-da-ma-*' ^{m}*Ḫa-an-na-ni-*' [13] ^{m}*Bi-bi-ia u* ^{m}[*Za*]*-bad-Ia-a-ma* A.MEŠ *šá* [14] ^{m}*Ṭu-ub-Ia-a-ma*

[15] [LÚ.ŠID ^{md}MAŠ-BE-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú* A *šá* ^{m}NIGIN]-^{d}*En-líl* URU DU$_6$-*Gab-bar-r*[*a*] [16] [ITI.X UD.28.KÁM MU].5.KÁM[c] [17] [^{m}*Da-ri-ia-a-muš* LUG]AL KUR.KUR

(Le. Ed.) *ṣu-pur-šú-nu*

92. (CBS 5510) Nippur 29/V/40 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] ^{md}*Ḫu-ú-na-tan^{an}-na* A ⟨*šá*⟩ ^{m}*Ia-a-da-aḫ-Ia-a-ma* ^{m}DÙ-*ia* DUMU *šá* [2] ^{m}LÚ-^{d}*Na-na-a ina ḫu-ud lib-bi-šú-nu a-na* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* [3] *ki-a-am iq-bu-ú um-ma* ÍD.SAL.ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ[a] *ul-tu Til-lu-Ṣa-lam*[b] [4] *a-di muḫ-ḫi* KÁ-*šú* ⟨*bi in-na-na-ši*⟩ *ḫe-ru-tú šá ina lìb-bi re-eḫ-e-ti* 6 *ina* 1 KÙŠ [5] *ina muḫ-ḫi šu-bur-ru a-di muḫ-ḫi dan-na-tu$_4$*[c] *ni-ḫe-er-re-e-ma* [6] *ni-gam-mar a-di* UD.12.KÁM *šá* ITI.KIN *šá* MU.40.KÁM *ni-id-dak-ka* [7] *ár-ki* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *iš-me-e-šú-nu-ti-ma* ÍD.SAL.ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ [8] *ul-tu Til-lu-Ṣa-lam a-di* KÁ-*šú ḫe-ru-tú šá ina lìb-bi re-eḫ-e-ti* [9] *a-na ḫa-ru-ú id-daš-šú-nu-tú ki-i a-di* UD.12.KÁM *šá* ITI.KIN [10] *šá* MU.40.KÁM ^{md}*Ḫu-ú-na-tan^{an}-na u* ^{m}*Ba-ni-iá* [11] [ÍD].SAL.ANŠE.KUR.RA.⟨MEŠ⟩ *ul-tu Til-lu-Ṣa-lam a-di* KÁ-*šú ḫe-ru-tú* [12] [*šá ina lìb*]-^{r}*bi re-eḫ-e-ti*$^{\neg}$ 6 *ina* 1 KÙŠ *ina muḫ-ḫi šu-bur-ru a-di muḫ-*⟨*ḫi*⟩ [13] [*dan-na-tu la iḫ-te-ru-*'*-ma la ig-da-ma-ru-*' ...]

(Rev.) [1′] [...]-*líl* ^{m}[...] [2′] [...] *šá* ^{m}ŠEŠ-MU

[3′] LÚ.ŠID ^{md}MAŠ-AD-ÙRU A *šá* ^{m}MU-MU EN.LÍL.KI ITI.NE UD.29.KÁM [4′] MU.40.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Up. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{md}50-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu*[d]

(Rev.) *ṣu-pur* ^{md}*Ḫu*(!)*-ú-na-tan^{an}-na*

93. (CBS 13006) Nippur 21/IV/40 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] 1-*it* TÚG *e-le-ni-tu$_4$* (Up. Ed.) *Ma-du-*'*-i-tu$_4$*[a] [1] *šá* 1-*en* É *rit-ti-šú* [2] *ma-aḫ-ṣi šá* ^{m}*Tir-ri-ka-am-mu* [3] DUMU.É *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *a-na ma-ḫa-aṣ-ṣa* [4] [*a-n*]*a* ^{m}ŠEŠ.MEŠ-

tiaras and these were to be plucked. Cf. *Moralia* 35E and 565A, and Ammianus Marcellinus 30.8.4. For earlier parallels, see CAD s.v. *baqāmu* usage c and *naṭû* v., meaning 1.

[c] Date restored from PBS 2/1 115.

92. [a] Cf. BE 9 25 (17/I/31 Artaxerxes I) and BE 9 45 (= TuM 2-3 143, 29/V/36 Artaxerxes I), both dealing with tenancy of the same canal by Jadiḫ-Jama (Jadaḫ-Jama) or his family and associates.

[b] Probably a place name, despite the absence of a determinative. Cf. URU *Til-lu Ga-ba-ri*, PBS 2/1 79:11, and URU *Til-lu-*^{m}*Gab-*^{r}*ba-ra*$^{\neg}$, PBS 2/1 97:2, instead of the usual URU DU$_6$-*Gabbara*.

[c] *šuburru* (= *šaburru*?): perhaps "embankment, levee"; *dannatu*, evidently "canal bed".

[d] PBS 14 no. 865.

93. P. 21 n. 87.

[a] *Madu'itu*: "Median(?)", cf. Zadok, *IOS* 7 (1977), 113.

šú A *šá* ^{md}GAŠAN-*re-man*^{an}-*ni* 5 [*a-di* U]D.15.KÁM *šá* ITI.KIN *šá* MU.40.KÁM 6 [TÚG *'a* 1-*it Ma-du*]-*'-i-t*[u_4 ...]

(Rev.) 1′ LÚ.ŠID ^{md}MAŠ-AD-ÙRU A *šá* ^{mrd}*En-líl*-MU-MU EN.LÍL.KI 2′ ITI.ŠU UD.21.KÁM *šá* MU.40.KÁM 3′ ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

94. (BM 13264) Nippur 26/V/37 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 1-*en* TÚG.KUR.RA *bir-šú eš-šú šá* ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR 2 *ub-ba-lu šá* ^{m}*Te-ri-ka-a-mu* 3 LÚ.ARAD *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{m}*Pi-il-Ia-a-ma* 4 A *šá* ^{m}*Šil-li-mu ina qí-it šá* ITI.DU$_6$ 5 MU.37.KÁM TÚG.KUR.RA *bir-šú* 1-*en* 6 *šá* ½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *ub-ba-lu* SUM-*in* 7 *a-na a-dan-ni-šú la it-tan-nu* 8 UD.2.KÁM *šá* ITI.APIN MU.37.KÁM 9 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *i-nam-din*

(Rev.) 10 LÚ.⟨MU⟩.KIN$_7$ ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{m}RU-*tì*-^{d}MAŠ 11 ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* 12 ^{m}*Tuk-kul* A *šá* ^{m}BA-*šá-a x x x x* 13 ^{m}*Šá-la-a-ma*(?)-*a*(?)-*nu*

14 LÚ.ŠID ^{m}MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}A-*a* EN.LÍL.KI 15 ITI.NE UD.26.KÁM MU.37(!).KÁM 17 ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Le. Ed.) *ṣu-pur* ^{m}*Pi-il-Ia-a-ma*

(Rev.) *ṣṭr plyh*[a]

95. (CBS 12982) Nippur —/—/36 [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) 1 [60-*šu* LIM 6 ME 58 SIG$_4$.ḪI.A *šá* ... A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra*]-*'šu-ú'* 2 *ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{m}MU-MU *'u* ^{m}BA-*šá-a*' UD.28.KÁM 3 *šá* ITI.NE *šá* MU.36.KÁM SIG$_4$.ḪI.A a_4(!) 4 60-*šu* LIM 6 ME 58 *ina ta*(!)-*ra-ṣi-ia* 5 *i-man-ni-ma ina a-ma-ri i-nam-din-'* 6 *pu-ut* KAR *šá* SIG$_4$.ḪI.A 60-*šu* LIM 6 ME 58 7 ^{m}*La-'a-ba*'-*ši* A *šá* ^{m}*Na-din* ^{md}MAŠ-ŠEŠ-[MU] 8 A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*É-gal-maḫ* ^{m}MU-^{d}E[N] 9 A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SUR ^{md}MAŠ-PAP A *šá* ^{md}[...] 10 *na-šu-ú* 1-*en pu-ut šá-ni-i na-*[*ši šá qé-reb*] (Lo. Ed.) 11 *iṭ-ṭ*[*ir*] 12 *ina* u_4-*mu a-dan-ni-šú-nu* SIG$_4$.ḪI.A 60-*šu* LI[M 6 ME 58] 13 *la it-tan-nu-'* 10 MA.[NA KÙ.BABBAR *i-nam-din-nu-'*]

(Rev.) 14 LÚ *mu-kin-nu* ^{md}MAŠ-MU A *šá* ^{md}[MAŠ-SU] 15 ^{m}*Ši-ṭa-'* A *šá* ^{md}AG-DI.KU$_5$ 16 ^{m}SU-*a* LÚ *paq-du šá* EN.LÍL.[KI] A *šá* ^{m}[^{d}MAŠ-MU] 17 ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}MU-*a* ^{md}MAŠ-*ga-m*[*il*] 18 A *šá* ^{m}*Man-nu-lu-ú-šu-lum* ^{m}*Us-pa-ar-ra-'* 19 A *šá* ^{m}*Da-ri-pa-ar-na-'*

20 'LÚ.ŠID ^{m}'[...]-^{d}MAŠ EN.LÍL.KI 21 [ITI.X UD.X.KÁM MU].'36.KÁM' 22 [^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Le. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{m}*La-ba-ši*

94. Pp. 11 n. 33, 21 n. 87.
[a] Cf. *BASOR* 222 (1976), 27.
95. P. 82 n. 53.

96. (CBS 13000) —/—/30+[x] [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) [1] [10 LIM *a-gur-ru šá*] ⌜*x x x*⌝ [...] [2] [A *šá* m*Mu-ra-šu*]-*ú ina mu*[*ḫ-ḫi* ...] [3] [*u* md*I*]*l-te-eḫ-ri-na-qí*-[' A *šá* ...] [4] UD.2.KÁM *šá* ITI.DU$_6$ MU.30+[X.KÁM *a-gur-ru 'a*] [5] 10 LIM *ina mi-iḫ-ṣa*[a] *i-man-nu*-['-*ma* ...] [6] *ina-an-din*-' 1-*en pu-ut* 2-*i ana e-ṭir* [*šá*] [7] *a-gur-ru 'a* 10 LIM *it*-[*ta*(?)-*ši*(?)]

(Rev.) [8] LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ mKAL-*a* A *šá* [mSUM-*na-a* ... A *šá*] [9] mARAD-dME.ME m*Ba-la*-[*ṭu* A *šá* ...]

[10] [LÚ].⌜ŠID⌝ mdMAŠ-PAP A *šá* [mARAD-d*En-líl* ...]

(Rev.) UMBIN-[*šú-nu*] / *ku-um* [NA$_4$.KIŠIB-*šú-nu*]

97. (CBS 13044) 9/—/— [Artaxerxes I or Darius II]

(Obv.) [1] X ME LIM S[IG$_4$.ḪI.A ...] [2] *ina muḫ-ḫi* m*Pa-ni*-[*a-dag-gal* ...] [3] *šá* md*En-líl*-MU-MU [...] [4] *ina ki-is* SUM-*nu* [...] [5] *la it-tan-nu* [...]

(Rev.) [1′] LÚ.ŠID m*Tat*-[*tan-nu* ...] [2′] UD.9.KÁM MU.[X.KÁM ...]

(Le. Ed.) [...] *x ga* / [... m]*Pa-ni-a-dag-gal*

98. (CBS 5170) Bit Gira' 20/IX/36 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] 70 *dan-nu-tu šá* KAŠ.ḪI.A pa(?) DÙG.GA-*tu* [2] *ma-lu-tu šá* m*Ia-a-di-ḫi-a-ma* [3] ⌜A⌝-*sú šá* m*Ba*⌝*-na*-'-DINGIR.MEŠ *ina muḫ-ḫi* [4] mrdEN-*i-ṭi-ri*-' A-*šú šá* [5] m*x x x x x* UD.25.KÁM [6] *šá* ITI.DU$_6$ *šá* MU.37(!).KÁM [7] *dan-nu-tu 'a* 70 *ma-lu-tu* [8] pa(?) DÙG.GA-*tu i-nam-din* [9] *pu-ut* šá x na u *ḫa-ra*(?)-*ṣu* [10] *na-a-ši*

(Rev.) [11] ⌜LÚ⌝.MU.KIN$_7$ m*Ba-ni-ia* A-*šú šá* [12] mLÚ-d*Na-na-a* m*Šá-pi-i-kal-bi* [13] A *šá* mŠEŠ-*Ia-a-ma* m*Ḫa-an-na-ni*-' [14] A *šá* mdMAŠ-SUR m*x-x-ia-a-x-x* [15] A *šá* m*Zab-di-ia* ⟨⟨*a*⟩⟩ m*Sa*(?)-*at-tu-ru*(?) [16] A *šá* m*Šá-ab-ba*(!)-*ta-a-a* [17] m*Pi-li*-[*I*]*a-a-ma* A *šá* m*Ši-li-im-mu*

[18] LÚ.ŠID m*Lib-luṭ* URU É *Gi-ra*-' [19] ITI.GAN UD.20.KÁM ⟨⟨MU⟩⟩MU.36.KÁM [20] m*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Le. Ed.) *ṣu-pur* mdEN-*i-ṭi-r*[*i*-']

99. (CBS 5172) [Nippur] 28/—/40 [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) [1] mARḪUŠ-GAR LÚ.ARAD *šá* md*En-líl*-MU-MU [*ina ḫu-ud lìb-bi-šú*] [2] *a-na* m*Tir-ri-ka-am-mu* LÚ.[DUMU.É *šá* md*En-líl*-MU-MU] [3] *ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma* m*Ḫa-si*-[*ma*-' A *šá*]

96. [a] Cf. *libnātu ... ina ta*(!)-*ra-ṣi-ia imannima ina a-ma-ri inandinu*, No. 95:4f. Although *maḫāṣu* has the meaning "to make bricks" (with *amaru*) only in Nuzi texts, *miḫṣu* here can only mean "stack, pile (of bricks)".

97. P. 14 n. 53. Joins Ni 2838.

98. P. 24 n. 94.

4 ^{m}*A-qab-bi*-DINGIR.MEŠ *šá* LÚ.SIRAŠ-*ú-tu*(!) [...] 5 *ù* 30 DUG *dan-nu šá ši-kar ma-lu-ú* DÙG.[GA *šá*] 6 *ina muḫ-ḫi-šú i-bi in-nam-šim-ma a-di* UD.1[5.KÁM] 7 *šá* ITI.NE *šá* MU.40.KÁM *pu-ut-su* [*n*]*a-šá-ka* 8 *ár-ku* ^{m}*Tir-ri-ka-am-mu iš-me-*[*e-šu-ma*] 9 ^{m}*Ḫa-si-ma-*ʾ *ú-še-ṣa-am-ma* [... *ina* u_4*-mu*] 10 *a-na a-dan-ni-šú* ^{m}ARḪUŠ-GAR *a-na* [EN.LÍL.KI] 11 *la i-tab-kám-ma a-na* ^{m}*Tir-*[*ri-ka-am-mu*] (Lo. Ed.) 12 *la it-tan-nu* UD.15.[KÁM *šá* ITI.NE] 13 2 MA.NA 15 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-*ú* ʿ*šá la*ʾ [DI.KU$_5$] 14 *ina-an-din*

(Rev.) 15 LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{md}*En-líl-it-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-ŠEŠ-[*x*] 16 ^{m}*Si-lim*-DINGIR.MEŠ *u* ^{m}ŠEŠ-MU DUMU.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*La-*[*ba-ši*] 17 ^{md}MAŠ-MU A *šá* ^{md}UTU-NUMUN-MU ^{m}ARḪUŠ-GAR A [*šá* ...] 18 ^{md}MAŠ-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Ka-ṣir* ^{md}MAŠ-*i-qiš* [A *šá*] 19 ^{md}MAŠ-MU

20 LÚ.ŠID ^{md}MAŠ-AD-ÙRU A *šá* ^{md}*E*[*n-líl*]-MU-MU [EN.LÍL.KI ITI.X] 21 UD.28.KÁM *šá* MU.40.KÁM ^{m}[*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Le. Ed.) *ṣu-pur* / ^{m}ARḪUŠ-GAR

(Rev.) *rym*ʾ [...] / [*š*]*ṭr rmškn zy ks*(?)*t*(?)[a]

100. (CBS 5212)

(Obv.) 1 [^{m}*Ri-bat ... ina ḫu-ud lìb-bi-šú*] 2 [*a-na* ^{md}*En*]-*líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-*[*šu-ú ki-a-am iq-bi*] 3 [*um-ma*] ^{f}*Li-mi-tu*$_4$*-Be-lit* DAM ^{m}*Ri-bat* ^{f}*Ku-u*[*s-si-gi*] 4 [DA]M ^{m}*Ak-ka-a u* ^{f}*Ba-ru-ka-*ʾ DAM ^{m}*Ku-ṣur-*[*a*] 5 LÚ.GÉME.MEŠ *šá ina* EN.LÍL.KI *ṣa-ab-ta-*ʾ *i-bi in-nam-m*[*a*] 6 [*lu*]-*bu-uk-ku ina* URU ÍD.EN URU-*ia a-na* ^{m}*Ri-bat* ^{m}*Ak-*[*ka-a*] 7 [*ù*] ^{m}*Ku-ṣur-a* A.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}EN-*it-tan-nu lu-ú-din ár-ku* ^{md}5[0-MU-MU] 8 [*iš*]-*me-ši-ma* ^{f}*Li-me-ti-Be-lit* ^{f}*Ku-us-si-gi* 9 [*ù*] ^{f}*Ba-ru-ka-*ʾ LÚ.GÉME.MEŠ-*šú i-da-šú pu-ut la* ḪA.A [*šá*] 10 ^{f}*Li-mi-tu*$_4$*-Be-lit* ^{f}*Ku-us-si-gi u* ^{f}*Ba-ru-k*[*a-*ʾ] 11 [^{m}*R*]*i-bat na-ši ina* u_4*-mu* ^{m}*Ri-bat* ^{m}*Ak-ka-a u* ^{m}*Ku-*[*ṣur-a*] 12 [...] ʿ*x x*ʾ [...] ʿ*x*ʾ [...]

101. (CBS 13027)

(Obv.) 1′ [...] *x* 8 [...] 2′ [...] 4 *ina* 1 KÙŠ *rap-šu-ú* [...] 3′ [...] ^{f}GÉME-^{d}*Na-na-a* DAM-*šú a-*[*na* ...] 4′ [... ^{md}*En*]-*líl*-MU-MU *i-nam-din* (Rev.) 5′ [... *pu-ut la*] *ḫe-leq šá* ^{f}GÉME-^{d}*Na-na-a* 6′ [...] *a-na a-šar šá-nam-ma la x* [...] 7′ [...] *šá a-na* MU.AN.NA.MEŠ [...]

102. (CBS 5151) Nippur 10/V/30+[x] Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) 1 [^{m}KI-^{d}AG-D]IN A *šá* ^{m}MU-^{d}*En-líl* ^{m}MU-MU A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-BA-*šá* 2 [... A *šá*] ^{m}*Du-un-x-ḫa-*ʾ ^{m}*Ḫa-an-ni-ia-*ʾ A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU 3 [^{m}MU-^{d}AG] A *šá* ^{md}EN-ŠEŠ-MU ^{m}ŠEŠ-*ia-a-li-du* A *šá* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*šú-nu* 4 [... A] *šá* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*Gu-la* ^{m}ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A *šá* ^{md}*A-num*-DÙ 5 [... ^{m}]*Il-*

99. Pp. 13 n. 47, 21 n. 87.

[a] See Clay, "Aramaic Indorsements", 291 and 303, no. 9; PBS 2/1 pl. 117 no. 9; and Vattioni, *Augustinianum*, 10 (1970), 513 no. 98. Not all of the letters in Clay's copy are still visible.

102. P. 107 n. 14.

tam-meš-nu-ri-ia ^{m}ARAD-^{d}ME.ME *u* ^{m}*Za-bi-na-*ʾ [...] *x* ^{m}MU-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ a-na na-áš-par-tu*$_4$ *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU [A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-r*]*a-šu-ú i-bu-uk-ku-nu-ma a-na* ^{m}SU-*a* LÚ *qal-la* [*šá* ^{md}*En-líl*]-MU-MU *id-din-nu-*ʾ *pu-ut la ḫa-la-qu* [*šá* ^{m}*Ìl-tam*]-*meš-nu-ri-ia u* ^{m}*Za-bi-na-*ʾ ^{m}KI-^{d}AG-DIN ^{m}MU-MU [...] *x* ^{m}*Ḫa-an-ni-ia* ^{m}MU-^{d}AG *u* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*ia-a-li-du* [...] *u* ^{m}ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU *u* ^{m}MU-MU *na-šu-u ina u*$_4$*-mu* ^{m}*Za-bi-na-*ʾ (Lo. Ed.) [*u* ^{m}*Ìl*]-*tam-meš-nu-ri-*ʾ *i-ḫal-liq-qa-*ʾ [X MA].NA KÙ.BABBAR *a-na* ^{md}50-MU-MU *i-nam-*^{r}*din-nu-*$^{?}$

(Rev.) [LÚ.MU].KIN$_7$ ^{m}*Ú-bar* A *šá* ^{md}*Bu-ne-ne*-DÙ [^{m}ARAD]-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{m}RU-*tì-*^{d}MAŠ ^{md}MAŠ-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SU [^{md}MAŠ]-*ga-mil* A *šá* ^{m}*Man-nu-lu-ú-šu-lum* ^{m}*Na-din* A *šá* ^{m}*Ka*(?)-*x-x* [...] A *šá* ^{m}*Si-lim*-DINGIR.MEŠ ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* A *šá* ^{m}*Šìr-ka-*ʾ [^{md}]*Na-na-a*-KÁM A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-MU ^{m}*Zab-di-ia* A *šá* ^{md}EN-NUMUN-DÙ

[LÚ.ŠID ...] EN.LÍL.KI ITI.NE UD.10.KÁM *šá* MU.30+[X.KÁM] [^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as*]-*su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

103. (CBS 6126) Nippur 21/II/38 [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) [^{m}*Šá*]-^{r}KA-*kal*$^{?}$-*bi* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU ^{md}MAŠ-[SUR] [A] *šá* ^{m}*Bul-ṭá-a* ^{m}PA.ŠE.KI-*a-*⟨*a*⟩ A *šá* ^{md}EN-*bul-liṭ-su u* ^{md}*En-líl*-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ ina ḫu-ud lìb-bi-šú-nu a-na* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-u iq-bu-ú um-ma pu-ut la ḫa-*⟨*la*⟩*-qu šá* ^{m}*Re-šu-kun-nu šá* ITI.GU$_4$ *šá* MU.38.KÁM *a-di-i* ITI.BÁR *šá* MU.39.KÁM *na-šá-áš-a-ši ár-ki* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *iš-šu-še-šú-nu-tú* ^{m}*Re-šu-kun-*⟨*nu*⟩ *ina* IGI-*šú-nu ú-maš*(!)-*áš-ri* (Lo. Ed.) *ina u*$_4$*-mu* ^{m}*Re-šu-kun-nu i-ḫa-al-qu* ½ GUN KÙ.BABBAR (Rev.) *a-na* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *i-nam-di-nu*

LÚ *mu-kin-nu* ^{md}UTU-ŠEŠ-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SUR ^{m}SU-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl-ba-na* ^{md}MAŠ-PAP A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* ^{m}*Ri-bat* A *šá* ^{m}*Ka-ṣir* ^{m}*Li-sa-a-a u* ^{m}MU-DU A.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}MAŠ ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-MU

LÚ.ŠID ^{m}SU-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-KÁM [E]N.LÍL.KI ITI.GU$_4$ UD.21.[KÁM] (Up. Ed.) [MU.3]8.^{r}KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá*$^{?}$-[*as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Le. Ed.) *ṣu-pur* ^{m}*Šá*-KA-*k*[*al-bi*] / ^{md}*En-líl*-ŠEŠ.⟨MEŠ⟩-MU ^{m}PA.ŠE.KI-*a*-[*a u*] / ^{md}MAŠ-SUR

104. (CBS 12980) Nippur 4/XI/37 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) ^{m}*Im-bi-ia* A *šá* [^{m}]*Ki-din u* ^{m}*La-ba-ši* A *šá* ^{m}ŠEŠ.ME-GUR *ina ḫu-ud lìb-bi-*^{r}*šú-nu*$^{?}$ *a-na* ^{md}50-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-u ki-a-am iq-*[*bu*]*-ú um-ma* ^{md}KAL.KAL-MU A *šá* ^{m}ŠEŠ.MEŠ-GUR *šá* [*ana m*]*uḫ-ḫi* EBUR-*ka ina* É *kil-lu taṣ-bat pu-ṭur i-bi in-na-an-na-šim-ma* UD.20.KÁM *šá* ITI.ZÍZ *šá* MU.37.KÁM ŠE.BAR [Z]Ú.LUM.MA ŠE.GIŠ.Ì *u ṣa-aḫ-ḫa-*[*ri*] EBUR-*ka gab-bi* [*šá ana m*]*uḫ-ḫi-šú ni*(text *lid*)*-dak-ka ár-ki* ^{md}50-MU-MU *iš-m*[*e-šú-nu*]*-tú-ma* ^{md}KAL.KAL-MU *ip-ṭur-ma id-daš-šú-nu-tú ina u*$_4$*-m*[*u ina a-da*]*n-ni-šú* EBUR ʾ*a gab-bi a-na* ^{md}50-MU-MU *l*[*a* KAR-ʾ] ^{r}*ina* UD.25.KÁM *šá* ITI.ZÍZ$^{?}$ *šá* MU.37.KÁM *a-na* ^{md}[50-MU-MU ...] *a-na* ^{md}50-MU-MU *i-n*[*am-din-*ʾ *ina u*$_4$*-mu* ^{m}*Im-bi-*

ia u ^{m}*La-ba-ši ina*] ^{13} *a-dan-ni-šú-nu a-na* ^{md}[50-MU-MU ...] (Rev.) ^{14} *la i-tab-ku-nim-ma a-na* [...] ^{15} *la it-tan-nu-ú* ŠE.BAR [ZÚ.LUM.MA ŠE.GIŠ.Ì *u ṣa-aḫ-ḫa-ri* EBUR] ^{16} *lìb-bu-ú šá ina šá-ṭar* MEŠ [...] ^{17} *šá ina muḫ-ḫi* ^{mdr}KAL.KAL^{1}-[MU ...] ^{18} *a-na* ^{md}50-MU-[MU *i*]-*nam-din-nu-*$^{\prime}$

^{19} LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{m}KA[L-*a* A *šá* ^{m}]MU-*a* ^{md}ENŠADA-MU ^{20} A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*Gu-*[*la*] ^{md}MAŠ-SUR A *šá* ^{m}MU-MU ^{21} ^{m}ŠEŠ-MU A *šá* ^{m}[MU]-^{d}50

^{22} LÚ.ŠID ^{md}UTU-*na-din*-NUMUN A *šá* ^{md}*Bu-ne-ne*-DÙ ^{23} EN.LÍL.KI ITI.ZÍZ UD.4.KÁM MU.37.KÁM ^{24} ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

105. (CBS 13008)

(Obv.) $^{1'}$ [*x*] *x x* [...] $^{2'}$ *pu-ṭur i-bi* [*in-na-am-ma* ...] $^{3'}$ *šá* TA EN.LÍL.KI *l*[*a* ... *ár-ki*] $^{4'}$ ^{m}*Ri-bat iš-me-šu ú* [...] $^{5'}$ *un*(?)-*daš*(?)-*šar ip-ṭur* ^{r}*id*^{1}-*daš*-[*šu* ...] $^{6'}$ TA EN.LÍL.KI *šá la qí-bi šá* ^{m}*Ri-*[*bat* ...] $^{7'}$ 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ^{m}ŠEŠ-*la-pu-ú šá la* DI.KU$_5$ [(...)] $^{8'}$ [*a*]-*na* ^{m}*Ri-ba-a-tú ina-an-din*

(Rev.) $^{9'}$ [...] *x* ^{d}*x a a* A *šá* ^{m}*x* [...] $^{10'}$ [...]-DINGIR.MEŠ ^{m}*x* [...]

(Le. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB ^{m}BA(?)-[...] / A *šá* ^{m}MU-[...]

(Obv.) *ṣu-*[*pur*] ^{m}ŠEŠ-*la-pu-ú*

106. (CBS 12859) Nippur 6/IV/20 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) ^{1} É *ep-šú šá in*[*a* EN.LÍL.KI ...-*r*]*a*(?)-*šu-u*^{a} ^{2} U[Š.A]N.TA I[M].S[I.SÁ DA É ... UŠ.KI.TA] ^{3} [IM].U$_X$.LU DA É ^{m}[... A *šá* ^{md}]MAŠ-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*bul-liṭ* ^{4} SAG.KI AN.TA IM.KUR.RA [DA É ^{m}]^{d}MAŠ-SUR A *šá* ^{m}*Ba-la-ṭu* ^{5} SAG.KI KI.TA IM.MAR.TU ^{r}DA^{1} SILA ^{d}*Nin-gír-su šá* ^{6} ^{md}*I-šum*-M[U A] *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-DÙ-ŠEŠ *u* ^{m}*Mu-šal-lim-*^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{7} ^{md}*I-šum*-M[U] *a-na* KÙ.BABBAR *ina* ŠU^{II} ^{m}KI-[^{d}]UTU-DIN *u* ^{m}*Za-ra-aḫ-Ìl-tam-meš* ^{8} A.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}[UTU-M]U *im-ḫur-ru-*$^{\prime}$ *á*[*r-k*]*i* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* A *šá* ^{9} ^{m}*Ḫa-tin ra-g*[*a-mu*] *ina muḫ-ḫi* É MU.[MEŠ] *u-šab*$_4$-*šu-ú iq-bu-u* ^{10} *um-ma* É MU.ME[Š] *at-tu-ú-a šu-*^{r}*ú*^{1} *ina ka-*^{r}*al*^{1}-*am-ma-ri*^{b} ^{11} [*š*]*á* LUGAL *ina* MU.22.KÁM [*šá* ^{m}]*Da-ri-ia-a-mu*[*š a-na*] *muḫ-ḫi-ia šá-ṭir* ^{12} [^{m}]*Mu-ra-šu-ú* A *šá* ^{m}[*Ḫa*]-*tin* ^{md}*I-šum*-MU *u* ^{m}*Mu-*[*šal*]-*lim-*^{d}*En-*[*líl*] ^{13} DUMU-*šú di-i-ni i-na* UNKIN L[Ú.DU]MU.DÙ.MEŠ *šá* EN.LÍL.K[I *it-ti a-ḫa-meš*] ^{14} *a-na muḫ-ḫi* É MU.MEŠ *id-*[*b*]*u-ub-ú-ma* ^{md}[*I-šum*-MU] ^{15} *u* ^{m}*Mu-šal-lim-*^{d}*En-líl* DUMU-*šú ina* [*m*]*uḫ-ḫi* É MU.M[EŠ ...] ^{16} É *a-na* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-u it-tak-šad* É *šá* ^{m}[...] ^{17} *ár-ku ina* ITI.ŠU *šá* MU.20.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* [LUGAL ... KÙ.BABBAR] ^{18} *qa-lu-ú ku-um* SIG$_4$.ḪI.A GI.MEŠ *u* GIŠ.ÙR(!) *ana si-m*[*a-an-ni* ...] ^{19} [...] ^{r}*dul-lu*^{1} [*šá*] *ina* É MU.MEŠ *i-pu-uš-*$^{\prime}$ [^{md}*En-líl-ḫa-tin* A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-r*]*a-šu-u* (Lo. Ed.) ^{20} [*ana* ^{md}*I-šum*-MU *u* ^{m}]*Mu-*[*šal-lim-*^{d}]*En-líl* DUMU-*šú it-ta-*[*din*(?)] (Rev.) ^{21} [...]

106. Pp. *19*, *31*. See *JCS* 28 (1976), 192-196.

[a] Conclusion of line on right edge.

[b] See BiMes 7 (1977), 259 ff. [c] PBS 14 no. 873.

na [...] *ú* KI [...]-*ni-šú-nu* [... ^{md}*I-šum*-MU] 22 [A *šá* ^{md}]*En-líl*-DÙ-ŠE[Š *u* ^{m}*M*]*u-šal-lim-*^{d}[*En-líl* DUMU]-*šú ina* ŠU^{II} ^{md}[*En-líl-ḫa-tin* A *šá*] 23 ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-u ma-ḫi-ru-*ʾ *e-ṭir-ru-*[ʾ ... N]A$_4$.KIŠIB [*u ši-piš-tu*(?)] 24 *šá* ^{md}*I-*[*šum*-M]U *u* ^{m}*M*[*u-ša*]*l-lim-*^{d}*En-líl* DUMU-*šú šá a-na* KÙ.BABBAR *u*[*l-tu p*]*a-n*[*i*] 25 ^{m}KI-^{d}[UTU-DI]N *u* ^{m}*Za-ra-*[*aḫ*]-*Ìl-tam-meš* A.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}UTU-MU *im-ḫur-ú ki-i* 26 *ú-p*[*a-qí*]*-ru-ú a-na* [^{md}]*En-líl-ḫa-tin it-tan-nu-ú mim-ma di-i-ni* 27 *u r*[*a-g*]*a-mu š*[*á* ^{m}]^{d}*I-šum*-MU *u* ^{m}*Mu-šal-lim-*^{d}*En-líl* DUMU-*šú a-na muḫ-ḫi* 28 É MU.MEŠ KI [^{m}]^{d}50-*ḫa-tin* [A *š*]*á* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-u u* ^{m}KI-^{d}UTU-DIN *u* ^{m}*Za-ra-aḫ-Ìl-tam-meš* 29 A.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}UTU-M[U] *ia-a-n*[*u*]

[L]Ú.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{md}MAŠ-PAP *u* ^{m}KAL-*a* A.MEŠ *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-ŠEŠ.ME-SU(!) 30 ^{m}A-*a* LÚ *šak-*[*nu šá* EN.LÍL].KI A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-PAP ^{md}MAŠ-SU A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-DIN-*iṭ* 31 ^{md}AG-ŠE[Š.ME]Š-MU [A *šá* ^{m}]^{d}MAŠ-MU ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* [A *šá* ^{m}]^{d}KÁ-MU ^{m}*Ki-din* A *šá* ^{m}NUMUN-*iá* 32 ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-*[*líl*] A *šá* [^{m}RU]-*tì-*^{d}MAŠ ^{md}50-*it-tan-nu* 33 LÚ *pa-qu-d*[*u šá* EN.LÍ]L.KI A *šá* ^{md}50-*ana*-KUR ^{rm}ARAD$^{\neg}$-^{d}EN *u* ^{md}MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU *u* ^{m}DÙ-*ia* A.MEŠ *šá* 34 ^{m}D[ÙG.GA-*iá* ^{md}MAŠ-*na-din*]-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Ú-bal-liṭ-*[*su-*^{d}AM]AR.UTU ^{rm}*Ri*$^{\neg}$*-bat u* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* 35 A.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}[...]-*bul-liṭ* [...] ^{m}ARAD-*É-gal-maḫ* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SUR 36 ^{m}[... A *šá*] ^{m}*Ri-mut* ^{md}MAŠ-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Ni-qu-du*

37 LÚ.ŠID ^{md}[...] ^{r}EN.LÍL.$^{\neg}$[KI] ITI.ŠU UD.6.KÁM 38 MU.20.KÁ[M ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Le. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{m}KAL-*a*^{c} // NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{m}A-*a* / LÚ *šak-nu* / *šá* EN.LÍL.KI

(Ri. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{md}AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU // NA$_4$.KIŠIB ^{md}[...]

(Lo. Ed.) (Traces of Aramaic docket in ink.)

107. (CBS 12829) [Nippur] 26/III/— [Artaxerxes I or Darius II]

(Obv.) 1 [... ^{md}AG-Š]EŠ.MEŠ-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-[...] 2 [^{m}MU-^{d}AMAR.UTU *u*] ^{rmd}MAŠ-*mu-tir*$^{\neg}$-*ri-*ŠU DUMU.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Ú-*^{r}*bal-liṭ-su-*^{d}AMAR.UTU$^{\neg}$ 3 [^{m}ARAD]-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{m}RU-*tì-*^{d}MAŠ ^{md}[...]-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SUR 4 [^{m}]*Ba-nu-nu* A *šá* ^{m}MU-^{d}*En-líl* ^{m}*Ba-la-ṭu* A *šá* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* 5 [^{md}...]-DU-A A *šá* ^{md}EN-[...] ^{m}SU-[^{d}*En*]-*líl* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl-ba-na* 6 ^{m}ARAD-*É-gal-maḫ* A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SUR ^{m}SU-*a* LÚ *pa-qu-du šá* EN.LÍL.KI 7 A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-MU LÚ.DUMU.DÙ(!).MEŠ *šá* EN.LÍL.KI *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU 8 A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú ina* IGI-*šú-nu a-na* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-DU A *šá* 9 ^{m}*Ap-la-a iq-bu-ú um-ma* NÍG.ŠID *šá* ^{m}*Na-ar-ia-a-as-pi* 10 A *šá* ^{m}*Ka-ar-ta-am šá ina* EN.LÍL.KI *kul-la-ta* 11 *ár-ki* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-DU *iq-bu-ú um-ma* NÍG.ŠID MU.MEŠ 12 ^{r}*ina*$^{\neg}$ IGI-*ia* ^{r}*šú*$^{\neg}$*-nu a-na* as [...] an ni DUMU.MEŠ (Lo. Ed.) 13 [*šá*] ^{m}*Na-ar-ia-as-pu* [...] NÍG.ŠID 14 [MU].MEŠ ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *ina* IGI ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-DU *un-daš-šìr* 15 [(...)] *pu-ut la ra-ga-mu šá* DUMU.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Na-ar-*⟨*ia*⟩*-as-pi* (Rev.) 16 [*lu*]-*ú man*(!)*-ma šá* É ^{m}*Na-ar-ia-a-as-pi* 17 *ú-ka-lu šá* KI ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* 18 ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-DU A *šá* ^{m}A-*a na-ši*

19 LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{m}*Ḫa-na-nu* A *šá* ^{m}*Pa-da-*ʾ*-Ia-a-ma* 20 ^{md}EN-PAP A *šá* ^{md}EN-*ú-še-zib* ^{md}IM-DÙ A *šá* ^{m}*Mar-duk-a*

107. Pp. 14 n. 53, 39 n. 11, 107 n. 14. Joins Ni 12993.

21 [... LÚ].ŠID ^{m}*Ú-bar* A *šá* (Up. Ed.) 22 [^{m}*Na-din* EN.LÍL.KI ITI].SIG$_4$ UD.26.KÁM 23 [MU.X.KÁM ...]

(Rev.) ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* // NA$_4$.KIŠIB ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-DU[a] // NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{md}AG(!)-ŠEŠ.⟨MEŠ⟩-MU[b]

(Le. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{m}*Ḫa-na-nu*

108. (CBS 12969) Enlil-ašabšu-iqbi

(Obv.) 1′ *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-M[U-MU ...] *x x x x nu x* [...] 2′ *ú-še-ti-iq a-na* [*a-šar*] *šá-nam-ma a-na* SIPA-*i-*⌜*tu*$_4$⌝ 3′ *ù a-na-ku pu-ut na-šá-a-ka at-tu-nu a-šar ṣe-*⌜*ba*(?)-*tú*(?)⌝ 4′ *al-ka-*' *ù re-eḫ-tu*$_4$ *ṣe-e-nu šá i-na* IGI-*šú-nu a-na* É 5′ ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *iṭ-ṭir-*' ^{m}*Bi-ru-ḫa-*' *u* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*li-ti-*' 6′ *iq-bu-ú um-ma ṣe-e-nu šá ina* IGI-*in-ni a-na* SIPA-*i-tu*$_4$ *ul nu-maš-šar* 7′ *u re-eḫ-tu*$_4$ *ṣe-e-nu šá ina* IGI-*in-ni ana* É ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *ni-iṭ-ṭir* 8′ *ár-ku* ^{md}UTU-SUR *la iš-me-šú-nu-ti-ma ṣe-e-nu* MU.MEŠ 9′ *la-*IGI ^{m}*Bi-ru-ḫa-*' *u* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*li-te-*' *ul-te-ti-iq ṣe-e-nu* MU.MEŠ *ina* ŠU^{II}-*šú-nu ma-ḫir* 10′ *mim-ma* DI.KU$_5$ *u ḫa-ra-ra šá* ^{md}UTU-SUR *ina muḫ-ḫi ṣe-e-nu* MU.MEŠ 11′ *ù mim-ma šá* SIPA-*i-tu*$_4$ KI ^{m}*Bi-ru-ḫa-*' *u* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*li-ti-*' (Lo. Ed.) 12′ *ia-a-nu pu-ut ḫa-ra-ra šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU 13′ ^{md}MAŠ-MU *ù* LÚ *am-ma-ri-a-*[*kal-la*]*-nu šá it-ti* 14′ ^{m}*Bi-ru-ḫa-*' *u* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*li-ti-*[' ... ^{md}U]TU-SUR *na-ši* 15′ ^{m}*Bi-ru-ḫa-*' *u* ^{m}ŠEŠ-*li-ti-*[' *re-eḫ-tu*$_4$] *ṣe-e-nu* (Rev.) 16′ *šá ina* IGI-*šú-nu a-na* ⟨⟨*ana*⟩⟩ É ^{md}50-[MU-MU *i-na*]*m-din-nu-*'

17′ LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{m}*Ina-É-sag-íla-ra-m*[*e* A *šá* ^{m}*Ki*]*-na-a* 18′ ^{m}ARAD-^{d}MAŠ A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl-it-tan-nu* 19′ ^{md}*En-líl*-SÍSKUR-*mu-ḫu-ru* LÚ.ARAD *šá* ^{m}[^{d}*En-líl*]-MU-MU 20′ ^{m}GIŠ.GI$_6$-^{d}*Na-na-a* A *šá* ^{m}AD-ZÁLAG-' 21′ ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* A *šá* ^{m}*Mar-duk-a* 22′ ^{m}MU-MU DUMU *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SUR

23′ [LÚ.ŠID ^{m}]^{d}MAŠ-AD-ÙRU A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU URU ^{d}*En-líl-a-šab*$_4$-⌜*šú-iq*⌝-[*bi*]

(Le. Ed.) [...]-SUR / A *šá* / ^{m}*Šá*-KA-*kal-bi*

109. (CBS 12957) [Nippur] 9/XII/Acc. Darius II

(Obv.) 1 [^{m}*Ši-ṭa-*' L]Ú.ARAD *šá* ^{m}*Ar-šá-am-m*[*u ina* ITI.X UD.X].KÁM MU.SAG.NAM. LUGAL.E 2 [*šá* ^{m}*Da-ri-ia-mu-uš* LUGAL] KUR.KUR *šá a-na* ^{m}*Ba-am-mu-*[*uš* LÚ.DUMU]. É(?) *iq-bu-ú um-ma* 3 [^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-u* LÚ.DU]MU.MEŠ É.MEŠ-*šú* LÚ. ARAD.MEŠ-[*šú* LÚ] *a-lik na-áš-par-ti-šú ù* 4 [LÚ.EN.LÍL.KI.MEŠ NÍG.ŠID-*ia ina* EN.LÍ]L.KI *it-ta-šu-ú ár-*[*ki*] *ul-tu pa-ni* ^{m}*Ba-am-mu-uš* 5 [... LÚ *aḫ-šad*]*-ra-pa-nu* ^{m}*Is-pi-ta-ma-*' [DU]MU.NITA(?) *šá* ^{m}*Pa-te-e-šú* ^{m}*Ḫu-ú-ru* 6 [... ^{m}*B*]*a-ga-*'*-da-a-tú* LÚ.ARAD *šá* ^{m}*Is-pi-ta-ma-*' *ù* ^{m}*Mar-duk-a* 7 [... KUŠ(?) *ši*(?)*-pir*(?)]*-re-e-ti-šú-nu a-na muḫ-ḫi di-ib-bi an-nu-tú it-ti-šú-nu a-*[*na*] 8 [... ^{md}]*En-líl*-MU-MU LÚ.⌜DUMU.É.MEŠ⌝*-šú* LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ-*šú* LÚ *a-lik*⌝ [*na-áš-par-ti-šú u* LÚ.EN.LÍL.KI.MEŠ] 9 [...] ^{md}EN-*it-tan-nu* LÚ *us-ta-r*[*i-ba-ri* A *šá* ^{md}EN-

[a] PBS 14 no. 945. [b] PBS 14 no. 863.

108. P. 24 n. 94.

109. Pp. 63 n. 51, 65, 77, *94*, 118 n. 30.

DIN-*iṭ*] [10] [...] ^{md}DI.KU$_5$-MU LÚ *šak-nu šá* LÚ *šu-šá-*[*né*] MEŠ *šá* LÚ *šak-nu-ú-tú* [11] [... ^{m}A-*a* A *šá* ^{md}*É-a*]-DÙ ^{m}*Sa-an-gi-lu* A *šá* ^{md}EN-DIN-*s*[*u* L]Ú.DIN.TIR.KI.MEŠ [12] [...] LÚ.DUMU.DÙ.MEŠ *di-i-ni ir-gu-mu-šu ù* NÍG.ŠID MU.MEŠ *it-ti* [13] [^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU LÚ.DUMU.É.MEŠ-*šú* LU.ARAD].MEŠ-*šú* LÚ *a-lik na-áš-par-ti-šú u* [LÚ].EN.LÍL.KI.MEŠ [14] [... KÙ.BABBAR *šá la*] *ra-ga-mu di-i-ni* 5 ME GUR ŠE.BAR *a-na* ^{m}*Ši-ṭa-*' [15] [^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *i-nam-din* ^{m}*Ši-ṭa-*' ŠE.BAR *'a ù* KÙ].BABBAR *'a ina* ŠU^{II} ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *ma-ḫir ul i*-GUR-*ma* [16] [...].^{r}MEŠ *ù*^{1} NÍG.ŠID KI ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU LÚ.DUMU.É.MEŠ-*šú* LÚ.[ARAD.MEŠ-*šú* [17] [LÚ *a-lik na-áš-par-ti-šú u* LÚ.EN.LÍL.KI.MEŠ *a-na u*$_4$*-mu ṣ*]*a-a-tú ul i-rag-gu-mu ina* DINGIR.MEŠ *u* LU[GAL] [18] [*it-te-mu-ú ki-i a-na muḫ-ḫi di-ib-bi an-nu-tú nit-te*]-*eḫ-su pu-ut la ra-ga-mu* [*šá*] [19] [... ^{m}*Ši*]-*ṭa-*' *na-ši* [...]

(Rev.) [1′] [LÚ.ŠID] ^{md}MAŠ-PAP A *šá* ^{m}A.^{r}BA-^{d}50-*da-ri* EN.LÍL^{1}.[KI IT]I.ŠE UD.9.KÁM [2′] [MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.E ^{m}*Da-ri-ia-m*]*u-uš* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Rev.) [*ṣu-pur* ^{m}*Ḫu-ú-ru* ...] / [*ku*]-^{r}*um* NA$_4$.KIŠIB^{1}(?)-*šú* // [NA$_4$.KIŠIB ...] / A *šá* [...] // NA$_4$.[KIŠIB ^{md}EN-*it-tan-nu*] / LÚ *us-tar-ri-*[*ba-ri*] / A *šá* ^{md}EN-DIN-*iṭ*

110. (CBS 12996) [Nippur] —/[XI]/[6] [Darius II][a]

(Obv.) [1] (^{m}ŠEŠ-*ú-na-a* A *šá* ^{m}A)-[*a* LÚ.GAL *mi-ik-su šá* URU *Ú-pi-ia*] [2] (*šá* KI ^{m}*Ri-mut-*^{d}MAŠ A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra*)-[*šu-ú ir-gu-mu iq-bu-u um-ma* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ *šá ra-ki-se-e*] [3] (*šá gi-iš-ri šá ina* URU É) [... URU É ^{md}30-SU ...] [4] (*kul-la*)-*tú ina* MU.4.KÁM *u* MU.[5.KÁM ...] [5] (ŠÁM 1 GUN 42 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *tat-*^{r}*ta*^{1})-[*ši ... ár-ki* ^{m}*Ri-mut-*^{d}MAŠ *iq-bi*] [6] (*um-ma* ŠE.NUMUN.MEŠ *šá ra-ki-se*)-[*e šá gi-iš-ri šá ina* URU É ...] [7] ([*ina*] URU É ^{md}30-SU *ina* (text *šá*) URU) [...] [8] ([ZAG.L]U A.ŠÀ *šá* MU.4.KÁM *u* MU).5.KÁM(!) [...] [9] [ŠÁM] 1 GUN [42 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ...] [10] [... ^{m}ŠEŠ]-*ú-na-a ina* UNKIN [LÚ.DUMU.DÙ.MEŠ EN.LÍL.KI ...] [11] [MU *ina* MUL GA]L-*u iš-x*[b] *ki-i* [...] [12] [KÙ.BABBAR *'a* 1 G]UN 42 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *x* [...] [13] [...] *x* [...]

(Rev.) [1′] [...] *x x x* [...] [2′] [...] *ra-ki-se-e* [*šá gi-iš-ri* ...] [3′] [... ^{m}*Ri-m*]*ut-*^{d}MAŠ DUMU.MEŠ É.[MEŠ-*šú u* LÚ *a-lik na-áš-pa-áš-ti-šu* ...] [4′] (*u*) [... A].ŠÀ.MEŠ MU.MEŠ *i-n*[*am*(?)-*din*(?)-']$^{(?)}$ ...] [5′] (^{m}ŠEŠ)-[*ú-na-a* ZAG.L]U A.ŠÀ *a-ki-i* UŠ.[SA.DU[c] ...]

[6′] (LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{m}*Man-nu-*^{r}*ki-ia*^{1}) [*u*] ^{m}BA-*šá-a* LÚ *si-pir-r*[*i* MEŠ *šá ina* IGI] [7′] (^{m}*Gu-bar* ^{m}*Ku-pe-e-šú* LÚ) *da-ta-ba-ri šá ina* I[GI ...] [8′] (^{m}*Šá-ta-aḫ-me u* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* A.MEŠ *šá*) ^{m}*La-ba-ši* [...] [9′] (^{md}EN-*it-tan-nu* ⟨*u*⟩ ^{md}EN-*tat-tan-*^{r}*nu*^{1})-[DIN-*su*] ^{r}X^{1} [...]

110. Pp. 14 n. 53, 76, 91 n. 84. Joins PBS 2/1 100 and Ni 12918. Text supplied from PBS 2/1 100 is included in parentheses. PBS 2/1 140 (—/—/7 Darius II) records the same parties' ongoing dispute over the same properties.

[a] Date and place restored from contents and from PBS 2/1 126 (6/XI/6 Darius II), in which some of the witnesses named in this text make their only other appearance.

[b] A form of *zakāru* is expected. Cf. *zikir ili ina* MUL GAL-*ú ana Aḫunūa ultu puḫru ikkaldu ... zikir ili ina* ^{r}MUL» [GAL-*ú* ...] *ana Rīmūt-Ninurta i-zak-kar*, PBS 2/1 140:10 ff.

[c] Cf. *ebūr eqli ... Aḫunūa immi*[*dma zit*]*ti eqli libbû* UŠ.SA.DU *inašši*, PBS 2/1 140:21 f.

10′ (LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*Ta-qiš-*^{d}ME.ME A *šá* ^{m}MU-^{d}EN) [EN.LÍL.KI ITI.ZÍZ UD.X.KÁM MU.6.KÁM] 11′ (^{m}*Dar*)-[*a-muš* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Le. Ed.) (*un-qu*) / (^{md}EN-ŠEŠ-) / (*it-tan-nu*)

111. (CBS 12985) [Nippur] —/—/[7] [Darius II]

(Obv.) 1′ [...] *x x x* [...] 2′ [... ŠE.NUMUN *'a* 3 BÁN] *ki-šub-bu-ú u* É.MEŠ *šu-bat* UR[U *šá ina* URU *Iš-qal-lu-nu*] 3′ [... ^{m}*Ḫa-an*]-*na-ni-*' ^{m}*Za-bad-Ia-a-ma* ^{m}*Ba-*[*na-Ia-a-ma* ...] 4′ [... A.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Ṭ*]*u-ub-Ia-a-ma* LÚ.EN.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN-*i-*[*ni* ...] 5′ [... *ár-ki* ^{m}*Ri*]-*mut-*^{d}MAŠ KA-*ú um-ma* ŠE.NUMUN *'a* [*zaq-pu u* KA *šul-pu šá ina* URU *Ga-am-ma-le-e ma-la*] 6′ [ḪA].LA-*šú-nu šá* KI ^{m}*Ḫa-an-na-ni-*' ^{m}*Za-*[*bad-Ia-a-ma u* ^{m}*Ba-na-Ia-a-ma*] 7′ A.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Ṭu-ub-Ia-a-ma* LÚ.EN.MEŠ GIŠ.[BAN-*šú-nu* ... ŠE.NUMUN *'a*] 8′ 3 BÁN *k*[*i-š*]*ub-bu-ú* É.MEŠ *šu-bat* URU *šá ina* URU *Iš-q*[*al-lu-nu* ...] 9′ KÙ.BABBAR *'a* 10 MA.NA ŠÁM ŠE.NUMUN *'a* 3 BÁN *ki-šub-bu-ú* É.[MEŠ *šu-bat* URU ...] 10′ ^{m}*Mi-na-aḫ-ḫe-e-mu* ^{m}*Me-ka-Ia-a-*[*ma* ...] 11′ [*u* L]Ú.ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú-nu gab-bi ina* ŠU^{II}-*iá* [...] 12′ [...]-*ri šá* ŠE.NUMUN *'a* 3 BÁN *ki-*⟨*šub*⟩*-bu-ú* [É.MEŠ *šu-bat* URU ...] 13′ [... *ma-la* ḪA.LA *šá*] KI ^{m}*M*[*i-n*]*a-aḫ-ḫe-*[*e-mu* ^{m}*Me-ka-Ia-a-ma* ...] 14′ [...] *'a* [...]

(Rev.) 1″ [*niš* DINGIR *u* LUGAL M]U-*a*[*r* ...]

2″ [...]-*x* ^{md}AG-M[U ...] 3″ [...] ^{m}*Za-bi-na-*' *x x* [...] 4′ [... *u* ^{m}*Ba*]-*na-*'-*Ia-a-ma* A.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Ṭu-*[*ub-Ia-a-ma*]

5″ [LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*Ba-la-ṭu*] A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-BA-*šá* [...]

(Rev.) NA_4.KIŠIB ^{m}*Ḫur-*[*da-a-tú*] / LÚ.DI.KU_5 *šá* ÍD.[^{d}30] // [NA_4.KIŠIB] / ^{m}BA-*šá-a* LÚ *si-pi-ri* / *šá ina* IGI ^{m}*Gu-bar* // NA_4.KIŠIB / [...] // NA_4.KIŠIB ^{m}[...] / LÚ *si-p*[*i-ri*] / *šá ina* IGI ^{m}[*Gu-bar*]

(Le. Ed.) [NA_4.KIŠIB ^{m}*La-qip*] / [LÚ *ga-ar-du-pa-a*]-tu_4 / [A *šá* ^{md}EN-*a*]-*su-ú-a* // [...] *x*

112. (CBS 5506) —/VI/41 [Artaxerxes I]

(Obv.) 1 ^{md}KUR.GAL-MU A *šá* ^{md}KÁ-MU [*ina ḫu-ud lìb-bi-šú*] 2 *a-na* ^{m}*Ri-mut-*^{d}MAŠ A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-š*[*u-ú ki-a-am iq-bi*] 3 *um-ma lu-ú* LÚ.ERÍN.ŠU^{II}-*ka ana-ku pu-ut pi*[*š-ki-ia*] 4 [*lu*]-*ú na-šá-a-tú* ⌜u_4-*mu*⌝ *ma-la bal-ṭa-ku i*[*na* MU.AN.NA(?)] 5 [10 GU]R ŠE.BAR *ana* É-*ka lu-ud-din ár-ki* ^{m}*Ri-mu*[*t-*^{d}MAŠ] 6 [*iš-me-e-š*]*u-ma pu-ut pi-iš-ki-šú na-ši*[a] 7 [*ina* MU.

111. P. 92 n. 89. Cf. BE 10 118 (13/I/7 Darius II), a fragmentary legal text involving the same parties and the same properties, and drafted before some of the same persons whose seals are impressed on this tablet.

112. Pp. 13 n. 47, 117 n. 28, 118 n. 35, *133 n. 17.*

[a] *pišku* (*pirku*), "harm, injustice," as in PBS 2/1 140:31, not *pišku*, "corvée" (Oppenheim, *JQR* 36 (1945), 171-176) or *pirqu*, "Auslösung" (von Soden, *BiOr* 11 [1954], 207; *Or.* NS 37 (1968), 263; *AHw. s.v.*). Cf. LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ ŠU^{II}-*ia šū manma pirki ina panīkunu ittišu la idabbub*, "he is my subordinate, no-one is to make any trouble for him in your presence," YOS 3 38:14-18 (NB letter), and *pūt la epēšu ša piš-ki ša* PN PN_2 *naši*, "PN_2 guarantees that no harm will be done to PN," YBC 11560:5-7 (late Achaemenid).

AN.NA(?)] 10 GUR ŠE.BAR ^{md}KUR.GAL-MU *a-na* [8] [É ^{m}*Ri-mut-*^{d}M]AŠ *ina-an-din* TA ITI.BÁR *šá* MU.42.KÁM [9] [...] *x*

(Rev.) [10] [LÚ *mu-ki*]*n-nu* [11] [^{md}EN-*it*]-*tan-nu* A *šá* ^{md}EN-DIN-*su*[...] [12] [^{m}BA]-*šá-a* A *šá* ^{m}MU-MU ^{m}DIN-*a* [A *šá*] [13] [^{md}]MAŠ-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-DIN

[14] LÚ.^{r}ŠID^{1} ^{m}*Ta*^{1}-*qiš-*^{d}ME.ME A [*šá* ^{m}MU-^{d}*En-líl* ...] [15] ITI.KIN UD.[x].KÁM MU.^{r}41^{1}.KÁM [^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Le. Ed.) *ṣu-pur* [...]

(Rev.) [*š*]*ṭr* '*wr*'[*dn*] [b]

113. (CBS 13089) —/—/33+[x] Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] ^{m}*Ma-tan-Ia-a-ma* A *šá* ^{m}*A-mu-še-eḫ* ^{m}*Še-l*[*i-im-mu*] [2] A *šá* ^{md}*Ia-a-ḫu-ú-la-qí-im* ^{m}*Aq-bi-I*[*a-a-ma*] [3] A *šá* ^{m}*Ba-na-Ia-a-ma* ^{md}*Ia-a-ḫu-u-za-bad-d*[*u*] [4] A *šá* ^{m}*Ṭu-ub-ḫa-a ina ḫu-ud lìb-bi-šú-nu* [5] *a-na* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-ú* [6] *ki-a-am iq-bu-ú um-ma ku-um* [7] NÍG.ŠID-*ka ra-šu-tu šá ina muḫ-ḫi-i-ni* [8] ITI 40 LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ ^{r}*ni*^{1}-*dak-kám-ma dul-lu* [9] *ina muḫ-ḫi* É-*ka li-pu-uš-*' [10] *ù i-di mu-un-na-šú-nu-tu ù* 10 LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ [11] *a-na* LÚ *šu-šá-né-e ni-dak-ka e-lat* 2 *ù mi-ši*[*l*] [12] LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ *šá at-ta tu-maš-šìr ár-ki* [13] ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *iš-me-šú-nu-ti* LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ '*a* (Lo. Ed.) [14] [4]0 *dul-lu* ^{r}*a-na*^{1} *muḫ-ḫi* É-*šú ip-pu-uš-*' [15] *ù* LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ '*a* 10 *a-na* LÚ *šú-šá-né-e* [16] *i-nam-din-nu-*' (Rev.) [17] *e-lat* 2 *ù mi-šil* LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ [18] *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU *ú-maš-šìr-áš-šú-nu-tú* [19] *ina* u_4*-mu* LÚ *man-ma ina e-piš dul-lu ù* [20] *ina* LÚ *šu-šá-né-e ip-te-*[*qí-ir-ma* ...] [21] *baṭ-lu il-tak-nu šá* 1-*en* u_4-[*mu* ...] [22] 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *i-nam-*[*din-nu-*' ... *e-lat*] [23] *ú-ìl-tì šá* SIG_4.[ḪI.A *šá ina muḫ-ḫi-šú-nu*]

[24] LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ ^{m}[...] [25] A *šá* ^{m}MU-^{d}[...] [26] ^{m}*Si-lim-*[...] [27] A *šá* ^{m}I-[...] [28] A *šá* ^{md}[...] [29] ^{m}ŠEŠ-M[U ...]

[30] ^{md}50-[...] (Up. Ed.) [31] MU.33+[X.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

(Le. Ed.) *ṣu-pur-šú-nu*

114. (L-29-570) Nippur 6/X/4 Darius II

(Obv.) [1] 3 GUR ŠE.NUMUN *ina lìb-bi* 1 GUR ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM [2] *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ* A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-še-zib šá ina* URU *Ḫa-*[*a*]*m-ma-*⟨*na*⟩*-a-a* [3] *i-tu-šú šá ina* IGI ^{m}*Bi-ṣa-a* A *šá* ^{m}*Ba-rik-ki-Ìl-ta*[*m-meš*] [4] GU_4 *u* ŠE.NUMUN *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ* ḪA.LA *x x* [5] ^{m}*Bi-ṣa-a* x kal ga bi *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ mim-ma* [6] *di-nu u ḫar-ra-ra šá* ^{m}*Bi-ṣa-a muḫ-ḫi* [7] ŠE.NUMUN MU.MEŠ KI ^{md}MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ ia-a-nu*

[b] See Clay, "Aramaic Indorsements", 292 and 304 no. 12; photograph in BE 10 pl. V no. 9; PBS 2/1 pl. 117 no. 12 (all erroneously identifying this tablet as CBS 5505); and Vattioni, *Augustinianum* 10 (1970), 503 no. 49.

113. Pp. *81*, 86 n. 66, 107 n. 14.

114. P. 77.

(Rev.) 8 LÚ.MU.KIN$_7$ 9 ^{md}MAŠ-AD-ÙRU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU 10 ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* A *šá* ^{m}*Ú-bar* ^{md}*En-líl-ka-ṣir* 11 A *šá* ^{m}*Ri-mut* ^{m}*Là*(?)*-qip*(?) A *šá* 12 ^{md}MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ* ^{md}MAŠ-PAP(!) *u* ^{md}MAŠ-AD-ÙRU 13 DUMU.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu*

14 LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*x-x* A *šá* ^{md}X-MU-MU 15 EN.LÍL.KI ITI.AB UD.6.KÁM MU.4.KÁM 16 ^{m}*Da-ri-ia-a-muš* LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Le. Ed.) *ṣu-pur* ^{m}*Bi-ṣa-a*

(Up. Ed.) *štr bṣy zr x / x x x*

115. (CBS 13036)

(Obv.) 1′ [... *u*]*z-bar-ri* [...] 2′ [... ÍD] *Ú-šap-pu-*^{d}UTU [...] 3′ [...] ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU [...] 4′ [...] 20 GUR GIG.BA [...] 5′ [...] EBUR *ina* GIŠ.BAR [...] 6′ [...] *x gab-bi ina* ITI.ZÍZ [...] 7′ [...] *šá* ÍD.^{d}30 8′ [...]-^{d}EN A *šá* ^{m}MU-^{d}AG [...] 9′ [... *š*]*i-piš-ti šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-[MU-MU ...] 10′ [...]-*ú maḫ-ru-*ʾ KAR-[*ru-*ʾ ...] 11′ [...] GIG.BA a_4 [20 GUR ...] 12′ [...] ʳ*ina* GIŠʾ[.BAR ...]

116. (CBS 3838) —/—/4 Darius II

(Obv.) 1′ [...] ʳ*a-di miʾ*-[*ṣir*] 2′ [... MU].4.KÁM ^{m}*Da-ri-*ʳ*ia-a*ʾ-[*muš*] LUGAL 3′ [...]-*x-tu-mu-ni-*ʾ 4′ [...] LÚ *ki-ir-ka-a-a* 5′ [...] A *šá* ^{m}*Ba-rik-ki-Ia-a-ma* 6′ [... x]+1 MA.NA 15 GÍN 7′ [...]-*a*-[*x*]

117. (CBS 4992)

(Obv.) 1′ [...] *x x x* [...] 2′ [^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-r*]*a-šu-u ma-ḫir e-ṭi*[*r*] 3′ [...]-*x-ad-du-ia-ad-din šá* KÙ.BABBAR a_4 4′ [... r]a(?) a_4 1-*en lu-bu-šu* a_4 1-*en* 5′ [...]-*mu-me it-ti* LÚ *šak-nu šá-nam-ma* 6′ [...] *šá* ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU A *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-u*

(Rev.) 7′ [LÚ *m*]*u-kin-nu* ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* LÚ.UD.SAR.ŠE.GA A *šá* ^{m}A-*a* 8′ [^{m}]^{d}MAŠ-MU A *šá* ^{md}MAŠ-SU ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}*Na-din* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}MAŠ 9′ [A *šá* ^{m}]^{d}MAŠ-DIN-*iṭ* [...] ^{m}[A-*a* A *šá* ^{md}]*En-líl*-DIN-*su*-E ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU 10′ [A *šá* ^{m}]*Tat-tan-nu* ^{mrd}*En*ʾ-*líl-ki-šìr* A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-^{d}*En-líl* 11′ [^{m}SU]-^{d}*En-líl* A *šá* ^{md}*En-líl-ba-na* ^{m}KAL-*a* A *šá* ^{m}MU-*a* 12′ [...]-*x*-MU A *šá* ^{m}ARAD-*iá* ^{md}MAŠ-PAP A *šá* ^{md}AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU 13′ [...]-*a-li-šìr* A *šá* ^{md}EN-*e-ṭè-ru* 14′ [...]-*tan-nu*

(Obv.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB ^{m}*Ri-bat* A *šá* / ^{m}*Ni-qud*

(Lo. Ed.) NA$_4$.KIŠIB / ^{md}*En-líl*-MU-MU / A *šá* / ^{md}MAŠ-SU // NA$_4$.KIŠIB ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* / ^{d}UD.SAR.ŠE.GA / A *šá* ^{m}A-*a*

(Ri. Ed.) *un-qa* ^{md}*x-x-a-tú*(?)

116. P. 74.
117. Pp. 40 n. 12, 105 n. 7, 123 n. 46.

118. (CBS 13020) Nippur 16/—/41 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] ŠE.NUMUN *zaq-pu* (Up. Ed.) GÚ ÍD.^{d}30 [1] *šá ina* URU DU$_6$-*Ḫur-du* [...] [2] [ŠE].NUMUN ^{m}SU-^{d}50 A *šá* ^{md}50-*b*[*a-na* ...] [3] [ŠE].NUMUN *šá* ^{m}AD-*la-ḫi-*' *u* [...] [4] ⌜*uz-ba*⌝-*ri šá* LUGAL *x x* [...] [5] [...] ⌜*x x*⌝ [...]

(Rev.) [1′] [... ^{m}]KAL-*a* [...] [2′] [A *šá*] ^{m}MU-MU ^{md}MAŠ-MU A *šá* [...] [3′] ^{m}*Mu-še-zib* ^{m}*Tat-tan-nu* A *šá* ^{m}[...] [4′] ^{md}50-DÙ A *šá* ^{m}MU-MU ^{m}KAL-[...]

[5′] LÚ.ŠID ^{m}*Ú-bar* A *šá* ^{m}*Na-din* EN.LÍL.[KI ITI.*x*] [6′] UD.16.KÁM MU.41.KÁM ^{m}*Ar-taḫ-*[*šá-as-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR]

119. (CBS 12995) —/—/35 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] [... ŠE.NU]MUN *zaq-pa u* KA *šul-pu* [2] [*šá ina* URU] É ^{m}*Taq-bi-li-šìr* [3] [... URU] *Ḫu-uṣ-ṣe-e-ti šá* ^{md}MAŠ-DA [4] [... ^{m}]*Ḫu-me-e-šú e-lat* ŠE.NUMUN *zaq-pa* [5] [...] *šá* LÚ.ARAD.MEŠ *šá* ŠU^{II} ^{m}*Za-nu-uk-ku* [6] [...]-*ti šá a-na* GIŠ.BAR *ina* IGI ^{rmd}*En-líl*-MU-MU⌝ [7] [... MU].34.KÁM ^{mr}*Ar-taḫ*⌝-[*šá-as-su* LUGAL] [8] [...] *x x x* [...]

(Rev.) [1′] [...] *x x x* [...]

[2′] [LÚ.ŠID ^{md}MAŠ-PAP] A *šá* ^{m}A.BA-^{d}50-*da-rum* [3′] [... MU].35.KÁM [4′] [^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su*] LUGAL KUR.KUR

(Rev.) NA$_4$.[KIŠIB] / ^{m}*Za-*[*nu-uk-ku*]

120. (CBS 13039) —/—/30 Artaxerxes I

(Obv.) [1] [...]-*ka-ri-iš* [2] [... URU *Ḫu-uṣ-ṣe*]-*e-tú šá* LÚ.MÁ.LAḪ$_4$.MEŠ [3] [...] *e-ṭir-ti* [4] [...]-*ma* [5] [...]-*ma-*' [6] [... *pa*(?)-*ar*(?)-*d*]*e-e-su* [7] [...] ZÚ.LUM.MA [8] [...]-*pa-lu*(?)-*ú šá ina* IGI ^{m}RU-*tì* [9] [...] *pa-ar-de-e-su e-le-nu-ú* [10] [...]-*ni-*^{d}UTU PAP 31 GUR [11] [...] *x da-ti* MU.MEŠ [12] [... *Ḫu-uṣ*]-*ṣe-e-ti* (Lo. Ed.) [13] [...] ^{m}*Mu-ra-šu-u* [14] [...]-^{d}UTU LÚ.ARAD (Rev.) [15] [...] *ina* ITI.DU$_6$ *šá* MU.30.KÁM [16] [...] 4 GUR *ina* GIŠ *ma-ši-ḫu* [17] [... *ina*] *ḫa-ṣa-ri* KI 1 GUR [18] [*tu-ḫal ... man-ga*]-*ga* [19] [...] *ina-an-din*

[20] [...] *u* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu* A.MEŠ [21] [... ^{md}]MAŠ-SUR A *šá* ^{m}*Sa*(!)-*mu-ú-a*

[22] [LÚ.ŠID ^{md}MAŠ-MU A *šá* ^{m}]*Mu*-GUR-ŠU [23] [... MU.3]0.KÁM [24] [^{m}*Ar-taḫ-šá-a*]*s-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR

118. Pp. 42 n. 21, 117 n. 28.
120. P. 75.

INDEXES

PERSONAL NAMES

Abbreviations: br. = brother; f. = father; gf. = grandfather; gs. = grandson; s. = son; svt. = servant; GN = geographical name; PN = personal name; NN = proper name; wr. = written.

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2) s. of *Bēlet-rēmanni*: 93:4
3) s. of *Bulluṭa*: 16:15; 38:13; 44:10
4) f. of *Šamaš-iqīša*: 85:3
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10) f. of *Ninurta-ēṭir*: 106:4
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Bammuš (*Ba-am-mu-uš*), *mār bīti*(?): 109:2, 4

Banā'-il (*Ba-na-'*-DINGIR.MEŠ) f. of *Jadīḫ-Jāma*: 98:3

Banā-Jāma (*Ba-na-Ia-a-ma*)
1) br. of *Ḫananī'* and *Zabad-Jāma*: 111:3′, [6′], 4″
2) f. of *Aqbi-Jāma*: 113:3
3) f. of *Jadīḫ-Jāma*: 2:2

Bānija (DÙ-*ia*, *Ba-ni-ia*, *Ba-ni-iá*, *Ba-ni-a-a*)
1) s. of *Amīl-Nanâ*: 92:1, 10; 98:11
2) br. of *Nabû-bullissu*, s. of *Barīk-il*: 17:5′; 30:4′
3) br. of *Arad-Bēl* and *Ninurta-aḫ-iddin*, s. of *Ṭābija*: 106:33
4) in GN *Bīt Bānija*: 82:1′
5) 43:2″; 45:3, 5, 8; 48:18′

Banunu (*Ba-nu-nu*) s. of *Iddin-Enlil*: 107:4

Barēna' (*Ba-re-na-'*) in GN *Bīt Barēna'*: 77:7, 10

Barīk-Bēl (⟨*Ba*⟩-*rik-ki*-^{d}EN): 53:7

Barīki (*Ba-ri-ki*, *Ba-rik-ki*)
1) s. of *Iqīša*: 55:25
2) 56:18′

Barīk-il (*Ba-rik*-DINGIR.MEŠ, *Ba-ar-rik*-DINGIR.MEŠ, *Ba-rik-ki*-DINGIR.MEŠ, [*b*]*rk*^{r}ʾ^{l})
1) s. of *Raḫīm-il*: 35:5
2) f. of *Bānija* and *Nabû-bullissu*: 17:5′; 30:4′
3) f. of *Bēl-ēṭir* and *Aḫu-immē*: 63:3, up. ed.
4) 26:1; 61:7′

Barīk-Iltammeš (*Ba-rik-Il-tam-meš*, *Ba-rik-ki-Il-tam-meš*)
1) s. of *Kiribtu-Bēl*: 11:1
2) f. of *Jadaḫu-Nabû*: 55:4

Barīk-Jāma (*Ba-rik-ki-Ia-a-ma*): 116:5′

Ba-rik-[...]: 23:2′

Barūkā' (^{f}*Ba-ru-ka-'*) wife of *Kuṣura*: 100:4, 9, 10

Bassija (*Ba-as-si-ia*) svt. (*ardu*) and *uštiāmu* of *Enlil-šum-iddin*: 59:13

Bēlā (EN-*a*): 14:5, [18]; 15:5

Bēl-ab-uṣur (^{d}EN-AD-ÙRU)
1) s. of *Mušēzib-Bēl*: 35:10
2) f. of *Abi-rām*: 59:15; 77:2
3) f. of *Aplā*: 55:27
4) f. of *Iddin-Bēl*: 12:17, up. ed.; 22:13
5) f. of *Šabbataja* and *Minjamen*: 32:7″
6) 87:2, 6

Bēl-aḫ-iddin (^{d}EN-ŠEŠ-MU)
1) f. of *Iddin-Nabû*: 102:3
2) f. (?) of *Išrā*: 16:2
3) *dajānu ša Māt Tâmtim*: 52:9′, lo. ed.
4) 23:2

Bēl-apal-uṣur (^{d}EN-A-ÙRU) s. of *Bēl-bullissu*: 62:7′

Bēl-asūa (^{d}EN-*a-su-ú-a*)
1) s. of *Nabû-aḫ-ittannu*: 72:2′; 74:14
2) f. of *Aḫušunu*: 36:5
3) f. of *Lāqīp*: 111 le. ed.

Bēl-barakku (^{d}EN-*ba-rak-ku*) s. of *Bēl-ittannu*: 48:20′

Bēl-bullissu (^{d}EN-DIN-*su*, ^{d}EN-*bul-liṭ-su*)
1) s.(?) of *Aḫušunu*: 42:4
2) br. of *Bēl-eṭēru*, s. of *Nanâ-iddin*: 45:11
3) s. of *Nidin-x*: 49:2′
4) br. of *Zabūdu*, s. of *Tattannu*: 19:2, 21
5) f. of *Bēl-apal-uṣur*: 62:7′
6) f. of *Bēl-dānu*: 34:12, lo. ed.
7) f. of *Bēl-ittannu*: 11:27; 75:12′, rev.; 112:11
8) f. of *Bēl-lūmur*: 4:2′
9) f. of *Isinaja*: 103:2
10) f. of *Sangilu*: 109:11
11) 53:6

Bēl-dānu (^{d}EN-*da-nu*) s. of *Bēl-bullissu*: 34:12, lo. ed.

Bēl-erība (^{d}EN-SU) f. of *Rībat*: 14:[1]; 23:5; 91:9

Bēl-ēriš (^{d}EN-KÁM), *ša muḫḫi sūti ša Nār Sîn*, s. of *Natīna'*: 43:3′, [rev.]

Bēlet-rēmanni (^{d}GAŠAN-*re-man*^{an}-*ni*) f. of *Aḫḫēšu*: 93:4

Bēl-eṭēri-Šamaš (EN-KAR-^{d}UTU) s. of *Šamaš-uballiṭ*: 23:2′

Bēl-eṭēru (^{d}EN-*e-ṭè-ru*)
1) s. of *Gaggū*: 77:4, le. ed.
2) br. of *Bēl-bullissu*, s. of *Nanâ-iddin*: 45:11; 62:6′
3) s. of *Mušallim-Bēl*: 57:6′
4) f. of [...]-*a-līšir*: 117:13′

Bēl-ēṭir (^{d}EN-SUR, ^{d}EN-KAR-*ir*, *bl*[*ṭ*]*r*)
1) br. of *Aḫu-immē*, s. of *Barīk-il*: 63:3, lo. ed.
2) s. of *Idarinu-il*: 72:[2′]; 74:13
3) s. of *Nabû-nādin*: 55:6
4) f. of *Zimmā*: 32:8″, ri. ed.
5) 33:2″; 59:18; 68:3

Bēl-ibni (^{d}EN-DÙ, ^{d}EN-*ib-ni*)

1) s. of *Aplā*: 91:11
2) s. of *Bēl-šar-uṣur*: 88:5′
3) f. of *Nidintu-Bēl*: 35:14
4) 14:5, 17; 15:[5′]

Bēl-iddin (ᵈEN-MU)
1) br. of *Di*(?)-*as*(?)-*da-nu*, s. of *Šum-uṣur*: 57:8′
2) 48:21′; 49:5′

Bēl-iqīša (ᵈEN-BA-*šá*) s. of *Mušallim-Bēl*: 57:10′

Bēl-ittannu (ᵈEN-*it-tan-nu*)
1) s. of *Bēl-bullissu*: 11:26; 75:12′, rev.; 112:11
2) *ustarbaru*, s. of *Bēl-uballiṭ*: 52:10′; 109:9, [rev.]
3) s. of *Iš*(?)-[...]-': 49:3, 4, le. ed.
4) s. of *Temā'*: 38:2
5) f. of *Balāṭu*: 7:9′, ri. ed.
6) f. of *Bēl-barakku*: 48:20′
7) f. of *Bēlšunu*: 3:25
8) f. of *Ḫumaniḫijā'*: 38:7
9) f. of *Nabû-bullissu*: 40:5
10) f. of *Rībat*, *Akkā*, and *Kuṣura*: 100:7
11) f. of *Šum-iddin*: 41:5
12) in *šaknu ša Bēl-ittannu*: 53:5
13) 46:2′

Bēl-ittija (ᵈEN-KI-*ia*) f. of *Šulum-Bābili*: 4:2

Bēl-īṭiri' (ᵈEN-*i-ṭi-ri-*') s. of *x-x-x-x-x*: 98:4, le. ed.

Bēl-lūmur (ᵈEN-*lu-mur*) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Bēl-bullissu*: 4:2′

Bēl-mutakkil (ᵈEN-*mu-tak-kil*) f. of *Sîn-ēṭir*: 70:18

Bēl-nāṣir (ᵈEN-PAP, ᵈEN-*na-ṣir*, *blnṣr*)
1) *ša muḫḫi sūti ša* ÍD NN, s. of *Bēl-ušēzib*: 2:[19]; 107:20
2) f. of *Kāṣir*: 3:2, le. ed.
3) 67:14

Bēl-natannu (ᵈEN-*na-tan-nu*): 52:6′

Bēl-rēmanni (ᵈEN-*re-man-ni*): 35:15

Bēl-šar-uṣur (ᵈEN-LUGAL-ÙRU) s. of *Marduka*: 32:6″

Bēl-šimanni (ᵈEN-*ši-man-ni*) s. of *Nidintu*: 22:12

Bēl-šum-iddin (ᵈEN-MU-MU)
1) s. of *Marduka*: 57:7′
2) 48:15′

Bēlšunu (EN-*šú-nu*)
1) s. of *Aḫušunu*: 37:8; 65:11
2) s. of *Aplā*: 50:15′
3) s. of *Bābu-iddin*: 106:31
4) s. of *Bēl-ittannu*: 3:25
5) s. of *Enlil-uballiṭ*: 22:16
6) s. of *Enlil-x*: 16:18
7) *uštiāmu*, s. of *Mannu-kî-Nanâ*: 41:8
8) s. of *Marduka*: 108:21′
9) s. of *Ninurta-nāṣir*: 66:17; 82:9′
10) s. of *Puḫḫuru*: 45:10
11) s. of *Širka'*: 102:17
13) br. of *Rībat*, s. of [...]-*bulliṭ*: 106:34
14) f. of *Balāṭu* and *Šum-iddin*: 11:27; 13:28′; 14:32; 24:5′; 27:21; 34:16; 41:18; 59:11; 82:11′; 107:4
15) f. of *Enlil-aḫ-ittannu*: 36:14
16) f. of *Ninurta-ēṭir*: 63:15
17) f. of *Ninurta-nāṣir* and *Ninurta-abuṣur*: 40:14; 114:13
18) f. of *Šulluma*: 59:19
19) f. of *Šum-iddin*: 59:13
20) *dajānu ša Nār Sîn*: 81:[9′]
21) *sipīru*: 34:8
22) 2:24; 18:3′; 49:3′; 62:8′; 76:18′; 86:12; 120:20

Bēl-uballiṭ (ᵈEN-DIN-*iṭ*)
1) br. of *Ea-tabtannu-balāssu*, s. of *Mīnû-ana-Bēl-dannu*: 1:12
2) f. of *Bēl-ittannu*: 109:[9], rev.
3) f. of *Marduka*: 55:7
4) f. of *Nidintu-Bēl*: 22:15

Bēl-uṣuršu (ᵈEN-*ú-ṣur-šú*)
1) s. of [...]-*ēṭir*: 82:2, le. ed.
2) *dajānu ša ina pāni Gubāri*: 32:4″

Bēl-ušēzib (ᵈEN-*ú-še-zib*)
1) s.(?) of *Šamaš-šar-uṣur*: 88:3
2) f. of *Bēl-nāṣir*: 2:20; 107:20
3) 57:4′

Bēl-ú-[...] f. of *x-x-Nanâ*: 23:2′

Bēl-zēr-ibni (ᵈEN-NUMUN-DÙ)
1) s. of *Aššur-iddin*: 55:3
2) f. of *Zabdija*: 102:18

ᵈEN-[...]
1) f. of *Tattannu*: 6:3′
2) f. of *Zabaddu*: 46:6
3) f. of [...]-*mukīn-apli*: 107:5

Bibâ (*Bi-ba-a*)
1) br. of *Mīnû-Bēl-dān*, s. of *Ea-iddin*: 13:25′
2) s. of [...]-*a-tú*: 59:16

Bibānu (*Bi-ba-a-nu*, *Bi-ba-nu*)
1) s. of *Taddinnu*: 22:1, le. ed.(?)
2) f. of *Aḫušunu*: 46:3′
Bibija (*Bi-bi-ia*) br. of *Ḫananī*' and *Zabad-Jāma*, s. of *Ṭūb-Jāma*: 91:13
Birūḫa' (*Bi-ru-ḫa-*'): 108:5′, 8′, 11′, 14′, 15′
Biṣā (*Bi-ṣa-a*, *bṣy*)
1) s. of *Barīk-Iltammeš*: 114:3, 5, 6, le. ed., up. ed.
2) 57:3′, obv.
Bulluṭ (*Bul-luṭ*) f. of *Ardija*: 87:9
Bulluṭa (*Bul-luṭ-a*)
1) s. of *Nādin*: 50:15′
2) f. of *Aḫḫē-iddin*: 16:16; 38:13; 44:10
3) 77:15
Bulṭā (*Bul-ṭa-a*) f. of *Ninurta-ēṭir*: 103:2
Bunānu (*Bu-na-nu*) *šaknu ša šu*-[...]: 50:5′, 9′
Bunene-ibni (d*Bu-ne-ne*-DÙ)
1) f. of *Nidintu-Šamaš*: 49:6′
2) f. of *Šamaš-nādin-zēri*: 19:33; 21: 4′; 26:1′; 73:[17]; 77:20; 83:14; 104:22
3) f. of *Ubar*: 1:13; 12:17, up. ed.; 102:14
4) 85:16

Dabdama' (*Da-ab-da-ma-*') f. of *Aqūbu*: 91:12
Dādija (*Da-di-iá*, *Da-di-ia*)
1) f. of *Tattannu*: 37:3, 4
2) 45:5
Daḫizakka' (*Da-ḫi-za-ak-ka-*') f. of *Šá-áḫ-ia-a-tal-la-*': 62:5′
Dalātānī' (*Da-la-ta-ni-*') f. of *Šamaš-ittannu*: 64:2
DAN-[...] f. of *Ninurta-ēṭir*: 87:11
Dāriāmuš (*Da-ri-ia-a-muš*, *Da-dar-muš*, *Da-ra-muš*) 4:3′; 9:6′ (wr. *Da-ra-muš*); 34:2, 6, 19; 42:15 (wr. *Da-dar-muš*); 47:2, 14; 89:7′; 91:[17]; 106:11; 109:[2], 2′; 114:16; 116:2′
Dārparna' (*Da-ar-par-na-*', *Da-ri-par-na-*')
1) s. of *Kargē*: 1:14, rev.
2) f. of *Ūsparra*': 95:19
3) 25:2″
Da-ru-uk-ku-ar-x-x: 47:3
Di(?)-*as*(?)-*da-nu* br. of *Bēl-iddin*, s. of *Šum-uṣur*: 57:8′
Du-uk-x f. of [...]-*Enlil*: 71:15
Du-gu-um-[*x*]-*x*: 40:2
Dummuq (*Du-um-muq*)
1) f. of *Balāṭu*: 58:12
2) f. of *Ninurta-gāmil*: 64:13; 69:15
Du-un-x-ḫa-': 102:2

Ea-bullissu (dBE-DIN-*su*) f. of [...]: 51 le. ed.
Ea-ibni (d*É-a*-DÙ) f. of *Aplā*: 109:11
Ea-iddin (dBE-MU) f. of *Bibâ* and *Mīnû-Bēl-dān*: 13:25′
Ea-tabtanni-balāssu (dBE-*tab-tan-ni*-DIN-*su*) br. of *Bēl-uballiṭ*, s. of *Mīnû-ana-Bēl-dānu*: 1:12
Ea-uballiṭ (dBE-DIN-*iṭ*) f. of *Iqīša*: 51 up. ed.
d*É*-[*a*-...]: 88:1′
Enlil-aḫ-iddin (d*En-líl*-ŠEŠ-MU)
1) s. of *Aplā*: 73:15
2) s. of *Enlil-uballiṭ*: 55:28
Enlil-aḫḫē-iddin (d*En-líl*-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU)
1) s. of *Enlil-nā'id*: 57:9′
2) s. of *Ninurta-uballiṭ*: 103:3, le. ed.
Enlil-aḫ-ittannu (d*En-líl*-ŠEŠ-*it-tan-nu*) s. of *Bēlšunu*: 36:14
Enlil-aḫ-uṣur (d50-AŠ-ÙRU(?)): 18:13
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Enlil-ana-mātišu (d50-*ana*-KUR-*šú*, d*En-líl-ana*-KUR-*šú*, d50-*ana*-KUR)
1) f. of *Enlil-ittannu*: 58:9; 63:14; 106:33
2) f. of *Nusku-iddin*: 24:6′
3) 62:2′
Enlil-bānâ (d*En-líl-ba-na*, d50-*ba-na*)
1) f. of *Erīb-Enlil*: 1:16; 10:9; 11:25; 13:[27]; 14:31; 27:20; 38:12; 40:13; 41:[16]; 44:9; 67:13; 68:2′; 78:13; 80:15; 82:10′; 103:16; 107:5; 117: 11′; 118:2
2) f. of *Nidintu-Enlil*: 61:11′
Enlil-bāni-aḫi (d*En-líl*-DÙ-ŠEŠ) f. of *Išum-iddin*, gf. of *Mušallim-Enlil*: 106:6, 22
Enlil-balāssu-iqbi (d*En-líl*-DIN-*su*-E) f. of *Aplā*: 9:1′; 11:26; 13:27′; 14:30; 19: 29; 27:19; 61:7′; 64:9; 66:16; 82:8′; 84:7′; 90:9; 117:9′
Enlil-erība (d*En-líl*-SU): 50:16′
Enlil-ēṭir ([d*En-líl-e-ṭir*], *'ll'ṭr*) br. of *Enlil-ḫātin*, s. of *Zabdija*: 79:[2], lo. ed.
Enlil-ḫātin (d*En-líl-ḫa-tin*, d50-*ḫa-tin*, *'llḥtn*)
1) s. of *Murašû*, gs. of *Ḫātin*: 3:1, 19,

22, [30], rev.; 8:6′; 31:6′, 8′; 43:2′, 5′; 50:7′, 10′; 61:6′; 106:[19], [22], 26, 28
2) br. of *Enlil-ēṭir*, s. of *Zabdija*: 79:2

Enlil-ibni (^{d}50-DÙ)
1) s. of *Nādin*: 46:4′
2) s. of *Šum-iddin*: 118:4′

Enlil-iddin (^{d}*En-lil*-MU)
1) s. of *Enlil-kāṣir*: 89:4′
2) s. of *Linūḫ-libbi-ilī*: 77:18
3) s. of *Šum-iddin*: 34:15; 42:12
4) f. of *Mukīn-apli*: 70:14

Enlil-iqīša (^{d}*En-lil*-BA-*šá*)
1) f. of *Balāṭu*: 111:5″
2) f. of *Enlil-ittannu*: 83:11
3) f. of *Kidin*: 3:11, 24
4) f. of *Šum-iddin*: 102:1
5) f. of *Uballissu-Enlil*: 41:19

Enlil-ittannu (^{d}*En-lil-it-tan-nu*, ^{d}50-*it-tan-nu*)
1) s. of *Aplā*: 85:12
2) s. of *Enlil*-ŠEŠ-[...]: 99:15
3) *paqdu* of Nippur, s. of *Enlil-ana-mātišu*: 46 le. ed.; 58:8; 63:14; 106:32
4) s. of *Enlil-iqīša*: 83:10
5) s. of *Kalkal-iddin*: 68:[3′]
6) s. of *Lu-idija*: 55:26
7) s. of *Nā'id-Bēl*: 11:1
8) f. of *Arad-Ninurta*: 108:18′
9) 85:13; 57:12′

Enlil-kāṣir (^{d}50-KÁD, ^{d}*En-lil-ka-ṣir*, ^{d}*En-lil*-KÁD)
1) s. of *Nā'id-Ninurta*: 10:10
2) s. of *Rīmūt*: 114:10
3) f. of *Enlil-iddin*: 89:4′
4) *uštiāmu*: 41:9
5) 51 lo. ed.

Enlil-kīšir (^{d}*En-lil-ki-šìr*) s. of *Arad-Enlil*: 11:24; 67:12; 117:10′

Enlil-makû-pitin (^{d}*En-lil-ma-a-ku-pi-tin*, ^{d}50-*ma-ku-pi-tin*) svt. (*ardu*) of *Enlil-šum-iddin*: 17:1, le. ed.

Enlil-mukīn-apli (^{d}*En-lil*-DU-A, ^{d}50-DU-A) s. of *Kāṣir*: 11:26; 18:7′; 19:32; 36:13; 55:27; 68:4′; 80:16

Enlil-mutakkil (^{d}*En-lil-mu-tak-kil*) f. of *Sîn-ēṭir*: 43:3″

Enlil-nādin-šumi (^{d}*En-lil-na-din*-MU) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Aqara*: 47:12

Enlil-nā'id (^{d}*En-lil*-I)
1) f. of *Enlil-aḫḫē-iddin*: 57:9′
2) f. of *Mukīn-apli*: 1:16
3) f. of *Tattannu*: 86:10

Enlil-suppē-muḫur (^{d}*En-lil*-ŠÍSKUR-*mu-ḫur-ru*) svt. (*ardu*) of *Enlil-šum-iddin*: 108:19′

Enlil-šum-ibni (^{d}*En-lil*-MU-DÙ)
1) f. of *Ninurta-aḫ-iddin*: 34:14; 75:13′
2) f. of *Ninurta-nāṣir*: 50:16′

Enlil-šum-iddin (^{d}*En-lil*-MU-MU, ^{d}50-MU-MU)
1) s. of *Murašû*: 1:1, 8, 10, 11; 2:[1], 16, 18, [21]; 5:1; 10:6; 11:3, 15; 16:4, 8, 11; 17:1, 2, 2′, 4′; 18:6; 19:4, 16; 20:2′; 21:1′, 3′; 22:2, 7, 9; 24:3, 7, 9; 25:7′, 9′; 27:15; 28:1, [8], rev.; 29:[2], [7]; 30:1, 2, 2′; 36:6, 9; 38:4, 7; 40:3, 7, 9; 41:[3], 6, 10, [13]; 44:4, 6; 48:[3′], 10′, 11′; 64:1, 4, 6, 7; 65:1, 5, 7, 9; 66:1, 6, 9, 10; 67:1, 5, 8, 9; 69:1, 4, 6, 7, [9]; 70:[1], 6, 10; 71:[1], 6; 72:1, 8; 73:[1], 4, 8, 10; 74:[1], 7, 10; 76:5′, 9′, 10′; 77:1, 6, 12, 13; 78:1, 5, 9, [10]; 80:[1], 8, [10]; 81:6′, 7′; 82:3′, 4′; 83:1; 85:1, 5; 86:2; 88:1; 90:3, 6; 92:2, 7; 93:3; 94:3; 97:3; 99:1, [2]; 100:2, 7; 101:4′; 102:6, 8, 13; 103:4, 8, 12; 104:2, 8, 10, [11], 12, [13], 18; 107:7, 14, 17; 108:1′, 5′, 7′, 12′, 16′, 19′; 109:[3], 8, [13], [15], 15, 16; 113:5, 13, 18; 115:3′, 9′; 117:[2′], 6′; 119:6
2) s. of *Nanâ-iddin*: 84:10′
3) s. of *Ninurta-erība*: 36:11; 55:24, up. ed.; 117 lo. ed.
4) s. of *Tattannu*: 36:12; 38:9; 40:11; 44:8, le. ed.; 59:10, obv.; 92 up. ed.; 94:11; 117:9′; (cf. *Šum-iddin* s. of *Tattannu*)
5) f. of *Ninurta-ab-uṣur*: 34:18; 36:15; 40:16; 44:12; 93:1′; 99:20; 108:23′; (cf. *Šum-iddin* f. of *Ninurta-ab-uṣur*)
6) 68 ri. ed.

Enlil-šum-lilbir (^{d}*En-lil*-MU-*lil-bir*)
1) s. of *Nādin*: 9:8′, rev.; 34:13, lo. ed.
2) 81:11′

Enlil-šum-ukīn (^{d}*En-lil*-MU-DU)
1) s. of *Aplā*: 107:8, 11, 14, 18, rev.
2) f. of *Aqara*: 59:10; (cf. *Šum-ukīn* f. of *Aqara*)

3) f. of *Nā'id-Ninurta*: 28:22
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^{d}50-MU-*x* s. of *Kidin*: 68 up. ed.
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1) s. of *Aḫušunu*: 37:9; 65:12
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5) f. of *Bēlšunu*: 22:16
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^{d}*En-líl-x* f. of *Bēlšunu*: 16:18
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Gukka' (*Gu-uk-ka-'*) svt. (*ardu*) of *Bagēšu*, s. of *Ḫananī'-Jāma*: 34:6, 10, rev.
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3) f.(?) of *Ḫi-in-nu*-[...]: 80:3
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5) s. of *Nādin*: 13:28′; 19:30; 95:7, le. ed.
6) br. of *Ardija*, s. of *Ubar*: 79:12
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1) s. of *Iqīša*: 3:24
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3) 59:17

Mušallim-Enlil (*Mu-šal-lim-*^{d}*En-líl*) s. of *Išum-iddin*, gs. of *Enlil-bāni-aḫi*: 106:6, 12, 15, 20, 22, 24, 27

Mutirri-gimilli (*Mu-*GUR-ŠU) f. of *Ninurta-iddin*: 120:22 (cf. *Ninurta-mutirri-gimilli*)

Mušēzib (*Mu-še-zib*)
1) br. of *Šātenna*, s. of *Nabû-bullissu*: 62:7, 9, 4′
2) f. of *Ninurta-uballiṭ*: 114:2
3) 49:2′; 118:3′

Mušēzib-Bēl (*Mu-še-zib-*^{d}EN, KAR-^{d}EN)
1) s. of *Aššur-tarībi* (or *Ištar-tarībi*): 77:3
2) f. of *Bēl-ab-uṣur*: 35:11
3) f. of *Zitti-Nabû*: 7:8′
4) in canal name *ša Mušēzib-Bēl*: 2:3, 8
5) 4 up. ed.; 14:5; 15:[5]

Mu-š[e-...] f. of *Enlil-uballiṭ*: 59:15

Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin (^{d}AG-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU)
1) s. of *Ninurta-iddin*: 106:31, ri. ed.
2) s. of *Ninurta-*[...]: 107:1, rev.
3) f. of *Ninurta-nāṣir* and *Ninurta-mutirri-gimilli*: 7:10′; 11:24; 13:27′; 27:19; 55:24; 67:15; 82:9′

Nabû-aḫ-ittannu (^{d}AG-ŠEŠ-*it-tan-nu*)
1) s. of *Nanâ-iddin*: 12:1, rev.
2) f. of *Bēl-asūa*: 72:3′; 74:[14]

Nabû-bullissu (^{d}AG-DIN-*su*, ^{d}AG-*bul-liṭ-su*)
1) br. of *Bānija*, s. of *Barīk-il*: 30:4′
2) s. of *Bēl-ittannu*: 40:5, 8, le. ed.
3) f. of *Šātenna'* and *Mušēzib*: 62:4, 4′
4) f. of *Ubar*: 72:[5′]; 74:16

Nabû-dajānu (^{d}AG-*da-a-a-nu*, ^{d}AG-DI.KU$_5$) f. of *Šiṭa'*: 27:16; 28:23; 90:2, up. ed.; 95:15

Nabû-gāmil (^{d}AG-*ga-mil*) in GN *Bīt Nabû-gāmil*: 61:3′

Nabû-ḫaqabi (^{d}AG-*ḫa-qa-bi*) f. of *Jadaḫu-Nabû*: 55:5

Nabû-iddin (^{d}AG-MU)
1) f. of *Šum-iddin*: 37:10
2) 111:2″

Nabû-ittannu (^{d}AG-*it-tan-nu*, *nbw'tn*): 41:7, 12, rev., up. ed.

Nabû-mušētiq-uddê (^{d}AG-*mu-še-tìq*-UD.DA): 9:3′

Nabû-nādin (^{d}AG-*na-din*) f. of *Bēl-ēṭir*: 55:6

Nabû-nādin-aḫi (^{d}AG-*na-din*-ŠEŠ): 23:2

Nabû-natannu (^{d}AG-*na-tan-nu*): 52:4′

Nabundu (*Na-bu-un-du*) f. of *Addu-rammu*: 29:1, rev.

Nabû(?)-rammu (^{d}AG(?)-*ra-am-mu*) s. of *Iddina*: 75:2′

Nabû-rē'išunu (^{d}AG-SIPA-*šú-nu*) s. of *Abi-ul-idi*: 1:14

Nabû-rēmanni (^{d}AG-*re-man-ni*) s. of *Marduka*: 50:4′, le. ed.

Nabû-uballiṭ (^{d}AG-DIN-*iṭ*) br. of *Tattannu*, s. of *Aplā*: 1:2, 7, 10, rev.

Nabû-ušēzib (^{d}AG-*ú-še-zib*)
1) s. of *Nidintu-Nabû*(?): 75:2′
2) 35:12

Nabû-zēr-ukīn (^{d}AG-NUMUN-DU) f. of *Iddin-Marduk*: 12:16, le. ed.

Nadbia (*Na-ad-bi-ia*) f. of *Napsān*: 55:5

Nādin (*Na-din*)
1) s. of *Aqara*: 73:12
2) s. of *Iqīša*: 13:26′; 14:31; 27:19; 28:21; 38:10, obv.; 44:8; 66:15; 76:15′; 80:15, lo. ed.; 82:8′; 83:6; 102:16
3) s. of *Ninurta-iddin*: 24:6′
4) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Ina-ṣilli-Ninurta*: 24:9′; 63:19; 78:16; 79:18
5) *ṭupšarru*, s. of [...]-*Dilbat*: 70:21
6) f. of *Aqara*: 17:19′; 117:8′
7) f. of *Bulluṭa*: 50:15′
8) f. of *Enlil-ibni*: 46:4′
9) f. of *Enlil-šum-lilbir*: 9:8′, rev.; 34:13, lo. ed.
10) f. of *Lābāši*: 13:28′; 19:31; 95:7
11) f. of *Ninurta-iddin*: 79:13
12) f. of *Šullum*: 58:10
13) f. of *Ubar*: 54:2′; 55:29; 64:12; 107:[22]; 118:5′
14) 69:13; 70:19; 77:17

Naḫmānu (*Na-aḫ-ma-nu*): 89:2′

Nā'id-Bēl (I-^{d}EN) f. of *Enlil-ittannu*: 11:1

Nā'id-Enlil (I-^{d}*En-líl*): 66:18

Nā'id-Ninurta (I-^{d}MAŠ)
1) s. of *Enlil-šum-ukīn*: 28:22
2) s. of *Lābāši*: 22:17
3) f. of *Arad-Ninurta*: 79:14
4) f. of *Enlil-kāṣir*: 10:10

Na-al-ti-i-DINGIR.MEŠ in canal name *ša Na-al-ti-i*-DINGIR.MEŠ: 26:6

Nanâ-iddin (^{d}*Na-na-a*-MU)
1) s. of *Baga'dātu*: 36:4, 8
2) f. of *Aḫ-iddin*: 46:3, 4′
3) f. of *Bēl-bullissu* and *Bēl-eṭēru*: 45:12; 62:6′
4) f. of *Enlil-šum-iddin*: 84:10′
5) f. of *Nabû-aḫ-ittannu* and *Nidintu*: 12:1, rev.
6) f. of *Tattannu*: 59:11
7) *šaknu ša Bēl-ittannu*: 53:5, 10
8) 72:2; 85:15

Nanâ-ēriš (^{d}*Na-na-a*-KÁM) s. of *Ninurta-iddin*: 84:8′; 102:18

Nanâ-uballiṭ (^{d}*Na-na-a*-DIN-*iṭ*): 48:19′

Napišti (ZI-*tì*) f. of *Abi-jaqari*: 11:2

Napsān (*Na-ap-sa-an*) s. of *Nadbia*: 55:4

Naqqītu (^{f}*Naq-qí-tu*$_4$) daughter of *Murašû*: 46:5, 7

Nariāspu (*Na-ar-ia-a-as-pi*, *Na-ar-ia-as-pu*) s. of *Kartam*: 107:9, 13, 15, 16

Nāṣir (*Na-ṣir*): 53:12; 64:10

Natīna' (*Na-ti-na-'*) f. of *Bēl-ēriš*: 43:4′

Naṭīr (*Na*(?)-*ṭi-ri*, *Na-ṭi*(?)-*ir*) in GN *Bīt Naṭīr*: 17:7; 75:7′

Nidintu (*Ni-din-tu*$_4$)
1) (br. of *Nabû-aḫ-ittannu*), s. of *Nanâ-iddin*: 12 rev.
2) f. of *Aḫušunu*: 37:2, 4
3) f. of *Bēl-šimanni*: 22:12
4) f. of *Tattannu*: 79:16
5) 32:8″

Nidintuja (*Ni-din-tu*$_4$-*ia*): 72:5

Nidintu-Bēl (*Ni-din-tu*$_4$-^{d}EN)
1) s. of *Bēl-ibni*: 35:14
2) s. of *Bēl-uballiṭ*: 22:15
3) f. of *Ḫabaṣā*: 40:14

Nidintu-Enlil (*Ni-din-tú*-^{d}50) s. of *Enlil-bānâ*: 61:10′

Nidintu-Nabû (*Ni-din-tú*-^{d}AG(?)) f. of *Nabû-ušēzib*: 75:2′

Nidintu-Šamaš (*Ni-din-tu*$_4$-^{d}UTU) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Bunene-ibni*: 49:6′

Ni-din-[...]: 49:3′; 60:3

Ninnakka' (*Ni-in-na-ka-'*, *Ni-na-ak-ka*) *mār bīti* of *Zātamē*: 7:9′, rev.; 12:[15], lo. ed.

Ninurta-ab-uṣur (^{d}MAŠ-AD-ÙRU)
1) br. of *Ninurta-nāṣir*, s. of *Bēlšunu*: 40:13; 114:12
2) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Enlil-šum-iddin*: 34:18; 36:15; 40:16; 44:12; 93:1′; 99:20; 108:23′; (cf. 4)
3) s. of *Ninurta-aḫ-iddin*: 114:9
4) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Šum-iddin*: 92:3′; (cf. 2)
5) s. of [...]-*uballiṭ*: 61:12′
6) s. of [...]-MU: 91:3
7) 63:16

Ninurta-aḫḫē-bulliṭ (^{d}MAŠ-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*bul-liṭ*): 106:3

Ninurta-aḫḫē-erība (^{d}MAŠ-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU) f. of *Ninurta-nāṣir*: 106:29

Ninurta-aḫḫē-iddin (^{d}MAŠ-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU): 10:2

Ninurta-aḫḫē-uballiṭ (^{d}MAŠ-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-DIN)
1) s. of *Aḫušunu*: 83:8
2) f. of *Balāṭa*(?): 112:13
3) f. of *Rībat*: 83:10

Ninurta-aḫ-iddin (^{d}MAŠ-ŠEŠ-MU)
1) s. of *Arad-Egalmaḫ*: 95:7
2) s. of *Enlil-šum-ibni*: 34:13; 75:13′
3) br. of *Arad-Bēl* and *Bānija*, s. of *Ṭābija*: 106:33
4) f. of *Ardija*: 11:27; 34:15
5) f. of *Ninurta-ab-uṣur*: 114:9
6) f. of *Ninurta-uballiṭ*: 3:10
7) f. of *Ša-pī-kalbi*: 103:1
8) 3:26; 25:6″

Ninurta-apal-iddin (^{d}MAŠ-A-MU) f. of *Kidin*: 47:11; 83:11

Ninurta-apal-ukīn (^{d}MAŠ-A-DU): 12:16

Ninurta-bēl-aḫḫēšu (^{d}MAŠ-BE-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú*) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Upaḫḫir-Enlil*: 91:[15]

Ninurta-erība (^{d}MAŠ-SU)
1) s. of *Enlil-uballiṭ*: 106:30
2) f. of *Enlil-šum-iddin*: 36:11; 55:24, up. ed.; 117: lo. ed.
3) f. of *Ninurta-ibni*: 61:9′
4) f. of *Ninurta-iddin*: 2:[26]; 7:11′; 10:3; 11:23; 20:8′; 41:14; 78:[12]; 86:[10]; 95:[14]; 102:15; 117:8′

Ninurta-ēriš (^{d}MAŠ-KÁM) f. of *Erīb-Enlil*: 103:20

Ninurta-ēṭir (^{d}MAŠ-SUR)
1) s. of *Balāṭu*: 106:4
2) s. of *Bēlšunu*: 63:15
3) s. of *Bulṭā*: 103:1, le. ed.
4) s. of DAN-[...]: 87:11
5) s. of *Iddin-Nabû*: 46:3′
6) s. of *Ninurta-uballiṭ*: 71:3

7) s. of *Samūa*: 120:21
8) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Šum-iddin*: 72:[7′]; 74:18; 104:20
9) f. of *Arad-Egalmaḫ*: 24:8′; 106:35; 107:6
10) f. of *Ḫananī*: 98:14
11) f. of *Iddin-Bēl*: 95:9
12) f. of *Ina-ṣilli-Bēl*: 70:13
13) f. of *Šamaš-aḫ-iddin*: 17:6′; 28:20; 103:15
14) f. of *Šum-iddin*: 108:22′
15) 10:8; 76:2′; 107:3

Ninurta-gāmil (dMAŠ-*gāmil*)
1) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Dummuq*: 64:13; 69:15
2) s. of *Ḫašdaja*: 47:9; 83:12
3) s. of *Mannu-lu-šulum*: 95:17; 102:16
4) 48:8′; 63:18

Ninurta-ibni (dMAŠ-DÙ)
1) s. of *Ninurta-erība*: 61:9′
2) f. of *Uballissu-Gula*: 63:17
3) 24:3′

Ninurta-iddin (dMAŠ-MU)
1) s. of *Kāṣir*: 99:18
2) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Mutirri-gimilli*: 120:[22]
3) s. of *Nādin*: 79:13
4) *šaknu* of Nippur, s. of *Ninurta-erība*: 2:25; 7:[11′]; 10:[3]; 11:23; 20:8′; 41:14; 78:12; 86:9; 95:14; 102:15; 117:8′
5) s. of *Niqudu*: 106:36
6) s. of *Rībat*: 47:8; 60:2′
7) s. of *Šamaš-zēr-iddin*: 99:17
8) s. of [...]-*ēṭir*: 61:8′
9) f. of *Aplā*: 58:10; 66:17
10) f. of *Erība*: 19:31; 63:13; 84:8′; 95:[16]; 107:7
11) f. of *Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin*: 106:31
12) f. of *Nādin*: 24:7′
13) f. of *Nanâ-ēriš*: 84:9′; 102:18
14) f. of *Ninurta-ibni*: 61:9′
15) f. of *Ninurta-iqīš*: 99:19
16) f. of *Rībat*: 16:17; 63:14
17) f. of *Šum-iddin*: 11:1
18) f. of *Tattannu*: 103:19
19) 9:9′; 31:6′, 9′; 39:9′; 71:14; 108:13′; 118:2′

Ninurta-iqīš (dMAŠ-*i-qiš*) s. of *Ninurta-iddin*: 99:18

Ninurta-lē'i (dMAŠ-DA)
1) f. of *Amīl-Enlil*, *Aplā*, and *Ina-tēšê-ēṭir*: 42:12; 70:3
2) in GN *Ḫuṣṣētu ša Ninurta-lē'i*: 119:3

Ninurta-mutirri-gimilli (dMAŠ-*mu-tir-ri*-ŠU, dMAŠ-*mu*-GUR-ŠU)
1) br. of *Ninurta-nāṣir*, s. of *Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin*: 7:10′; 11:24; 75:11′; 83:7
2) br. of *Iddin-Marduk*, s. of *Uballissu-Marduk*: 107:2
3) 18:5′; 25:3″
(cf. *Mutirri-gimilli*)

Ninurta-nādin (dMAŠ-*na-din*): 25:6′, [11′]

Ninurta-nādin-šumi (dMAŠ-*na-din*-MU) s. of *Uballissu-Marduk*: 17:6′; 30:5′; 88:3′; 106:34

Ninurta-nāṣir (dMAŠ-*na-ṣir*, dMAŠ-PAP)
1) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Arad-Enlil*: 1:18; 12:20; 14:33; 28:24; 64:10; 83:9; 96:10; 103:16
2) br. of *Ninurta-ab-uṣur*, s. of *Bēlšunu*: 40:13; 114:12
3) s. of *Enlil-šum-ibni*: 50:16′
4) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Mannu-Enlil-dāru*: 109:1′; 119:[2′]
5) br. of *Ninurta-mutirri-gimilli*, s. of *Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin*: 11:24; 13:[27′]; 27:19; 55:24; 67:15; 82:9′; 117:12′
6) br. of *Aqara*, s. of *Ninurta-aḫḫē-erība*: 106:29
7) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Rībat*: 22:18
8) s. of *Uballissu-Gula*: 10:11
9) f. of *Aplā*: 106:30
10) f. of *Bēlšunu*: 66:17; 82:9′
11) f. of *Šulā*: 66:19
12) f. of *x*-DU: 24:7′
13) 14:30; 19:29; 90:11; 95:9

Ninurta-šum-iqīša (dMAŠ-MU-BA-*šá*) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Aqara*: 42:14

Ninurta-uballiṭ (dMAŠ-DIN-*iṭ*)
1) s. of *Aḫušunu*: 84:9′
2) s. of *Mušēzib*: 114:2, 4, 5, 7
3) s. of *Ninurta-aḫ-iddin*: 3:10, 17
4) f. of *Arad-Ninurta*: 11:23; 30:6′; 61:10′; 117:9′
5) f. of *Enlil-aḫḫē-iddin*: 103:3
6) f. of *Lāqīp*: 58:11; 114:12(?)
7) f. of *Ninurta-ēṭir*: 71:3
8) f. of *Šum-iddin*: 25:5″; 102:6
9) 57:11′

[d]MAŠ-[...]
1) f. of *Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin*: 107:1
2) *ṭupšarru*: 45:13
3) 77:17

Niqudu (*Ni-qu-du, Ni-qud*)
1) f. of *Ninurta-iddin*: 106:36
2) f. of *Rībat*: 17:7′; 117 obv.

Ni-[...] f. of *Šum-iddin*: 79:14

Numaina' (*Nu-ma-i-na-'*) f. of *Zabīn*: 44:3

Nūrea (*Nu-úr-e-a*) f. of *Balāṭu*(?): 70:4

Nūr-māti-Enlil (ZÁLAG-KUR-[d]50) s. of *Arad-Gula*: 73:14

Nusku-iddin ([d]ENŠADA-MU)
1) s. of *Arad-Gula*: 104:19
2) s. of *Enlil-ana-mātišu*: 24:5′

Nusku-ušabši ([d]ENŠADA-GÁL-ši)
1) s. of *Tattannu*: 80:13
2) 59:9

Padā'-Jāma (*Pa-da-'-Ia-a-ma*) s. of *Ḫananu*: 107:19

Palaṭaja (*Pa-la-ṭa-a*) f. of [...]-*Jāma*: 2:26

Pamē (*Pa-me-e*): 7:6′, lo. ed.

Pamūnu (*Pa-mu-ú-nu*) svt. (*ardu*) of *Manuštānu*: 59:4, 6, 8, obv.

Pānī-adaggal (*Pa-ni-a-dag-gal*): 97:2, le. ed.

Paragušu (*Pa-ra-gu-šú*) f. of *Ṭāb-šalammu*: 35:10

Parnakku (*Pa-ar-nak-ku*): 32:5″

Parsarutu (*Pa-ar-sa-ru-tú*): 19:5

Pātēšu (*Pa-te-e-šú*) f.(?) of *Ispitāma'*: 109:5

Pilī-Jāma (*Pi-li-Ia-a-ma, Pi-il-Ia-a-ma, plyh*) s. of *Šillimu*: 26:2; 94:3, le. ed., rev.; 98:17

Pitrija (*Pi-it-ri-ia*): 19:6

Puḫḫuru (*Pu-uḫ-ḫu-ru*) f. of *Bēlšunu*: 45:10

Raḫīm-il (*Ra-ḫi-im-*DINGIR.MEŠ)
1) f. of *Barīk-il*: 35:6
2) f. of *Labānu*: 72:1′; 74:[12]
3) f. of *Udarna'*: 35:12

Rēmanni-Bēl (*Re-man-ni-*[d]EN) s. of *Ṣillaja*: 55:25, up. ed.

Rēme-šukun (ARḪUŠ-GAR, *Re-šu-kun-nu, rmškn*)
1) svt. (*ardu*) of *Enlil-šum-iddin*: 99:1, 10, rev.
2) 99:17
3) 103:6, 9, 10 (wr. *Re-šu-kun-nu*)

Rībat (*Ri-bat, Ri-ba-a-tú*)
1) son of *Bēl-erība*: 14:[1], 28, rev.; 15:[1]; 23:[5], 9; 75:4′, 8′, 9′; 91:9
2) s. of *Bēl-ittannu*: 100:3, 6, 7, 11
3) s. of *Kāṣir*: 103:17
4) s. of *Ninurta-aḫḫē-uballiṭ*: 83:9
5) s. of *Ninurta-iddin*: 16:17; 63:14
6) s. of *Niqudu*: 17:7′; 117 obv.
7) s. of *Sîn-*[...]: 87:10
8) br. of *Bēlšunu*, s. of [...]-*bulliṭ*: 106:34
9) f. of *Ninurta-iddin*: 47:8; 60:2′
10) f. of *Ninurta-nāṣir*: 22:18
11) svt. (*qallu*) of *Tattannu*: 43:4′
12) 53:14; 105:4′, 6′. 8′

Rīmūt (*Ri-mut*)
1) f. of *Enlil-kāṣir*: 114:11
2) 106:36

Rīmūt-Ninurta (*Ri-mut-*[d]*Nin-urta, Ri-mut-*[d]MAŠ) s. of *Murašû*: 4:1; 7:[3′], 5′, 7′; 9:2′, 4′, 5′, 7′; 23:5, 7; 34:4, 9, 10; 37:3, 5; 42:3, 7; 47:6; 52:2′; 79:1, 4, [7], 9; 91:1, 10; 110:3′; 111:5′; 112:2, 5, 8

Samūa (*Sa-mu-ú-a*) f. of *Ninurta-ēṭir*: 120:21

Sangilu (*Sa-an-gi-lu*)
1) s. of *Bēl-bullissu*: 109:11
2) 13:4′

Sa(?)*-at-tu-ru*(?) s. of *Šabbataja*: 98:15

Si-x-a sipīru ša mašennu, s. of *Arad-Bēl*: 1:17

Silim-ilī (*Si-lim-*DINGIR.MEŠ)
1) s. of *Kāṣir*: 49:1′
2) br. of *Aḫ-iddin*, s. of *Lābāši*: 47:10; 56:19′; 99:16
3) s. of *Šum-iddin*: 75:12′, rev.
4) f. of *Aplā*: 12:18
5) 53:15; 87:4; 102:17

Si-lim-[...]: 113:26

Silimmu see *Šillimu*

Sîn-bānâ ([d]30-*ba-na*) s. of *Sîn-uballiṭ*: 59:18

Sîn-bēlšunu ([d]30-EN-*sú-nu*) in GN *Sîn-bēlšunu*: 14:28; 89:6′

Sîn-ēriš ([d]30-KÁM) in GN *Bīt Sîn-ēriš*: 63:8

Sîn-ēṭir ([d]30-KAR-*ir*, [d]30-SUR)
1) s. of *Bēl-mutakkil*: 70:18
2) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Enlil-mutakkil*: 43:3″

Sîn-iddin ([d]30-MU) f. of *Ḫamaṭā'*: 55:3

Sîn-ikṣur (ᵈ30-*ik-ṣur*): 54:3′
Sîn-mukīn-apli (ᵈ30-DU-A): 62:9′
Sîn-nādin-aḫi (ᵈ30-*na-din*-ŠEŠ) *ṭupšarru*, s. of *Arad-Bābu*: 79:15; 86:14
Sîn-râmu (ᵈ30-*ra-mu*) f. of *Imbi-Sîn*: 3:23
Sîn-uballiṭ (ᵈ30-DIN-*iṭ*) f. of *Sîn-bānâ*: 59:[19]
ᵈ30-[...] f. of *Rībat*: 87:10

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UNPUBLISHED TEXTS

The Collection of the Babylonian Section (CBS) of the University Museum includes fifty-nine more items assigned in its catalogues to the Murašû Archive. All of these are fragments without unusual features and with very little continuous text. Most are very small, some bearing only a few unrelated signs. Some nevertheless include characteristic phrases which identify the formal types to which they belong or include indications of their dates and/or the places at which they were written. A list of these items follows.

CBS 3951: unclassifiable.
CBS 4997: mortgage.
CBS 5200: lease in dialogue form; Nippur; —/—/34 Artaxerxes I.
[CBS 5200b: names of witnesses; joined to PBS 2/1 36; see p. 14 n. 53.]
CBS 10376: unclassifiable.
CBS 12504: unclassifiable.
CBS 12506: unclassifiable.
CBS 12507: unclassifiable; —/—/— Artaxerxes I; see p. 107 n. 14.
CBS 12508: unclassifiable.
CBS 12865: receipt; see p. 93 n. 94.
CBS 12943: names of witnesses; Nippur; —/—/— Artaxerxes I.
CBS 12944: mortgage; Nippur; 26/IV/— Darius II; see p. 107 n. 15.
CBS 12945: receipt.
CBS 12949: unclassifiable; —/—/6 Darius II.
CBS 12991: receipt.
CBS 12994: unclassifiable; —/—/33 Artaxerxes I.
CBS 13001: mortgage.
CBS 13007: unclassifiable.
CBS 13010: mortgage.
CBS 13011: mortgage.
CBS 13012: names of witnesses.
CBS 13014: mortgage.
CBS 13015: mortgage.
CBS 13016: names of witnesses; Nippur; 20+[x]/—/—; see p. 107 n. 14.
CBS 13017: mortgage.
CBS 13021: contract in dialogue form; Nippur; —/—/36 Artaxerxes I.
CBS 13022: mortgage; see p. 105 n. 6.
CBS 13030: mortgage.
CBS 13032: record of debt (mortgage?).
CBS 13038: unclassifiable.
CBS 13046: receipt; see p. 149.
CBS 13047: unclassifiable; 11/I/20+[x] Artaxerxes I; see p. 107 n. 14.
CBS 13049: receipt.
CBS 13052: unclassifiable.
CBS 13053: receipt.
CBS 13056: unclassifiable.
CBS 13057: mortgage.
CBS 13058: unclassifiable.
CBS 13059: receipt.

CBS 13060: receipt.
CBS 13061: unclassifiable.
CBS 13062: unclassifiable.
CBS 13063: unclassifiable.
CBS 13064: unclassifiable.
CBS 13066: unclassifiable.
CBS 13067: receipt.
CBS 13068: receipt; —/—/— Darius II; see p. 107 n.15.
CBS 13069: illegible.
CBS 13071: unclassifiable.
CBS 13072: unclassifiable.
CBS 13073: unclassifiable.
CBS 13075: unclassifiable.
CBS 13077: unclassifiable.
CBS 13078: unclassifiable.
CBS 13079: unclassifiable.
CBS 13080: unclassifiable.
CBS 13081: unclassifiable.
CBS 13082: unclassifiable.
CBS 13083: names of witnesses.

L-29-594 + 608 is a well-preserved text similar in general appearance to the Murašû texts. It is the record of a debt of barley drafted on 5/X/2 Darius II by one of the scribes who also drafted Murašû texts (Ninurta-gamil, son of Dummuq: BE 10 24, 38; PBS 2/1 14, 26, 153; Nos. 64, 69). Since the principals and the witnesses do not reappear in Murašû texts, however, this document probably does not belong to the Archive. Cf. BRM 1 86 (Nippur, 6/V/41 Artaxerxes I), written by the same scribe.

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Italicized entries indicate the principal discussions of the contents of texts, or of the form, meaning, or usage of words.

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